Neoconservatism: Origins and Evolution, 1945 – 1980

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Abstract

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Neoconservatism: Origins and Evolution, 1945 – 1985
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This dissertation examines the origins and evolution of neoconservatism as a philosophical and political movement in America from 1945 to 1980. I maintain that as the exigencies and anxieties of the Cold War fostered new intellectual and professional connections between academia, government and business, three disparate intellectual currents were brought into contact: the German philosophical tradition of anti-modernism, the strategic-analytical tradition associated with the RAND Corporation, and the early Cold War anti-Communist tradition identified with figures such as Reinhold Niebuhr. Driven by similar aims and concerns, these three intellectual currents eventually coalesced into neoconservatism. As a political movement, neoconservatism sought, from the 1950s on, to re-orient American policy away from containment and coexistence and toward confrontation and rollback through activism in academia, bureaucratic and electoral politics. Although the neoconservatives were only partially successful in promoting their transformative project, their accomplishments are historically significant. More specifically, they managed to interject their views and ideas into American political and strategic thought, discredit détente and arms control, and shift U.S. foreign policy toward a more confrontational stance vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, the neoconservatives institutionalized nuclear war-

fighting (the idea that it is possible to fight and win a nuclear war) in U.S. strategic doctrine. In re-orienting U.S. policy in the 1970s, the neoconservatives also laid the foundations for the policies of the first Reagan Administration. This dissertation challenges the prevailing conceptions about neoconservatism in three ways. First, it demonstrates that neoconservatism was not primarily a sociological and literary phenomenon centered on the work of the so-called "New York intellectuals." Second, it demonstrates that the philosophical foundation of neoconservatism was not socialism, but German philosophy. Third, that neoconservatism's primary policy focus was not Israeli interests and security, but the political and strategic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union.

To Beth

Nobody knows
Nobody sees
‘til the light of life stops burning
‘til another soul goes free

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Introduction

On January 15, 2004, French Defense Minister Michelle Alliot-Marie visited the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington to deliver a speech with the conciliatory-sounding title, "Renewing the Trans-Atlantic Security Partnership." Minister Alliot-Marie began, however, by expressing her belief that the deterioration of Franco-American relations over the past few years was primarily due to the rise of "certain radical neoconservative ideas" in the United States. Taken aback at this remark, some of the guests and journalists turned to look at Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz for a reaction. Wolfowitz, whom many regarded as the most powerful neoconservative figure in the Bush Administration, remained impassive. Nor was there any reaction from Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, or any of the other American officials present as Minister Alliot-Marie followed up her opening remark by flatly asserting that U.S. foreign policy seemed to be aimed at nothing less than the political, economic and cultural domination of the world.[1]

What are Americans to make of *Madame Ministre's* characterizations of U.S. foreign policy and policy-makers? Some may be inclined, as one Bush Administration official did privately, to dismiss Alliot-Marie as a "typical Left-Bank intellectual," implying that her remarks were simply the result of visceral anti-Americanism. If, however, we assume that such a prominent official of a long-standing European ally would not make such remarks lightly, then we must entertain several questions: What precisely is neoconservatism? Who

[1] Barry Schweid, "French Minister Blasts Certain U.S. Ideas," Associated Press, January 17, 2004 [online] http://nucnews.net/nucnews/2004nn/0401nn/040117nn.htm#451

are the neoconservatives and what do they believe? Where and how did they get their ideas? What does the movement seek to accomplish?

If we look to the handful of historical works—John Ehrman's The Rise of Neoconservatism, Mark Gerson's The Neoconservative Vision and Peter Steinfel's The Neoconservatives, we find that none of them ventures a precise definition of neoconservatism. They variously describe neoconservatism as a "mood" or a "vision"—or both. Such descriptions are rather too nebulous to be helpful. Was it an intellectual movement? A set of political preferences? A philosophical school of thought? All three? All three authors go only part of the way toward fleshing out the characteristics of the movement.[2]

Similarly, none of the standard accounts offers a very detailed account of neoconservatism' origins. Steinfels argues that that neoconservatism emerged from the classic anti-Communism of the Truman era. This characterization, while somewhat accurate, offers very little in the way of distinguishing neoconservatism from this alleged forerunner. Gerson and Ehrman go somewhat further than Steinfels and detect a European philosophical accent within neoconservative thought. Neither author, however, pursues this European connection, nor pinpoints the exact philosophical impulse from which neoconservatism emerged.

The standard accounts also lack of a detailed explanation of what constitutes the neoconservative "view" or "vision" of foreign affairs. While Ehrman identifies the

[2] John Ehrman, The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994 (New Haven: Yale University, 1995); Mark Gerson, The Neoconservative Vision: From the Cold War to the Culture Wars (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1997); Peter Steinfels, The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America's Politics (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979). Other more recent works that focus on the neoconservatives' penchant for military adventure are: Andrew J. Bacevich, The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Ira Chernus, Monsters to Destroy: The Neoconservative War on Terror and Sin (Herndon, VA: Paradigm Publishers, 2006).

neoconservatives' view with that of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, it is difficult to discern any substantive link between Moynihan (with his two-year tenure as U.N. ambassador and subsequent opposition to Ronald Reagan's foreign policy) and figures such as Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz. Similarly, Gerson and Steinfels cite only literary figures such as Irving Kristol and Norman Podhoretz in their discussions and, while these men had definite opinions on foreign policy, they are more notable for their promotion of neoconservative positions than for their formulation and implementation of those positions.

What, then, do I have to say about neoconservatism's origins, characteristics and historical trajectory? I maintain that neoconservatism is a relatively small philosophical and political movement of European origins that, from 1945 on, sought to re-orient American policy away from containment and coexistence and toward confrontation and rollback. To elaborate on this thesis, I maintain that, as the exigencies and anxieties of the Cold War fostered new intellectual and professional connections between academia, government and business, three disparate intellectual currents were brought into contact: the German philosophical tradition of anti-modernism, the strategic-analytical tradition associated with the RAND Corporation, and the early Cold War anti-Communist tradition identified with figures such as Reinhold Niebuhr. Driven by similar aims and concerns, these three intellectual currents eventually converged into neoconservatism.[3]

[3] The literature on rollback is one of the smaller but more interesting subsets of Cold War studies. See: Robert J. Art, A Grand Strategy for America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Jeffrey Burds, The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2001); Sarah-Jane Corke, U.S. Covert Operations and Cold War Strategy: Truman, Secret Warfare and the CIA, 1945-53 (London: Routledge, 2007); Nicholas Ganson, The Soviet Famine of 1946-47 in Global and Historical Perspective (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Peter Grose, Operation Rollback: America's Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2001); Gregory Mitrovich, Undermining the Kremlin: America's Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1956 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Arnold Offner, Another Such Victory: President Truman and the Cold War, 1945-1953 (Stanford: Sanford University Press, 2002).

As these intellectual currents began to coalesce into neoconservatism, a singular set of characteristics began to emerge that are neoconservatism's defining features. The first of these characteristics is the emphasis on the importance of ideas. The neoconservatives believe that ideas—as opposed to economics, politics or religion—are the primary agents of historical change. As such, ideas can be wielded like weapons to destroy or promote evil and injustice in the world. As we shall see, this view derives from anti-modernism, which incorporates the Platonic view of certain ideas as universal and timeless; impervious to cultural, temporal or geographic context.

The second defining characteristic of neoconservatism is its millenarianism. Millenarianism, or the belief that humanity stands on the brink of some major transformation, has been manifested in neoconservatism as strong, almost apocalyptic sense of crisis. During the Cold War, this sense of crisis was driven by the belief that liberal democracy and Communism were engaged in a mortal conflict from which only one would emerge. This characteristic most likely also emerges from neoconservatism's anti-modernist origins. Born amid the chaos and upheaval of Weimar Germany, anti-modernism, as we shall see, was itself a response to social and political crisis. In the latter half of the twentieth century, neoconservative millenarianism was reinforced by the new dangers of Communist subversion and nuclear war.

Transformation is the third defining characteristic of neoconservatism. The neoconservatives assert that conflict is the primary—and in most cases the only—means of bringing about rapid, substantial and permanent social and political change. Although the neoconservatives believe that ideas are the primary agents of change, they see conflict as the means whereby ideas are interjected into social and political contexts. Originating in the

early neoconservatives' experience with the Hegelian and Marxist dialectic, transformation was the operational aspect of the neoconservative struggle against evil in the world.

To wage their crusade against evil, the neoconservatives sought to transform American political and strategic thought and policy. Driven by an urgent, millenarian sense of crisis, they rejected the basic assumption upon which U.S. foreign and security policy rested after 1945: that Soviet power and ambitions could be contained and deterred. Rather, they believed that the Soviet Union was a militant, incorrigible state bent on the destruction of the United States and the conquest of the world. They also believed that only an intense and sustained effort, aimed at rolling back and ultimately destroying Soviet Communism would allow Western civilization to survive. Although their arenas and tactics changed over time, the neoconservatives' basic strategy of effecting change through the power of ideas remained constant.

Although the neoconservatives were only partially successful in promoting their transformative project, their accomplishments are historically significant. Insofar as they did manage to interject their views and ideas into American political and strategic thought, the neoconservatives' intellectual energy helped discredit détente and arms control, and shift U.S. foreign policy toward a more confrontational stance vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, the neoconservatives institutionalized nuclear war-fighting (the idea that it is possible to fight and win a nuclear war) in U.S. strategic doctrine. In re-orienting U.S. policy in the 1970s, they also laid the foundations for the policies of the first Reagan Administration.[4]

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[4] Although there are no other studies of the precise nature of neoconservative ideas on U.S. foreign and security policy and how this influence was exerted, there does seem to be a general awareness that neoconservative thought was the major intellectual fount of the first Reagan Administration's foreign and security policy. See Frances Fitzgerald, Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan, Star Wars and the End of the Cold War (New York:

From a longer-term perspective, neoconservative thought lent a new impetus to that peculiar meliorist/militarist impulse that has long resided in American political thought. The neoconservative sense of crisis, along with their reification of military power, reinforced the tendency to see military solution to every international problem. At the very least, the neoconservative insistence for U.S. power to be employed in the service of justice has forever altered the intellectual topography upon which every subsequent presidential administration would operate. Future presidents who may believe that the United States has a moral obligation to use its power to destroy evil in the world can draw upon a powerful precedent. Conversely, those who do not believe that the United States has any such moral obligation will find it much more difficult to answer why America stands aside in the face of tyranny and aggression.[5]

To more fully explicate the origins, nature and evolution of neoconservatism, I will proceed as follows. The first chapter is a biographical treatment of Leo Strauss, a German-born professor of political philosophy. This chapter sets the stage by examining the characteristics and development of the philosophical component of neoconservatism, anti-modernism, through the lens of Strauss's life and career. The focus here will be on anti-modernism's origins in the context of inter-war Europe, Strauss's subsequent career in the United States and the effects of the burgeoning Cold War on anti-modernist philosophy.

Simon & Schuster, 2000); Stefan A. Halper and Jonathan Clarke, America Alone: The Neoconservatives and the Global Order (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[5] For more on the origins and development of American militarism, see: Richard Kohn, Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Origins of the American Military Establishment, 1783-1802 (New York: Free Press, 1975) and Chalmers Johnson, The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy and the End of the Republic (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004). For a Straussian perspective on American militarism, see Karl-Friedrich Walling, Republican Empire: Alexander Hamilton On War and Free Government (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1999).

The second chapter explores the earliest anti-modernist reaction to the Cold War and the initial attempts to transform American society. In the early days of the Cold War, the anti-modernist scholars began to argue that America would first have to eradicate the moral relativism that pervaded U.S. society before it would possess the moral clarity and courage necessary to undertake a successful crusade against Communism. In order to effect this transformation of American society, these early neoconservatives launched an intense polemical "war of ideas" within academia against political philosophies of the Left and Right. Although they met with some success early on, the massive social and political changes of the 1960s overwhelmed them and effectively put an end to their transformative project.

Chapters Three and Four are biographical treatments of the nuclear strategist Albert Wohlstetter and Dorothy Fosdick, the long-time chief of staff to Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson. An examination of their careers is crucial to understanding neoconservatism's evolution. Educated in the anti-modernist tradition, Wohlstetter and Fosdick brought an anti-modernist ethos to their respective fields. In so doing, they precipitated the melding of anti-modernist philosophy with other intellectual currents and the introduction of neoconservatism into the policymaking realm.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven, are studies of the neoconservatives in action from 1968 to 1976. Chapters Five and Six examines the neoconservative efforts to de-rail détente and arms control and re-orient U.S. foreign and security policy. I will argue in these chapters that the neoconservative campaigns against the Nixon and Ford Administrations' foreign policy played an important role in enlarging and consolidating the movement. I will also contend

that it was during this period that the neoconservatives were able to institutionalize their signature strategic concept of nuclear war-fighting.

Chapter Seven treats the more public aspects of the neoconservative movement from 1972 to 1980. This chapter focuses on Jackson's 1972 and 1976 campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination. It is my contention here that the neoconservative efforts to create a successful political narrative helped prepare the ground for Ronald Reagan's successful 1980 presidential campaign.

The structure and scope of this work has been, like all historical works, determined partly by the design of the author, partly by the vagaries of the story and partly by the availability of sources. While the first two factors are manageable, the last is sometimes not. This work has suffered some undesired constraint in its scope by the restriction of sources that were once available or about to be made available but were suddenly, and often inexplicably, withdrawn. Certain documents from the Nixon and Ford Administrations, for instance, were withdrawn without notice from National Archives between 2001 and 2004. The name file of Senator Henry M. Jackson from the Reagan Administration has been withheld by the Reagan Presidential Library, despite FOIA requests from myself and others. Certain folders from the personal papers of Mikhail Karpovich were restricted by Harvard University in 2004, and the Albert Wohlstetter Papers have only recently (2007) been deposited at the Hoover Institution, despite an announcement of deposit in early 2003. Even now, however, only 20 per cent of the Wohlstetter Papers are available, with boxes 1-61, 201-354, 385-754, 815-821 and 838-857 remaining closed. Although the reasons for this secrecy are not entirely clear, the overall impact on the scope of my project has been

relatively small. More specifically, instead of considering the evolution of neoconservatism through 1985, my analysis concludes in 1980.

Before beginning in earnest, however, I would like to briefly consider some of the more prominent misconceptions about neoconservatism in order to disassociate this work from them. Over the last few years, as the neoconservatives have risen to unprecedented preeminence in the second Bush Administration, a great deal of misinformation—and in some cases, outright disinformation—has been purveyed about neoconservatism and its origins. While most of this ink has been spilt for racist or partisan political reasons, some of these misconceptions about neoconservatism have proven quite resilient and merit some brief attention.

First, there are the troubling and absurd claims that neoconservatism is a "Jewish movement," a "cabal" and/or some sort of nefarious "conspiracy" aimed at advancing the interests of Israel. Such claims about neoconservatism, while a staple of the yellow press over the last two decades, have much more to do with ignorance and/or anti-Semitism than with history. While there are Jewish neoconservatives, their presence is largely reflective of the fact that the majority of the anti-modernist academics that fled Germany for America in the 1930s were Jewish. Once in America, they, like their students, tended to gravitate toward universities without Jewish quotas. As we shall see, neoconservatism has much more in common with Greek and German political thought and American anti-Communism than with Jewish theology or Israeli national interests.

The second main misconception about neoconservatism is that it is a form of conservatism. There are, however, significant differences between conservatism and neoconservatism. Traditional American conservatism has always purported to be non-

ideological, supportive of limited government and venerative of tradition. In regard to foreign policy, American conservatives have usually tended to view international activism skeptically. Conversely, neoconservatism is self-consciously ideological, and tends to view tradition as irrelevant. Indeed, the neoconservative emphasis on transformation is usually focused on the destruction of anachronistic customs and ideas. Moreover, the neoconservatives view a large, powerful central government as essential to bringing about change at home and abroad.

A third popular misconception conflates neoconservatism with Wilsonianism. Although both the Wilsonian tradition and neoconservatism favor activism abroad, Wilsonianism seeks to promote freedom and self-determination, usually through the agency of international institutions. The neoconservatives, however, do not share this faith in the wisdom of the masses or international institutions. Neoconservative activism is grounded in the perception that Western civilization has been, since classical times, under assault from various dark forces and that they, as a political and intellectual elite, are morally obligated to defend it. Self-determination, if it happens to result from neoconservative activism, is but a happenstance rather than a conscious objective. This conception of history as an endless, Nietzschean struggle has little in common with Wilsonianism or the general optimism that characterizes most American political thought. It has much in common with the fears and uncertainties that surrounded neoconservatism's origins in Weimar Germany. It is to those origins that we now turn.

Chapter 1

Confronting Modernity: Leo Strauss and the Origins and Effects of Anti-Modernist Philosophy

The ultimate triumph of modernity, Leo Strauss used to tell his students, would mean the end of all that is genuine, noble and great about civilization and the advent of a world in which there is "complete leveling and uniformity." "Regardless whether it is brought by iron compulsion or by soapy advertisement . . . it means unity of the human race on the lowest level, complete emptiness of life, of self-respect. Routine without rhyme or reason; no leisure, no concentration, no elevation, no withdrawal . . . no individuals and no peoples, only lonely crowds."[6]

This grim vision of the future, a future in which humanity has lost all awareness of the Good, the Beautiful and the True, is characteristic of Strauss's philosophy. A German-born professor of political philosophy, Strauss was a prolific author and tireless teacher. In Europe between the world wars, he was also one of the seminal figures in the development of anti-modernist political philosophy. In the 1930s, Strauss, along with Hans Jonas, Theodor Adorno, Hannah Arendt, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, Karl Löwith, Kurt Riezler, Jacob Klein, Kurt von Fritz, and Ernst Kapp, fled Nazi Germany for the United States. In so doing, Strauss and his fellow émigrés transplanted anti-modernism to America.

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[6] Leo Strauss, "Existentialism," lecture notes, 1960, box 7, folder 6, Leo Strauss Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. [Hereafter, "Strauss Papers"].

A singular view, anti-modernism is the philosophical foundation of neoconservatism. Derived from both the modern German and ancient Greek philosophical traditions, anti-modernism is characterized by three main precepts—idealism, moral clarity and transformation—each of which encodes a philosophical argument about human consciousness. The first of these, idealism, is the belief that there is an objective reality comprised of timeless, universal values, such as Good Evil and Justice, while moral clarity is the belief that humans possess the capacity to perceive the values of objective reality. Transformation is the belief that that rapid, substantial changes in human consciousness can occur that empower or preclude moral clarity, and that these changes manifest themselves in reality.

In anti-modernist thought, these precepts also interlock to constitute a narrative about the evolution of human consciousness that purports to explain the origins and effects of modernity. Briefly, this narrative proceeds from the position that humans were at one time endowed with nearly absolute moral clarity. Men were aware of, and cherished, the Ideas of the Good, the Just and the Noble. All aspects of human life reflected this awareness, including the highest filed of endeavor—politics. Over time, however, the baser passions began to erode moral clarity until the seventeenth century, when the idea of relativism appeared. Thus, relativism (that values are not timeless and universal but are dependent on context) was held by the anti-modernists to be the defining feature of modernity.[7]

Over the centuries, modernity became ever stronger and more pervasive. In so doing, modernity, the anti-modernists contend, precipitated the appearance of a series of progressively more nihilistic political systems: liberalism, fascism and Communism. The

[7] The anti-modernist view of history as an evolution of human consciousness is explored in Walther J. Stein, Das neunte Jahrhundert (Berlin: Orient-Occident Verlag, 1928); Julian Jaynes, The Origin of Consciousness in the Break-Down of the Bicameral Mind (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976).

appearance of each system signaled a new stage in the progressive loss of moral clarity and human degeneracy. Increasingly removed from objective truth, and increasingly hedonistic and materialistic, human society became was rapidly approaching the point where it would no longer be able to distinguish Good from Evil, the Noble from the Base, and Justice from the Injustice.

What then are we to make of anti-modernism? Why and how did it arise? How did it come to underpin neoconservatism? The life and career of Leo Strauss suggests answers. No other theorist, for example, can match the explicit starkness in Strauss's explications of modernity. Strauss's forceful and expansive body of work helped transport anti-modernism from Weimar Germany to the classrooms of America. Excepting the work of Hannah Arendt, Strauss conveys most sharply the sense of urgency and crisis that so typifies anti-modernist thought and that so appealed to many young converts in the early days of the Cold War.

Beginnings: The Making of an Anti-modernist

Leo Strauss (1899-1973), was born in 1899 in Kirchain, Germany to observant, but not strict Orthodox Jewish merchants. Although the small village of Kirchain was far from the political center of Berlin, and the elder Strauss, Hugo, was a grain merchant with little interest in politics, young Leo came face to face with some rather harsh political realities as a child of five or six. Russian Jews fleeing Tsarist pogroms passed through his village and his father gave temporary refuge to some in the family home. This experience evidently made a

very strong impression on Strauss. It was, he recounted years later, a strong lesson in the translation of ideas into politics.[8]

In an effort to understand the power of the ideas that underpinned the officially-sanctioned anti-Semitism of imperial Russia, Strauss, at the age of fourteen, began to "furtively" read Nietzsche. The great philosopher's unabashed exploration of human inequality intrigued Strauss, and as he engaged more deeply with Nietzsche, Strauss became enthralled by the power of his thought. He was, he recalled later, "dominated" and "bewitched" by Nietzsche. It is probably no exaggeration to conclude that with his encounter with Nietzsche's work, Strauss had found his calling. Moreover, throughout his career his philosophical vocabulary was characterized by many of the same themes that had concerned Nietzsche: the power of ideas, the alienation from bourgeois values, the effects of modernity and the human potential for spiritual and political transformation.

Strauss's political and philosophical coming of age was not, however, limited to the theoretical. In 1917, at the age of seventeen, he joined a Zionist youth group called "The Jewish Blue and White Travel League," (*Der Jüdischer Wanderbund Blau-Weiss*). Modeled on the neo-pagan, anti-Semitic German youth group, "The Migratory Birds," (*Die Wandervogel*), the League, like many other such groups, mixed religious mysticism and political activism. Politically, the group was situated on the radical fringes of German Zionism and sought to rally German Jews to the idea of a military conquest of Palestine. The group rejected the orthodox position that only the Messiah may re-establish Israel and

[8] Leo Strauss, "Why We Remain Jews," Leo Strauss: Political Philosopher and Jewish Thinker, ed. Kenneth L. Deutsch and Walter Nicgorski (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, Publishers, 1994), p. 44.

espoused the view that "the Jews should return to their land [in Palestine] with their heads up, but not by virtue of a divine act but rather of political and military action—fighting."[9]

In 1917 Strauss also began his academic career. He began attending the University of Marburg, where he came under the direction of Ernst Cassirer. One of the most prominent philosophers in Europe, Cassirer was the founder of the "Marburg school" of philosophy that sought to develop an empiricist philosophical epistemology modeled on the scientific method. Strauss's career at Marburg, however, was interrupted by military conscription in February 1918. Although he attempted to avoid service in the army by feigning appendicitis at his induction, the military doctors were not deceived and he was sent to Belgium as a French interpreter. Discharged from the German Army in November 1918, Strauss followed Cassirer to Hamburg, enrolled in the University of Hamburg and, in early 1919, began work on his dissertation.

Strauss's dissertation was entitled, "The Problem of Knowledge in the Philosophical Doctrine of F. H. Jacobi." The work considered the thought of the Dutch philosopher, Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza (1632-1677) in the light of the criticism leveled at him by the reactionary philosopher, Friedrich H. Jacobi. Generally regarded as one of the great rationalist forerunners of the Enlightenment, Spinoza was, and remains, a controversial figure. Alienated from Judaism, expelled from the synagogue and excommunicated by the Amsterdam synod in 1656 for his contention that Reason refutes the supernatural components of religion (such as prophecy and miracles), Spinoza's reputation was later rehabilitated by the Enlightenment rationalists of the eighteenth century. Jacobi, famous for coining the term "nihilism," was a vehement opponent of the Enlightenment who argued that

[9] Leo Strauss, Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity, ed. Kenneth Hart Green (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), p. 51.

Spinoza's thought was the precursor to the atheism and relativism he perceived in Enlightenment philosophy.[10]

The subject matter of Strauss's dissertation mirrored his own religious and political doubts during this time. He was by 1921 "a young Jew in the grip of the theologico-political predicament." This play on words by Strauss—he refers to the title of Spinoza's primary work, The Theologico-Political Treatise—refers to this internal conflict. Like Spinoza, he imagined himself caught between his loyalty to Judaism and an intellectual and political obligation to the truth. In Strauss's particular case, Judaism was a major component of his identity, yet he harboured serious doubts about the truth of religious revelation. This doubt was exacerbated by his personal attraction to Zionism. Zionist thought at the time rejected the traditional orthodox position that only the Messiah could re-establish Israel and any attempt to do so through human agency was blasphemous. Although he strongly believed that "trust in God instead of trust in one's own power and 'hardware'" (weaponry), would "effeminate" the Jews, and preclude the realization of a Jewish homeland, he retained misgivings. It was no easy decision to turn his back on one of the most sacred tenets of Orthodox Judaism. As a result, he, unlike Spinoza, did not choose a path and press boldly forth, but remained mired in uncertainty. While still at this intellectual impasse, Strauss encountered anti-modernism.[11]

A singular impulse within German philosophy, anti-modernism is a philosophical school that rejects the various intellectual, social, cultural, and/or political trends and events that have been defined as "modernity." Frequently appearing in conjunction with anxieties

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[10] "Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi," The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, ed. Edward N. Zalta [online] http://plato.stanford.edu, accessed July 17, 2007.

[11] Strauss, "Why We Remain Jews," p. 50; Strauss, Jewish Philosophy and the Crisis of Modernity, p. 460.

over rapid social and political change, anti-modernism has, paradoxically, also been associated with calls for transformative change. The eighteenth century German philosophers, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, for instance, identified modernity with the social and political upheavals of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic empire. In reaction, both men believed that German society could be redeemed and transformed through the power of ideas as expressed through the philosophical movement of Weimar Classicism.

The critique of modernity that emerged in the wake of World War I also appeared against the backdrop of great change and generalized anxiety. The national resentment fostered by the punitive Treaty of Versailles engendered fear in many quarters about Germany's political and economic future. There was also significant public concern over "degenerate" new forms in art and literature and new, more liberal social and sexual mores. By the early 1920s, these anxieties had begotten a significant political and philosophical reaction against modernity. Intellectuals such as Eduard Stadtler, Ernst Jünger, Moeller van den Bruck Carl Schmitt, Karl Haushofer, Oswald Spengler, Savitri Devi, Gershom Scholem, and Stefan George formulated critiques of modernity, which they defined in various ways. Writing and speaking from political "clubs," journals, and sympathetic organs like Hans Zeher's weekly, Action! (*Die Tat*), or in Haushofer's case, over the radio, the anti-modernists, or "neoconservatives" as some styled themselves, inveighed against "bourgeois . . . animal existence," "the decline of the West," "German spiritual exhaustion," "democratic dictatorship," "the dangerous vapours of socialism" and the "senseless plague of social leveling."

Interlaced with these critiques of modernity were calls for the transformation of society and the state that recalled the older Weimar classicist tradition's focus on ideas but were more overtly political. Refusing to identify themselves with those conservatives among the military, business and the *Junkers* that wished to restore the pre-war Wilhelmine Reich, the anti-modernists sought models for a new civilization in the dimly lit subterranean traditions of the past. Spengler, for instance, looked to the "high civilizations" of Babylonia, Egypt and ancient China. Scholem explored the recesses of Jewish mysticism in the ancient texts of the *Kaballah*. Jünger and Haushofer sought an escape from modernity in the half-mythical warrior cultures of the ancient Germanic tribes and feudal Japan.[12]

It was in this milieu that that Strauss met the man whose thought, along with that Nietzsche, was to be one of the great influences of his life: Martin Heidegger. Arriving at the University of Freiburg in 1922, Strauss's intention had been to study under Edmund Husserl, the founder of the twentieth century philosophical school of Phenomenology. Shortly after arriving at Freiburg, however, Strauss encountered Heidegger, then Husserl's protégé. A forceful, charismatic figure who always taught his classes dressed entirely in black, Heidegger immediately made a deep impression on Strauss. Strauss was also quite impressed by the circle of brilliant young students that surrounded Heidegger, such as Hannah Arendt, Karl Löwith, Gerhard Kruger, Herbert Marcuse,

[12] Dagmar Barnouw, Weimar Intellectuals and the Threat of Modernity (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 5; Ernst Junger, "Der Krieg als ausseres Erlebnis," Der Stahlhelm 1, 4 (September 1925): n.p.; Keith Stimely, "Oswald Spengler: An Introduction to His Life and Ideas," The Journal for Historical Review 16, 2 (March-April 1988): 2; Moeller Van den Bruck, Das Dritte Reich (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlag, 1932), p. 20; Carl Schmitt and Horst Gruneberg "Dictator ante portas," Die Tat 22 (June 1930): 195; Hans Zeher, "Revolution der Intelligenz," Die Tat 21 (October 1929): 502; Klemens von Klemperer, Germany's New Conservatism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 13-20, 101-119; David Thomas Murphy, The Heroic Earth: Geopolitical Thought in Weimar Germany, 1918 – 1933, 1933 (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997), pp. 1-80;

1.1 Leo Strauss

Strauss as a young man.

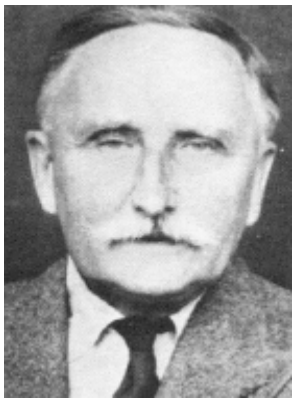
Strauss at Chicago in the early 1960s.

Strauss at the American Political Science Association, circa 1955.

1.2 Weimar Anti-modernists

Oswald Spengler
The original prophet of the Decline of the West.

Ernst Jünger
War hero, author of Storm of Steel, and Weimar neoconservative.



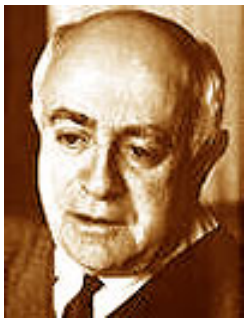
Gen. Karl Haushofer
Soldier, scholar and mystic, he pioneered political talk-radio. His theories of geopolitics were the source of the Nazis' idea of *Lebensraum*.

Carl Schmitt
Author of The Concept of the Political and Nazi official, he helped Strauss leave Germany before the war.

1.3 The Émigrés

Karl Löwith

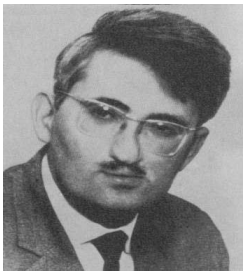
Hans Jonas



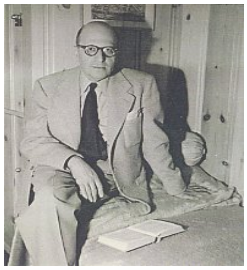
Theodor Adorno

Hans-Georg Gadamer

Karl Jaspers



Jurgen Habermas



Max Horkheimer

Hannah Arendt

Erich Voegelin

Herbert Marcuse

Hans-Georg Gadamer and Hans Jonas.[13]

Heidegger at the time was engaged in formulating a complex critique of modernity. Although he variously associated modernity with materialism, bourgeois religious values, mass culture, consumerism and technological determinism, Strauss considered Heidegger's concept of an "escape from the hermeneutic" to be at the core of his concept of modernity. According to Strauss, this "hermeneutic" held that at one time, human beings were free to interpret reality in a totally subjective, "authentic" manner. Beginning with classical Greek philosophy, the idea arose that reality existed independently of human action. Reinforced by the work of Christian philosophers such as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, the idea of an independent, external reality had metastasized into a state of affairs in which few individuals could perceive subjective reality. Reality thus became, for the majority of humans, a series of interpretations proffered by others from the moment of birth through tradition, custom and the structure of language itself.

For Heidegger, the path back to a totally subjective mode of thought led through classical and neo-Aristotelian philosophy. Employing an analytical technique that he called "deconstruction" (*destruktion*), Heidegger began the process of discovering a mode of thought free of all external mediations. This task, he claimed, involved a transformation of consciousness through the deconstruction of classical Greek thought. Moreover, Heidegger

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David Biale, Gershom Scholem: Kabbalah and Counter-History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 11-12.

[13] Richard Wolin, Heidegger's Children (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 1-21; Leo Strauss, Persecution and the Art of Writing (Glencoe, IL.: The Free Press, 1952), pp. 19, 35.

argued, could only begin in Germany because of the "special inner kinship between the German language and the language and thought of the ancient Greeks."[14]

The most immediate effect of his encounter with Heidegger was that Strauss began to formulate his own critique of modernity. His initial formulation, however, was much closer to Heidegger's student—and secret lover—Hannah Arendt than to that of Heidegger himself. While Heidegger associated modernity with a turn toward idealism, Strauss took an opposite tack. Whether a result of an intellectual convergence and/or his considerable romantic attraction to Arendt, Strauss also began to associate the advent of modernity with humanity's turn *from* idealism and the timeless objectivity of classical thought. Like Arendt, Strauss conceived of the crisis of modernity as a universal crisis of human consciousness—a crisis of moral clarity—that manifested itself in all human endeavors, particularly politics.

Strauss also seems to have begun to adopt and modify Arendt's conception of transformation. In Arendt's view, any "escape from modernity" would involve the appearance of new political forms and ways of thinking about them. Strauss accepted this view, but doubted that any new political form could ever appear that would not be "contaminated" by religion. While classical Greek philosophy represented, in his view, the most viable basis for a new polis, it too required faith, and an acceptance of metaphysical realm beyond human reason in which "things do not change." As Heidegger had pointed out, the metaphysical aspects of Plato were so integral to Platonic thought that they could not be separated from the system. Thus, he was left with Heidegger's conclusion that there was no

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[14] Martin Heidegger, "The Self-Assertion of the German University," Review of Metaphysics 38 (March 1985): 473; Hans Sluga, Heidegger's Crisis: Philosophy and Politics in Nazi Germany (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 37; Strauss, "Existentialism," Strauss Papers; Hugo Ott, Martin Heidegger: A Political Life, trans. Allen Blund (New York: Basic Books, 1993), p. 277; Catherine Zuckert, Post-Modern Platos (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 89; Martin Heidegger, Being and Time, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 43.

objective, universal reality beyond that perceived by the individual. Unable to accept religious faith, yet unable to discern an escape from modernity through Reason alone, Strauss found himself still trapped within his familiar "theologico-political predicament."[15]

The Break with Judaism and the Ongoing Development of Anti-Modernism

Upon taking his first academic position at the Free Jewish Academy (*Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus*) of Frankfurt in 1923, Strauss resolved to free himself from the personal and professional impasse of this "theologico-political predicament." Turning his back on Judaism, he returned to his career as a Zionist theorist and began to address Zionist youth groups and to write pro-Zionist articles. In these speeches and articles, he adopted an increasingly combative tone towards Orthodox Judaism, characterizing it at one point in Satanic terms as "the old Evil Enemy" (*die alt böse Feind*). He continued activities in this vein even after accepting a position at the prestigious orthodox institution, the Academy for the Science of Judaism (*Akademie für Wissenschaft des Judentums*) in Berlin in 1925.

Strauss's break with religion is also evident in his philosophical work of this period. In 1928 he completed his first book, Spinoza's Critique of Religion as the Foundation of His Bible-Science: Investigations into Spinoza's Theologico-Political Treatise. In Spinoza's Critique, Strauss posits the theory that Spinoza, as well as other seventeenth century critics of religion such as Uriel Da Costa, Isaac De La Peyrère, and Thomas Hobbes, were representatives of a tradition that could be traced back to the philosophy of Epicurus in the

[15] Leo Strauss, What is Political Philosophy? (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1959), p. 29; Hannah Arendt, Between Past and Future, (New York: Viking Press, 1961), pp. 28-9, 94; Jakub Franek, "Political Conditions of Philosophy According to Arendt," Inquiries into Past and Present, ed. D. Gard, I. Main, M. Oliver and J. Wood (Vienna: Institute for Human Sciences, 2005), pp. 2-4; Leo Strauss, "Three Waves of Modernity," Political Philosophy: Six Essays by Leo Strauss, ed. Hilael Gildin (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1989), pp. 82-86, 97-98; Strauss, Persecution and the Art of Writing, pp. 36-37.

third century B.C. All of these thinkers, Strauss argued, had believed that individuals and societies were much more peaceful and progressive without the "illusory hopes" of religion.[16]

In 1928, Strauss published an article that brought his career as a Zionist political theorist to an abrupt end. In a review of Sigmund Freud's "The Future of an Illusion," (*Die Zukunft einer Illusion*), he argued for an atheistic, political Zionism as the only means of overcoming the "deliberate [political] indecisiveness" that was engendered by religious piety. The article, however, was greeted by a short but intense backlash. Not only did many secular Jewish readers consider Strauss's work distasteful, but many of his fellow political Zionists were also unhappy with his article. German political Zionists had by now reached a sort of *rapprochement* with various religious leaders over the goal of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. Views such as those expressed by Strauss in his article, however, risked damaging this tenuous alliance, and he was ostracized from political Zionist circles. Although he continued to speak to Zionist youth groups, his burgeoning career as a prominent Zionist political theorist was, for all practical purposes, over.[17]

Returning to his research, Strauss began a study of the life and thought of the medieval rabbi, Moses Maimonides (1135-1204). Maimonides, a Spaniard who served as the court physician and philosopher to the Sultan of Egypt from 1165-1204, was of particular interest to Strauss because he claimed to have discovered a means of reconciling classical philosophy and the Bible. A typically anti-modernist project insofar as the objective was to recover the hidden knowledge of ancient traditions, Strauss's research did not yield its

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[16] Leo Strauss, Die Religionskritik Spinozas als Grundlage seiner Bibelwissenschaft: Untersuchungen zu Spinozas Theologisch-politischem Traktat (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1930), p. 86.

[17] Leo Strauss, "Die Zukunft einer Illusion," reprinted in Leo Strauss: The Early Writings: 1921-1932, ed. and trans. Michael Zank (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 75-129, 201, 203.

hoped-for treasure. Rather than a reconciliation of philosophy and religion, Strauss claims to have discovered the secret of esoteric writing.

A singular concept, esoteric writing is, according to Strauss, a device whereby Maimonides and other, earlier philosophers concealed profound truths among edifying but relatively innocuous statements, the juxtaposition of words, alpha-numeric codes, allegory, poetic imagery, seemingly obvious contradictions and/or omissions. Since the death of Socrates, Strauss reasoned, philosophers had often suffered for views that secular or religious authorities had considered seditious or heretical. Through esoteric writing, however, philosophers could hand down their knowledge to their successors without overtly revealing certain "dangerous" truths, such as the falsity of religion. When "packaged" within teachings that "are not properly true," the exoteric face of philosophy contributed to the social order by reinforcing the morality of the "vulgar" masses. Thus, religion could remain securely in place, serving to reinforce the needs of the state by advocating certain types of behaviour for the masses. Behind the scenes, however, the philosophers would remain dedicated to the cause of Reason.[18]

The discovery of esoteric writing seems to have served two purposes for Strauss. Most immediately, it may have been a way of soothing the psychological blow of having other Jews—other Zionists no less—so overwhelmingly reject his critique of religion. If the rebuff of his first professional works had given him something of a persecution complex, he would have quite naturally sought a means of justifying his work. Thus, instead of seeing himself as an obscure, junior academic who had been so foolish as to publicly denounce one

[18] Leo Strauss, Philosophie und Gesetz: Beiträge zum Verständnis Maimunis und seiner Vorläufer (Berlin: Schocken, 1935), pp. 23,73, "The Mutual Influence of Theology and Philosophy," The Independent Journal of Philosophy 3 (1979): 111-118, Persecution and the Art of Writing, p. 19, 35, "Exoteric Teaching," lecture and notes, n.d., box 14, folder 12, Strauss Papers.

of the world's great religions in the charged political atmosphere of 1928 Berlin, he was able to see himself as one of a long line of philosophers persecuted for speaking the truth. Indeed, as we shall see in the next chapter, Strauss was to resurrect the image of the persecuted philosopher more than once in his career.

Philosophically, esoteric writing also suggested a way out of Heidegger's conundrum involving Plato's metaphysics. Heidegger had maintained that the Platonic system's dependence on faith in an intelligent higher power (as symbolized by the gods) disqualified it as political philosophy. If, however, the metaphysical elements were merely the exoteric outer garb of Platonic thought, the whole system need not be discarded. Indeed, Strauss had also come to believe that the classical philosophers had not chosen to conceal their thought behind metaphysical elements willy-nilly. Metaphysics was not simply a useless study of "things that do not change," but an esoteric doctrine in itself. For Strauss, the metaphysics of the pre-modern philosophers symbolized the universal and unchanging attributes of human consciousness. The classical philosophers, aware that not all humans possessed similar capacities for Reason, had simply seen fit to encode their truths in the politically useful imagery of religion.[19]

The discovery of esoteric writing also prompted Strauss to wonder why modernity had come to represent such a threat to philosophy. If the esoteric tradition had allowed philosophical truths to survive over millennia in the very bosom of various hostile religions and political systems, why should the "fact" of the esoteric tradition itself now be forgotten? Yet now in the present age it seemed to be precisely the case that the *practice* of philosophy, as well as its truths, seemed on the verge of being lost forever. The threat was clearly

[19] Strauss, Persecution and the Art of Writing, p. 121.

qualitatively different. But how? What was different? When did the threat arise? How could it be combated?

Musing on these questions, Strauss arrived at the conclusion that the idea of historicism was responsible for obscuring the memory of the esoteric tradition. Historicism (belief that an idea cannot reasonably claim to be valid beyond its particular historical time), was readily recognizable to Strauss in the work of Heidegger, Nietzsche and before him, Hegel. He had, however, also become convinced that historicism pre-dated Hegel, and was probably a product of the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment itself appeared, he suspected, as a result of an earlier attack on the classical notions of universalism (that ideas are changeless across cultures and places) and essentialism (that there are characteristics or properties that any thing of a given sort must have).

Believing that he had identified the "mechanisms" of modernity, Strauss turned to seeking the origins of relativism, historicism and nominalism. He concluded that ideas so exquisitely inimical to philosophy had not arisen by sheer accident. To Strauss these ideas seemed the result of conscious, malicious intent by someone well versed in philosophy. He set about identifying this unknown malefactor.[20]

Strauss's efforts to identify the unknown author(s) of modernity were rewarded in 1931. He had become acquainted with the work of the German legal scholar, Carl Schmitt. Schmitt, a friend of Herman Goering, was preparing to publish a book entitled, The Concept of the Political (*Der Begriff des Politischen*). In this work, Schmitt argued that conflict, particularly violent conflict, is the essence of politics. Liberal democracy, insofar as it strives to suppress armed conflict through tolerance, accommodation and negotiation, denies the natural human proclivity for war, and in do doing denies that which is the very essence of

[20] Ibid, pp. 19, 35.

politics and of human nature. This denial of reality by liberalism had not, in Schmitt's view, removed the proclivity for conflict from human nature—indeed, it could not be removed—but it had obscured it. This obfuscation had, in turn, resulted in a lack of understanding of political things and would inevitably result in a completely unified, pacified world in which neither morality nor any of the nobler human qualities could ever be reaffirmed. In such a world, Schmitt maintained, all "serious" human endeavors would be reduced to "entertainment." Only by returning to a Hobbesian "state of nature" could human beings be free to act according to their true nature.[21]

Taken with Schmitt's thought, Strauss wrote a complimentary review of The Concept of the Political almost as soon as the book appeared in 1932. In this review, Strauss agreed with Schmitt's thesis that the modern phenomenon of liberalism obscured the political in a way inimical to human life. Strauss, however, took issue with Schmitt's contention that only a return to a Hobbesian "state of nature" could restore an awareness of the concept of the political. As Strauss observed, Hobbes had denied that humans were naturally social and political. Therefore, a return to a Hobbesian state of nature, or war of all against all, would not restore human awareness of the political but reduce men to the level of beasts. In such a world, Strauss maintained, none of the noble qualities that Schmitt extolled, such as courage, honor, and loyalty would be possible. Indeed, Strauss began to suspect not only that had Schmitt erred in looking to Hobbes's conception of nature for human salvation. Hobbes's conception of nature and human nature was in fact the intellectual foundation of modernity. Although he did not develop this idea in his review of Schmitt, he hinted at his next course of

[21] Strauss, Spinoza's Critique of Religion, p. 31; Carl Schmitt, Der Begriff des Politischen (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1932), pp. 4. 9.

action in the next-to-last line with the assertion that "a radical critique of liberalism is only possible through an adequate understanding of Hobbes." [22]

Before Strauss could undertake any serious study of Hobbes, he encountered Hannah Arendt in Berlin in early 1932. Arendt, who had completed her dissertation in 1929, was doing research in the Prussian Library, as was Strauss. Meeting in the library over several weeks, Strauss and Arendt engaged in frequent political discussions. In the course of these talks Strauss often expressed admiration for the various right-wing political parties that were increasingly visible in the Weimar government. Eventually, he mustered the courage to declare his romantic admiration for Arendt. Although she was married to the professional Zionist, Gunther Stern, Strauss was emboldened by Stern's absence from Germany. Arendt, however, not only spurned his advances, but also roundly criticized his political views by pointing out how ironic it was that he would support political parties that would have "no room for a Jew like him." [23]

Hard on the heels of his rejection by Arendt, Strauss was confronted with the possibility of dismissal from the *Akademie*. Financial problems at the institution were making his position increasingly tenuous, and in 1931 he applied for a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship. Schmitt himself supplied a letter of recommendation for the fellowship, as did his former advisor, Cassirer. Awarded the Rockefeller Fellowship, Strauss spent the rest of 1932 in Paris completing the research for his book on Maimonides.[24]

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[22] Leo Strauss, "Anmerkungen zu Carl Schmitts Der Begriff des Politischen," Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik 67, 6 (August-September 1935): 732-749.

[23] Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, Hannah Arendt: For the Love of the World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 97.

[24] Heinrich Meier, Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: the Hidden Dialogue, trans. J. Harvey Lomax (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995), p. 127.

In early 1933, Strauss resumed his research on the thought of Hobbes. His work, however, was interrupted by two developments. The first of these events was marriage. While in Paris he had become re-acquainted with a woman that he had previously met in Berlin, Marie Bernsohn, a widow with a twelve-year-old son, Thomas. The relationship blossomed and they were married on June 20, 1933. The second development confronting Strauss in the summer of 1933 was employment. He was nearing the end of his Rockefeller Fellowship and, given the social and political climate in Germany, felt that he would be unable to secure employment there should he return. Deciding to apply for a second Rockefeller, he wrote to Schmitt for another letter of recommendation. Schmitt once again supplied one and Strauss was awarded a second fellowship for 1934. He wrote to Schmitt telling him that he intended to use the fellowship to travel to England and continue his study of Hobbes.[25]

Arriving in England in January 1934, the Strauss family took a flat in a boarding house that faced the British Museum. While awaiting permission from the Duke of Devonshire to examine Hobbes's papers in the library at Chatsworth, Strauss divided his time between research at the British Museum and English lessons. Obtaining permission from the Duke to use the Chatsworth Library in February, Strauss undertook one of the most extensive examinations of Hobbes ever done. At one point he even discovered some unknown materials that may have been Hobbes's earliest writings.

In his work on Hobbes, The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Genesis, Strauss argued that modern philosophy had not simply lost sight of the ancient truths, but had consciously rejected them, beginning with the seventeenth century English philosopher,

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[25] Joachim Lüders and Ariane Wehner, Mittelhessen - eine Heimat für Juden? Das Schicksal der Familie Strauss aus Kirchhain (Marburg, Germany: Gymnasium Philippinum, 1989), p. 50; Meier, pp. 127-128.

Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes, Strauss maintained, was quite aware of what the ancients had written. The secretary to Sir Francis Bacon was a learned man who had in fact read the philosophers of classical antiquity in the original Greek and Latin and was the first to translate Thucydides into English. Indeed, there appears to have been little doubt in Strauss's mind that Hobbes, like Spinoza, was an initiate who had not only understood the esoteric nature of classical thought, but also realized that he was writing in direct contradiction to it.[26]

According to Strauss, Hobbes understood the classical view of man's relationship with Nature and accepted them. He was, for example, aware that Nature was the seat of the Ideas, the "universal principles," such as Justice and Good. Hobbes also knew that while few men were capable of directly perceiving the Ideas, the timeless truths nevertheless played an important role in maintaining social order. The myths and illusions fostered by religion—such as Divine Right, Heaven and Hell—were crude reflections of Nature's universal principles. It was these myths and illusions, reinforced by the exoteric writings of the philosophers, that had maintained the social order for a millennium.

Hobbes, Strauss maintained, consciously set out to modify this state of affairs. Shocked by the ferocious, uncompromising nature of the English Civil War, Hobbes came to believe that religion and tradition had lost their power to contain the passions of men. As a result, he sought a more stable and lasting basis for political and social order. Hobbes's solution was to denounce the illusions of religion and posit his terrifying vision of Nature as a war of all against all. Only the fear of violent death, Hobbes believed, could hold human passions in check and maintain an orderly society. Hobbes thus presented men with a choice:

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[26] Leo Strauss, "Historicism and Modern Relativism," 1956, box 11, folder 11, Strauss Papers, On Tyranny, ed. Victor Gourevitch and Michael S. Roth (New York: The Free Press, 1991), p. 223; S.P.L., "Review of The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Genesis," The Journal of Philosophy 34, 3 (February 4, 1937): 75; Leo Strauss, The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Basis and Genesis, trans. Elsa M. Sinclair (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

live in a totally free but lawless and violent "state of Nature," or voluntarily forego absolute freedom and submit to the civil authority of the state. In return for this submission, the state would provide security of one's person and property.

In Strauss's view, all of Hobbes's claims regarding human nature and politics derived from his rejection of the classical conception of Nature. In order to raise the specter of his brutal, animalistic "state of Nature," Hobbes consciously set out to destroy the idea of a world governed by Reason, in accordance with Natural Law. To accomplish this transformation, he declared that there could be no benign state of Nature governed by Reason because all human decisions are, in the absence of civil law, reflections of our "Appetites and Aversions, Hopes and Feares." Reason would not necessarily lead men to Good because, Hobbes maintained, there simply was no Good or Evil independent of human action. Moreover, Hobbes argued, Reason does not govern human passions and impulses, but serves them by suggesting possibilities for the realization of individual desires.

Hobbes's redefinition of Good and Evil had, in Strauss's view, "laid the foundation of modern relativism." The demotion of the objective Platonic Ideas of Good and Evil to the status of mere adjectives—good and bad—meant that they would henceforward mean only what humans want or need them to mean. This redefinition, in turn, wrought a "sea-change in the human imagination" that culminated in "a new moral attitude." Politically, this transformation manifested itself as the abandonment of Natural Law in favor of natural right. Natural Law, which Strauss claimed exists prior to, and independent of human thought and will, imposes duties and obligations on men by virtue of their place in Nature's hierarchy. Conversely, Strauss viewed natural right as a subjective claim that emerges from the human will, not as an inalienable right, as the Enlightenment philosophers held. While Hobbes had,

to be sure, posited only one natural right, the right to life, this had been sufficient to set men on a path of successive, subjective claims of right which terminated in the denial of every natural restraint.[27]

Upon the completion of The Political Philosophy of Hobbes, Strauss suspended his research in order to find employment. Strauss's friend, Gershom Scholem, a prominent scholar of Jewish mysticism, had been engaged in securing a prestigious appointment for Strauss in religious studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Strauss's antagonism toward Judaism, however, proved to be his undoing. His earlier criticisms of religion, as well as his decision to include a copy of his anti-religious Philosophy and Law with his application, caused Hebrew University to reject him. Strauss's actions, Scholem told his former student Walter Benjamin, amounted to "the suicide of a capable mind."[28]

As 1936 dawned, Strauss's luck appeared to have finally run out. Unable to return to Germany and unable to secure work in an England preoccupied with the growing German threat across the Channel, Jerusalem had represented his last, best chance for obtaining a permanent position. Now that it had vanished, Strauss was left almost entirely without prospects. He had no income, and his family was subsisting on a grant from the board of Cambridge University. With nowhere left to turn, Strauss decided to seek employment in the United States. Leaving his wife and stepson behind in England, he set out for America.[29]

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[27] Leo Strauss, "The Origins of Modern Political Thought," lecture, 1949., box 14, folder 11, Strauss Papers; The Political Philosophy of Hobbes, pp. vii-viii, xv, 25, 50, 100-102.

[28] Gershom Scholem, The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin and Gershom Scholem 1932-1940, ed. Gershom Scholem, trans. Gary Smith and Andre Lefevere (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 156-157.

[29] Hildegard Korth, The Guide to the Leo Strauss Papers, 1978, n.p., Strauss Papers.

Strauss in America: The Evolution of Anti-Modernism and the Critique of Liberalism

When Strauss and his fellow anti-modernists began to arrive in America in the 1930s, they found to their consternation that the field of political science dominated by empiricism. The dominant methodology within the natural and social sciences, empiricism emphasizes observation, statistical and quantitative data rather than the intuitive, theoretical reasoning favored by the anti-modernists. Ironically, empiricism's dominance was a product of an earlier wave of German political thought that had reached American shores in the late nineteenth century. The fathers of modern political science in the United States, Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Woolsey, John Burgess, Charles E. Merriam, and Westel Willoughby, were trained and widely read in the historicist German "statecraft" (*Staatswissenschaft*) tradition of von Rotteck, von Treitschke, von Schmoller, Dilthey, von Stein, Sombart, and Weber. Focusing on pragmatic, utilitarian knowledge, *Staatswissenschaft* insisted on a methodological distinction between facts and values, and rejected classical political philosophy's concern with absolute, "foundational" knowledge.[30]

From a practical perspective, the empiricists' primacy within the academy affected the émigrés' prospects for employment. While some, such as Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno had arrived in America with a promise of employment in hand, others, such as Hannah Arendt, Franz Neumann and Herbert Marcuse, took jobs outside of academia or worked as temporary lecturers, as did Erich Voegelin and Arnold Brecht. Strauss, for his part, found a temporary position in the History Department of Columbia University for the

[30] Bernard Crick, The American Science of Politics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 37-48, ; Jürgen Herbst, The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), pp. 128-129; Woodrow Wilson, "Working Bibliography 1883-1890," The Papers of Woodrow Wilson: Vol. 6, ed. Arthur Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 562-611; John Dewey, The Collected Works of John Dewey: The Later Works, v. 5, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), pp. 147, 190.

fall of 1937. To his dismay, however, he soon discovered that he was not expected to teach political philosophy, but rather the history of political philosophy. His experience was not a happy one and only reinforced his conviction that American society was firmly in the grip of modernity. The teaching of political philosophy was, in Strauss's view, an exercise in the discernment of truth rather than a history lesson. "To replace a doctrine which claims to be true by a survey of more or less brilliant errors," he was later to say of his experience as an historian, was "an absurdity."

Strauss's situation, however, soon improved, personally and professionally. He was not only joined in America by his family later that year, but was also able to secure a less onerous job. His friend Harold Laski, a noted Marxist political theorist at the London School of Economics, prevailed upon the director of the New School for Social Research, Alvin Johnson, to hire Strauss. Johnson, the creator of the famous "University in Exile," hired Strauss as a visiting lecturer of Political Science in the fall of 1938. Although it was not a permanent position, his appointment lasted ten years. During this time the small but exceedingly loyal school known as the "Straussians" began to emerge around Strauss and his teachings.[31]

Once ensconced at the New School, Strauss was also able to turn his attention to the small but intense debate over the future of liberalism that was building within various intellectual quarters. The severe social and economic problems of the interwar period, as well as the rise of fascism and the growing power of the Soviet Union had made many Americans pessimistic about liberalism's prospects for survival. Clarence Skinner of the

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[31] John G. Gunnell, The Descent of Political Theory: The Genealogy of an American Vocation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 179, 183-188; Strauss, The City and Man, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963), p. 8; G.L. Fonseca and Leanne Ussher, "Economics at the New School for Social Research," The History of Economic Thought, [online] http://cepa.newschool.edu/het/schools/newsch.htm (January 16, 2007).

Tufts School of Religion probably spoke for many Americans when he observed in 1937 that "the *Zeitgeist* seems to be something other than liberalism." Some Americans, such the intellectuals that clustered around the political and literary quarterly, Partisan Review, such as Max and Yetta Shachtman, James Cannon, Philip Rahv, and James Burnham, saw socialism as the future. Even the most optimistic observers of contemporary events, such as the philosopher John Dewey, were only slightly more sanguine. Liberal democracy, Dewey argued, would "probably" survive the twentieth century, if the Western democracies were willing to commit to "intense effort" and "constant social experimentation."[32]

Strauss and the other anti-modernists offered a much grimmer assessment. For them, liberalism was not so much in crisis as a symptom of the larger crisis of modernity. As a form of modernity, liberalism was the ideological precursor to Communism and fascism—the "the first wave of modernity," in Strauss's words—and would inevitably (according to Strauss, Voegelin, Horkheimer and Marcuse), or probably (according to Arendt, Jonas and Löwith), give way to more tyrannical regimes or, at best, anarchy. Any experimentation with social welfare programs, economic reforms or tinkering around the edges of the American political system would, therefore, only delay the day of reckoning.

Western civilization's best hope, according to the anti-modernists, lay in the complete political and philosophical "transformation of Western society as a whole." Although they

[32] Clarence R. Skinner, Liberalism Faces the Future (New York: Macmillan Company, 1937), p. 105; Leon Harrison, Religion of a Modern Liberal (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1931); Bruce W. Brotherston, A Philosophy for Liberalism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1934); T.V. Smith, Creative Skeptics in Defense of the Liberal Temper (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); "The Strategic Liberty of Liberalism," International Journal of Ethics 46, 3 (April 1936): 330-349; The Promise of American Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); William Pepperell Montague, "Democracy at the Crossroads," International Journal of Ethics 45, 2 (March 1935): 138-169; John Dewey, "The Future of Liberalism," The Journal of Philosophy 32, 9 (25 April 1935): 225-230; William Ernest Hocking, "The Future of Liberalism," The Journal of Philosophy 32, 9 (25 April 1935): 230-247; John Herman Randall, "Liberalism as Faith in Intelligence," The Journal of Philosophy 32, 10 (May 9, 1935): 253-264; Ogden L. Mills, Liberalism Fights On (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938); S.M. Berthold, Thomas Paine: America's First Liberal (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1938); Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1939); Fred G. Bratton, The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943).

differed in their foci and specific prescriptions for a new *polis*, almost all envisioned a nation purged of relativism and socially and politically organized according to Natural Law. Education, they believed, would be a crucial component of this transformation, particularly the initiation of future political leaders into anti-modernist thought through immersion in the "Great Books." According to Arendt, this journey "into the depths of the past" would allow successive generations to re-create the ancient *polis* "not in order to resuscitate it the way it was and to contribute to the renewal of extinct ages, but to help it survive in new crystallized forms and shapes." [33]

The anti-modernist attack on liberalism was greatly aided by the financial resources and intellectual support of some social and religious conservatives. The initial link between the émigrés and American religious conservatives was Waldemar Gurian, the founder of the journal, The Review of Politics. Gurian, a Russian émigré who had converted from Judaism to Catholicism while studying under Carl Schmitt, had arrived in America in 1935 and secured a faculty position at Notre Dame in 1937. His primary patron at Notre Dame and in the founding of the journal was Clarence Manion, the powerful Dean of the Notre Dame School of Law. As anti-modernist writings began to appear in The Review, the intellectual affinity between Manion and the anti-modernists began to deepen.[34]

By the 1940s, the assault on liberalism was joined by a handful of young scholars, such as Richard Weaver, John Hallowell, and Robert Nisbet. Writing from an anti-modernist perspective, these men, like their anti-modernist elders, looked to the past for an escape from

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[33] Hannah Arendt, On Revolution (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 262-264.

[34] Young-Bruehl, p. 99; Heinz Hürten, Waldemar Gurian: Ein Zeuge der Krise unserer Welt in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag, 1972), pp. 12-13; Joseph Bendersky, "The Expendable Kronjurist: Carl Schmitt and National Socialism, 1933-1936," Journal of Contemporary History 14, 2 (April 1979): 309-328.

modernity. Weaver, a student of Voegelin's at Louisiana State University and later a faculty member at Chicago, argued for a return to the "filial piety" that he believed had characterized "the last anti-materialist civilization in the Western World"—the antebellum South. Similarly, Hallowell, in his published dissertation, The Decline of Liberalism, excoriated liberalism and argued that Nazism had not simply supplanted liberalism in Germany but was its very consequence. Voegelin wrote a complimentary review of the young Duke political scientist's book, but offered the opinion that "the author does not go quite far enough in his description of the problem." Nisbet, for his part, added a sociological perspective to this emerging critique with an article that traced the roots of liberalism, fascism and Communism—"the politicization of the social world"—to the thought of Machiavelli, Hobbes and Rousseau.[35]

These first anti-modernist critiques of liberalism were sufficiently intense to cause noticeable rumbling across the field. In 1943, in an attempt to get some sense of the nature and causes of the discord that was brewing between "liberal" and "normative" political scientists, William Anderson, chairman of the Social Science Research Council, asked the Political Theory Panel of the APSA to conduct a research symposium aimed at identifying "major trends in the thought of the panel." In 1944, after combing through the mountain of correspondence generated by his solicitations, the chairman of the Panel, Francis G. Wilson

[35] Richard Weaver, Ideas Have Consequences (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); Willmoore Kendall, "Ideas Have Consequences," The Journal of Politics 11, 1 (February 1949): 261; John Hallowell, "The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology, with Particular Reference to German Politico-Legal Thought," University of California Publications in Political Science 1, 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), pp. xiv, 146, "The Decline of Liberalism," Ethics 34, 2 (April 1940): 323-349; Robert Nisbet, "Rousseau and Totalitarianism," The Journal of Politics 5, 2 (May 1943): 96. See also: Francis G. Wilson, "Human Nature and Politics," Journal of Politics 8, 4 (November 1946): 478-498; Robert Nisbet, The Quest for Community: A Study in the Ethics of Order and Freedom (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953); Eric Voegelin, "A Review of John Hallowell's The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology, with Particular Reference to German Politico-Legal Thought," The Journal of Politics 6, 1 (February 1944): 107-109; E. Jordan, "The False Principle of Liberalism," International Journal of Ethics 46, 3 (April 1936): 253-275; Charner Perry, "The Forms and Substance of Liberalism," International Journal of Ethics 46, 3 (April 1936): 276-291; Virgil Michel, "Liberalism Yesterday and Tomorrow," Ethics 49, 4 (July 1939): 417-434.

of the University of Illinois, reported to the association that a controversy existed in the field between "theorists of classical natural law and natural rights." Wilson, a member of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists for the Advancement of Conservative Thought on American College Campuses (ISI) and the National Republican Coordinating Committee, also left no doubt as to which side he favored, finding that "the so-called detachment of social scientists is a product of philosophical ineptitude." Wilson closed his report with the recommendations that closer scrutiny be paid to the classical "texts of the great thinkers," and that "there should be a frontal assault by political theorists and their graduate students on tracing the emergence of interpretations and values in American political society."[36]

Strauss's main contribution to the anti-modernist critique of liberalism was a short, one-hundred-six page book entitled On Tyranny: An Interpretation of Xenophon's Hiero. Although it purported to be an interpretation of an obscure, fragmentary work, Heiro, by the rascally Athenian general and philosopher, Xenophon, the work is really a lengthy and forceful anti-modern, anti-liberal polemic. In On Tyranny Strauss makes the forceful and chilling assertion that liberalism bears a measure of responsibility for the birth, survival and aggressiveness of fascism and Communism. According to Strauss, the Western democracies were unable to perceive the true nature of the radical regimes that arose in Germany and

[36] Francis G. Wilson, "The Work of the Political Theory Panel," The American Political Science Review 38, 4 (August 1944): 727, 731; Biographical note from "Finding aid to the Francis G. Wilson Papers," University of Illinois Archives, University of Illinois Urbana-Champagne, Urbana, IL. See also: Francis G. Wilson, "Revolt of the Sophists," The Intercollegiate Review 3, 2 (November-December 1966): 666-744, "Liberalism and American Government," The Intercollegiate Review 5, 1 (Fall 1968): 57-63, "Reclaiming the American Political Tradition," The Intercollegiate Review 7, 4 (Spring 1971): 153-158; John G. Gunnell, "American Political Science, Liberalism, and the Invention of Political Theory," The American Political Science Review 82, 1 (March 1988): 71-87; William F. Whyte, "Instruction and Research: A Challenge to Political Scientists," The American Political Science Review 37, 4 (August 1943): 692-697; John H. Hallowell, "Politics and Ethics," The American Political Science Review 38, 4 (August 1944): 639-655.

Russia and, as a result, allowed them to survive when they might have strangled Communism and fascism in their cradles.[37]

While On Tyranny does not appear to have garnered much attention within academia, the book did make a significant impression on the young president of the University of Chicago, Robert Maynard Hutchins. On Tyranny as well as Strauss's fifteen book reviews and nine journal articles demonstrated a distinct classical orientation that greatly appealed to Hutchins, an ardent supporter of "conversations with the Great Books." Hutchins had also strove mightily to displace the Dewey-esque pragmatism that had long held sway in the Political Science department, and Strauss's presence would bolster his efforts. Taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the retirement of Charles Merriam, Hutchins invited Strauss to come to Chicago and interview for a position in the Political Science Department. [38]

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[37] Leo Strauss, On Tyranny: An Interpretation of Xenophon's Hiero (New York: Political Science Classics, 1947), pp. 2, 23, 177.

[38] Leo Strauss, review of Maimonides, The Mishneh Torah, Book 1, ed. Moses Hyamson, Review of Religion 3, 4 (May 1939): 448-56; "The Spirit of Sparta or the Taste of Xenophon," Social Research 6, 4 (November, 1940): 502-536; review of The History of History, by James T. Shotwell, Social Research 8, 1 (February, 1941): 126-127; review of Plato Today, by R. H. S. Crossman, Social Research 8, 2 (May, 1941): 250-251; review of Studies in the History of Political Philosophy, by C. E. Vaughan, Social Research 8, 3 (September, 1941): 390-393; review of Von Hegel bis Nietzsche, by Karl Löwith, Social Research 8, 4 (November, 1941): 512-515; "Persecution and the Art of Writing," Social Research 8, 4 (November, 1941): 488-504; "The Literary Character of The Guide for the Perplexed," Essays on Maimonides, ed. S. W. Baron (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), pp. 37-91; review of Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern, by C. H. McIlwain, Social Research 9, 1 (February, 1942): 149-151; review of Spinoza and Religion, by E. E. Powell, Social Research 9, 4 (November, 1942): 558-560; review of De Laudibus Legum Angliae, by Sir John Fortescue, ed. S. B. Chrimes, Columbia Law Review 43, 6 (September, 1943): 958-960; review of German Philosophy and Politics, by John Dewey, Social Research 10, 4 (November, 1943): 505-507; "The Law of Reason in the Kuzari," Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research 13 (1943): 47-96; "Farabi's Plato," Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), pp. 357-393; "On Classical Political Philosophy," Social Research 12, 1 (February, 1945): 98-117; review of Errores Philosophorum, by Giles of Rome, ed. John O. Riedl, Church History 15, 1 (March, 1946): 62-63; review of Machiavelli the Scientist, by Leonardo Olschki, Social Research 13, 1 (March, 1946): 121-124; review of The State in Catholic Thought: A Treatise in Political Philosophy, by Heinrich A. Rommen, Social Research 13, 2 (June, 1946): 250-252; review of Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas, ed. Anton C. Pegis, Social Research 13, 2 (June 1946): 260-262; "On a New Interpretation of Plato's Political Philosophy," Social Research 13, 3 (September, 1946): 326-367; review of The Classical Republicans: An Essay on the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth Century England, by Zera S. Fink, Social Research 13, 3 (September, 1946): 393-395; review of The Myth of the State, by Ernst

Strauss visited Chicago for the first time in the summer of 1948. Armed with letters of recommendation from three of the leading lights of the London School of Economics, Michael Oakeshott, R.H. Tawney and Ernest Barker, Strauss arrived on campus six hours early. Morgenthau, who was serving as acting chair of the department, took him to Hutchins's office and introduced him. A half-hour later, Strauss left as a full Professor of Political Science, and with a salary that, as Shils recalled, was "more than anyone else in the department was getting."[39]

Chicago: The Cold War and Anti-modernism's Aristotelian Turn

Strauss's arrival at the University of Chicago signaled a new visibility for anti-modernism. Despite their prolific writing, the anti-modernists had toiled in relative obscurity. As one of America's foremost universities with a large and well-respected philosophy program, Chicago represented a much more prominent academic stage. This fact was not lost on Strauss, who possessed an exceptional appetite and unique talent for self-promotion. Indeed, by the end of his first year, Strauss had acquired a number of admirers among his colleagues at Chicago.

His most ardent followers, though, were his students. Although Strauss was, according to his adopted daughter Jenny, a "small, unprepossessing and, truth be told, ugly

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Cassirer, Social Research 14, 1 (March, 1947): 125-128; review of Grundlinien der antiken Rechtsund Staats-philosophie, by Alfred Verdross-Rossberg, Social Research 14, 1 (March, 1947):128-312; "On the Intention of Rousseau," Social Research 14, 4 (December, 1947): 455-487; "How to Study Spinoza's Theologico-Political Treatise," Proceedings of American Academy for Jewish Research 17 (1947): 69-131; University of Chicago, "The University of Chicago Faculty: A Centennial View;" pt. 1, chapters 8, 12; "The Presidents of the University of Chicago," pt. 4, chapter 5 of The University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1992), pp. 112, 213.

[39] Gunnell, p. 213; M.A. Boar, M.E. Jewel, and M.E.L. Sigelman, ed. Political Science in America: An Oral History of a Discipline, ed. (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1991), p. 111; Edward Shils, ed. Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists and Scholars (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991), p. 494.

man . . . with none of the charisma that one associates with 'great teachers,'" his ability to command the loyalty of his students was legendary. An avid fan of the popular television show, "Gunsmoke," Strauss would often discuss the various episodes with students as introductory segues to that day's lecture. He also seems to have had an understanding of stagecraft. Edward Banfield, a student in the first class Strauss ever taught at Chicago in 1949, recalls the first day of class:

> Strauss was manifestly uneasy. He fiddled with an unlit cigarette; obviously he wanted very much to smoke. (This I later learned, was not a matter of habit; he suffered from asthma, and medicated cigarettes, ten a day, had been prescribed to make his breathing easier). But there was a sign on the wall: *No Smoking*. What to do? I ended the impasse by taking the sign down.

After Banfield had resolved Strauss's smoking dilemma, Strauss launched into a lengthy discussion of the differences and similarities between law, custom and justice, using the sign as a foil. Later, Banfield and other students realized that the whole scene had been staged by Strauss as a device to focus their attention on the question at hand. [40]

Strauss also proved to be a loyal and valuable ally to Hutchins. Shortly after Strauss's arrival in Chicago, Hutchins's "Great Books" program came under fire from some social and religious conservatives. Uninformed and unsure about the neo-classical bent of the program, some conservatives pulled their children out of the university. One such

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[40] English and German-made medicated cigarettes were sold in the United States until the mid-1950s under such trade names as, "Potter's Asthma Cigarettes," Schiffmann's Asthmador," and "Blosser's Mixture." Most of these products contained various mixtures of tobacco, menthol, camphor, atropine (an anti-spasmodic compound derived from the Deadly Nightshade plant, *Atropa belladonna*), stramonium (a narcotic-like substance derived from Jimson weed, *Datura stramonium*), and the herbal expectorant, Coltsfoot (*Tussilago farfara*). Jenny Strauss Clay, "The Real Leo Strauss," The New York Times, June 7, 2003, p. 13; Kenneth W. Thompson, "The Writing of Politics Among Nations: Its Sources and Its Origins," in Truth and Tragedy, ed. Kenneth W. Thompson and Robert J. Myers (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1984), p. 16; Korth, n.p; Edward C. Banfield, "Leo Strauss," in Shils, pp. 491-492.

concerned parent was the drugstore magnate, Charles Walgreen, who came to believe that his daughter was being indoctrinated with Communism and notions of "free love." Walgreen's concerns prompted investigations by the *Chicago Tribune* and the Illinois State Legislature. Brushing aside the investigations, Hutchins focused on the parental faction. Meeting with Walgreen, Hutchins not only managed to convince him that the charges of Communist subversion were unfounded, but also persuaded him to sponsor an annual lecture series—the Walgreen Lectures—that would extol and elevate the values of democracy and capitalism. Although there was little time to prepare, Strauss volunteered to deliver the entire inaugural lecture series in three parts over several days. [41]

Eventually published as Natural Right and History, the Walgreen lecture is one of Strauss's most significant works and a pivotal text in the evolution of anti-modernism. Its thesis, that transformation at home is a necessary precondition to Cold War victory, reflects concern with the politics of the present as opposed to the loftier theoretical concerns that had heretofore been the anti-modernists' stock and trade. The book, however, goes beyond the demand for transformation to prescribe precisely *how* America must change. As such, it represents the first stage in anti-modernism's evolution into a political movement.

Despite its importance in the Straussian and anti-modernist corpus, Natural Right is a maddeningly complex work that simultaneously elaborates on and departs from Strauss's earlier works. As in On Tyranny, Strauss makes the case that relativism is responsible for a progressive moral blindness afflicting the West. Unlike the earlier work, however, Strauss does not explicitly attack liberalism. Rather, he focuses his fire on empiricism and

[41] Gunnell, p. 221; Ellen Schrecker, No Ivory Tower (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 68-70; University of Chicago Library, "The University of Chicago Faculty: A Centennial View;" pt. 1, pp. 11-23; Benedict Ashley, "How the Liberal Arts Opened My American Mind," Occasional Papers on Catholic Thought and Culture, 11, 2 (September 2008): 2.

historicism in the first part of his lecture (and subsequent book). According to Strauss, the long-time academic primacy of empiricism and historicism has resulted in generations of Americans being trained to think in relativist terms that he variously characterizes as "political hedonism," "permissive egalitarianism" and "modern natural right." Indeed, he maintains that relativism has become so deeply embedded in American intellectual life that the nation has arrived at a crisis—"the crisis of modern natural right"—whereby all values have begun to appear as equal and society no longer recognizes any authoritative means of adjudicating between values. [42]

As a remedy for the progressive moral blindness that he has described, Strauss calls for a return to the ancient faith of "classical natural right" that he claims informs the Declaration of Independence. Although this promotion of liberal democratic values seems straightforward enough, it is quite uncharacteristic of anti-modernist writing in general and of Strauss in particular. A close reading reveals that Strauss's newfound affinity for liberalism is more apparent than real, in that he intentionally obscures his argument. In order to understand how and why, a brief examination of the intellectual and political context is in order. Only against this backdrop is it possible to fully grasp Strauss's argument and understand the import of the work.[43]

The Walgreen lectures and Natural Right are not simply the products of a single idiosyncratic writer, but reflect an intellectual current within anti-modernism: the Aristotelian turn. A reaction to the Cold War, the Aristotelian turn seems to have been inspired by Aristotle's investigations into the relationship between a theoretical, perfect society and real-world politics. As such, the Aristotelian turn implied a focus on the practical application of

[42] Strauss, Natural Right and History (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 13, 108, 169.

[43] Ibid, pp. 1-2, 5-7, 18, 169, 251.

classical ideas and values against the threat of Communism. For many of the anti-modernists, this turn from the theoretical to a concern with the "state in action," represented a return to the sort of "applied" philosophy that had characterized the work of the first Weimar anti-modernists, such as Jünger, Haushofer and Schmitt.

From another perspective, the Aristotelian turn appears as an effort concerned with avoiding charges of disloyalty by aligning their work with the new political orthodoxy that was emerging in Europe and America. Given the political climate in the United States in 1949—the "Year of Shocks"—this fear is certainly understandable. Foreign-accented criticisms of liberalism, laced with references to Marx, Nietzsche and Heidegger could have easily invited charges of "un-Americanism." Conversely, denunciations of methodological concepts were unlikely to stir strong feelings among non-specialists.

Whether one ascribes the changes in the anti-modernists' writings to the new Aristotelian focus or to fear and cynicism, it is clear that many of them abandoned the critique of liberalism by 1948. They now began to produce analyses purportedly aimed at strengthening the national moral fabric and/or understanding America's enemies. Löwith, Jaspers and Jonas, for instance, began to write about the nature of political freedom, ethics and the obligations of citizenship. Wittfogel examined the primordial militarism of ancient China for clues to the nature of modern Chinese authoritarianism. Arendt, meanwhile, explored the common origins of Nazism and Stalinism in European culture.[44]

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[44] Karl Löwith, Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949); Karl Jaspers, The Perennial Scope of Philosophy (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1949), On the Origins and Goals of History (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1949), Reason and Anti-Reason in Our Time (London: S.C.M. Press, 1952); Hans Jonas, "Causality and Perception," The Journal of Philosophy 47, 11 (May 25, 1950): 319-324; Karl A. Wittfogel, History of Chinese Society Liao, 907-1125 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949); Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt, 1951), "Authority in the Twentieth Century," Review of Politics 18, 4 (October 1956): 403-417.

The turn from the liberal critique was, of course, more genuine for some than for others. Strauss, Horkheimer, Kapp, von Fritz, Ehrmann, Voegelin, and Riezler, do not appear to have so much abandoned the critique of liberalism as obscured it. As a result, their works from the immediate post-war period are filled with jargon, misnomer and symbolism. Horkheimer seems to have gone so far as to omit an entire chapter from a book already slated for publication because it seemed to praise Marxism. There is also some evidence that he suppressed the publication of fellow Frankfurt Institute member Erich Fromm's groundbreaking survey, German Workers 1929 — A Survey, Its Methods and Results because of its Marxist overtones. [45]

For his part, Strauss appears to have adopted the esoteric writing technique that he claimed to have discovered in Maimonides. Aside from serving as political camouflage, adoption of esoteric writing was in all likelihood deeply symbolic for him personally. Only philosophers, he believed (as opposed to mere scholars), had the need and occasion to write esoterically in order to counsel rulers in times of great social and political upheaval. Viewed

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[45] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, Dialektik der Aufklärung (Amsterdam: Querido Verlag, 1947); Richard McKeon, "Economic, Political and Moral Communities in the World Society," Ethics 57, 2 (January 1947): 79-91, "The Philosophic Bases and Material Circumstances of the Rights of Man," Ethics 58, 3 (April 1948): 180-187, "Conflicts of Value in a Community of Cultures," Journal of Philosophy 47, 8 (April 13, 1950): 197-210; E.A. Shils, "Social Science and Social Policy," Philosophy of Science 16, 3 (July 1949): 219-242; Leo Strauss, lectures: "History of Political Ideas," 1949, box 9, folder 1, n.p., "The Origin of Modern Political Thought," 1949, box 14, folder 11, Strauss Papers; "On Locke's Doctrine of Natural Right," Philosophical Review 61, 4 (October 1952): 26, Natural Right and History, pp. 12-34; Ernst Kapp and Kurt von Fritz, Aristotle's Constitution of Athens and Related Texts (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1950); John H. Hallowell, Main Currents in Modern Political Thought (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1950); Kurt Riezler, Man Mutable and Immutable: The Fundamental Structure of Social Life (Chicago: Henry Regnery & Co., 1950); Henry W. Ehrmann, "The Zeitgeist and the Supreme Court," Antioch Review 11, 4 (Winter 1951): 424-436; Harry V. Jaffa, Thomism and Aristotelianism: A Study of the Commentary of Thomas Aquinas on the Nicomachean Ethics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952); Erich Voegelin, The New Science of Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), "The Oxford Political Philosophers," Philosophical Quarterly 3,11 (April 1953): 97-114; Manley Thompson, "On Aristotle's Square of Opposition," Philosophical Review 62, 2 (April 1953): 251-265. See also: Aristotle and Modern Politics: The Persistence of Political Philosophy ed. Aristide Tessitore (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002); Colleen K. Flewelling, The Social Relevance of Philosophy: The Debate Over the Applicability of Philosophy to Citizenship (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005); Richard Pells, The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s (New York: Harper & Row, 1985); Wolfgang Bonss, Introduction to Erich Fromm's The Working Class in Weimar Germany, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 90.

from this perspective, Walgreen ceases to be a mere exercise in scholarship, but a practical political act of the first order.

Strauss also seems to have believed that esoteric writing could, in modern time, served a pedagogic function. More specifically, Strauss held that the perceptual skills required to "decode" esoteric writing were invaluable for the practice of politics. By developing the student's eye for subtlety and fostering sensitivity to the slightest change or omission in the text, the writer was honing those intuitive abilities that characterize the most able politicians. In short, the work provides instruction in politics that goes beyond the content of the text.

In order to better understand this technique, as well as support my interpretation of Strauss's meaning, a brief examination of some of the esoteric features of Natural Right is in order. For example, a close reading reveals that Strauss substituted "modern natural right" and "classical natural right" as proxies for liberalism and Natural Law, respectively. By placing quotes from, and references to the Declaration of Independence in close proximity to the phrase "classical natural right," Strauss creates the impression that "classical natural right" is identical to the Lockean conception of natural rights (life, liberty and property) that is traditionally ascribed to the American Founders. His subsequent characterization of Locke as a central figure in the emergence of modernity militates against this interpretation, however. Conversely, Strauss associates "modern natural right" with the individual freedoms that inform the Lockean conception. He then denounces Locke as a purveyor of modernity.[46]

Using Strauss's substitution device, it is possible to discern the familiar critique of liberalism. Liberalism (disguised as modern natural right), he claims, is weakening the

[46] Strauss, Natural Right and History, pp. 5-7, 18, 169, 251.

national moral fabric. Strauss's conception of what this general claim means in the context of the Cold War is not difficult to imagine. Americans, increasingly enslaved by materialism and individualism, are unable to conceive of any values, beyond their own desires and possessions, that they regard as non-negotiable and, presumably, for which they would be willing to fight to the death. This paucity of shared, non-negotiable values opens the door to the possibility of subversion and tyranny at home. In terms of foreign affairs, the lack of shared values deprives the country of the unity, determination and sense of purpose that Strauss sees as necessary for America to defeat Communism.

As a remedy for this national moral torpor, Strauss calls for a return to the "ancient faith" of "classical natural right." Yet, as we are now aware, this return does not entail a re-commitment to the Lockean values of the American Founders. Rather, Strauss obliquely points the way to a solution: the transformation of the American regime. Although Strauss does not elaborate on the idea of the regime in the Walgreen lectures or Natural Right, it is a concept that is central to his argument. Therefore, some definition is warranted here.

The concept of the regime (*politea*) is a complex idea drawn from Aristotle. It does not, as in modern-day usage, refer strictly to a state's form of government (*politeuma*), but to the essential being—the essence—of a given society or "city" (*polis*). As such, the regime constitutes an organic whole that encompasses all aspects of the life of the city. Viewed through the prism of the regime, the modern boundaries between culture, domestic politics and foreign affairs have no meaning. In his monumental work, Politics, Aristotle speaks of the regime taking many forms. The perfect form that exists only in the realm of ideas is the "best regime." Perfectly organized according to Natural Law, the best regime is ruled by philosopher-kings and is completely and utterly dedicated to the cause of Justice and Good.

Insofar as the best regime cannot exist in the material world, however, Aristotle also posits an imperfect material manifestation of the best regime that he calls the "best practical regime." The best practical regime is a state ruled by an aristocratic elite who are guided behind the scenes, by the philosophers.[47]

Strauss places the concept of the regime at the center of his argument by declaring it the locus of the sea-change in human consciousness effected by the founders of modernity. Indeed, he claims that the "revolutionists" of the Enlightenment recognized the import of the regime and, as a result, expended a great deal of time "distorting and denying" the very idea of a theoretical socio-political ideal, or the regime. Thus, the regime would also be the locus of the transformative change that will allow an escape from modernity.[48]

On a practical level, Strauss's scathing attack on empiricism and historicism suggests that he envisioned undermining liberalism through the educational system. While a frontal assault on liberalism would have required a political and social effort on a national scale—something the anti-modernists clearly lacked the capacity to initiate—a campaign against empiricism and historicism could be launched from the writing desk and the classroom. Such a line of attack would also be consistent with the hierarchical view of society harbored by Strauss and many of his fellow anti-modernists. By shaping the outlooks and opinions of the next generation of business, academic and political leaders, Strauss and his colleagues aspired to effect a "top-down" transformation of the American regime.

Although it is hard to envision how, in and of itself, academic instruction in classical Greek philosophy could bring about a transformation of consciousness, I maintain that it is

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[47] Aristotle Politics, III-IV, trans. and ed. Richard Robinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

[48] Strauss, Natural Right and History, pp. 8, 15, 102, 136-144, 155-157, 167, 185, 191, 193, 286; "Historicism and Modern Relativism," 1956, Strauss Papers.

not so much the content of classical philosophy that Strauss sought to promulgate as the ancient modes of thought. The essentialist outlook, the claims of moral clarity through objectivity, the focus on duty at the expense of individuality, and the unquestioning obedience to authority—an authority held to be decreed by Nature herself—would seem to represent an ideal superstructure for the construction of a national ideology. Such an explicit, uncompromising ideology would presumably instill the iron resolve and sense of common purpose that Strauss and his fellow travelers believed to be the necessary if America was to defeat Communism. [49]

The anti-modernists were, of course, not alone in their conviction that America would have to change if it was to survive the Cold War. As the anti-Communist consensus began to solidify in the late 1940s, many all along the political spectrum became increasingly willing to tolerate a more militarized and/or less politically and intellectually diverse society or even a more authoritarian form of government. Indeed, even Walter Lippmann, the founding editor of the liberal New Republic praised Natural Right as an antidote to "excessive progressivism." Few, however, could have conceived of the sort of sweeping regime-change envisioned by Strauss. As we shall see in the next chapter, fewer still matched the determination of Strauss and the other anti-modernists to bring about this transformation.[50]

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[49] Strauss, "The Origin of Modern Political Thought," 1949, box 14, folder 11, Strauss Papers; "On Locke's Doctrine of Natural Right," Philosophical Review 61, 4 (October 1952): 26.

[50] Stephen B. Smith, Reading Leo Strauss: Politics, Philosophy and Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 3.

Chapter 2

A War of Ideas: Anti-Modernism, the Cold War and the Transformation of the American Regime

"You son-of-a-bitch!" Professor Willmoore Kendall shouted into the telephone to Alfred Whitney "A. Whit" Griswold, the President of Yale University, during a drunken late night call from Madrid. "I know you hate my guts. I know it! Well, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. I'll let you buy back my tenure for $50,000!" Less than a week later, Kendall and Yale had agreed on $42,500.00, to be paid in five yearly installments, as the price of his tenure. Less than a month later, in June 1961, Kendall received the first of his $8,500.00 tenure buy-out checks from Yale.[51]

Willmoore Kendall, ex-Trotskyite, ex-OSS officer, co-founder of the National Review had, to be sure, engendered the ill will of his colleagues for years with his abrasive personality and strident anti-Communism. "Possessed" (in the words of his friend George Carey) "of a raging compulsion to expose error," he regularly engaged students and faculty alike in exhausting, impromptu philosophical and political debates that usually concluded with Kendall reducing his opponent to shocked silence. After he loudly and publicly began advocating a "preventative war" against the Soviet Union, the university administration insisted that Kendall take paid leave every other year. Indeed, he had been on leave in

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[51] Jeffrey Hart, "The 'deliberate sense' of Willmoore Kendall," The New Criterion 20, 7 (March 2002): 76; Willmoore Kendall to Leo Strauss, Madrid, May 10, 1961, Willmoore Kendall: Maverick of American Conservatives, ed. John A. Murley and John E. Alvis (Lanham, MA: Lexington Books, 2002), pp. 234-235.

Spain—where he had been instrumental in getting Strauss's Thoughts on Machiavelli translated and published in Spanish—when he had placed his fateful call to Griswold.[52]

It was, however, Kendall's loud and constant disparagement of empiricist social science that was at the root of his fatal conflict with the administration. A friend and devotee of Leo Strauss, Kendall, like Strauss, regarded the empiricists' distinction between facts and values as symptomatic of "modern Western man's" increasingly rapid descent into the abyss of moral relativism. Eventually, Kendall believed, the Western nations would no longer possess the moral clarity and courage to resist Communism. From a contemporary political perspective, empiricist scholars were almost by definition engaged in an immoral and disloyal promotion of Soviet ambitions. In a department that aspired to a nationally leading position in empiricist social science, such views, more than anything else, alienated Kendall's faculty colleagues and culminated in the university's extraordinary decision to accept his offer to purchase his tenure.

The bitter contentiousness surrounding Willmoore Kendall's career and departure from Yale is emblematic of the bitter and irreconcilable nature of the "war of ideas" that occurred within the field of American political science from the late 1930s to the mid-1960s. Precipitated by an intense and polemical critique of liberalism by the émigré scholars Leo Strauss, Karl Löwith, Hans Jonas, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Theodor Adorno, Jürgen Habermas, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, Hannah Arendt and Eric Voegelin and their American adherents in the 1930s and early 1940s, the dispute initially pitted the anti-modernists against empiricism, the dominant methodological school within political science.

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[52] Hart; Rafael Calvo-Serer, "They Spoke for Christian Europe," National Review (July 27, 1957): 109 [Hereafter NR]; Willmoore Kendall to Leo Strauss, Madrid, October 27, 1959, Murley and Alvis, pp. 209-210; George H. Nash, "The Place of Willmoore Kendall in American Conservatism," Willmoore Kendall: Maverick of American Conservatives, pp. 1-15.

The end of World War II seemed to bring the anti-modernist critique of liberalism to a halt. As the Soviet-American rivalry intensified in the late 1940s, open attacks on liberalism risked the appearance of treason. This pause, however, was more apparent than real. The anti-modernists continued the critique of liberalism by attacking empiricism. Initially, the main thrust of the anti-modernist argument was that empiricism fostered a pernicious relativism that was undermining the national moral fabric. Eventually, the anti-modernist intensified their accusations and began to conflate empiricism with Communism. Amid the anxious political atmosphere of the 1950s, they met with some success as anti-modernist accusations prompted Congressional hearings into the loyalty of various empiricists.

The 1950s and 1960s saw a widening of the "war," as two emergent philosophical and political views, the New Conservatives and the New Left, were drawn into the fray. Although they were almost complete opposites in their views, the New Conservatives and the New Left shared two similarities: both favored a populist, "grass-roots" participatory form of democracy, and both rejected the anti-Communist activist foreign policy of the Truman and Johnson Administrations. Drawing the anti-modernists' fire for precisely these reasons, first one, then the other faction engaged the anti-modernists in what amounted to a death struggle. The conflict would not end until the early 1970s, with the collapse of all three factions as well as the anti-modernist project of transformation.

Although anti-modernism did not survive long past the early 1970s, the War of Ideas was, nonetheless, a significant moment in the evolution of neoconservatism for several reasons. Most obviously, as the intellectual conflict spread beyond the walls of academia to the halls of Congress, the anti-modernist transition from philosophical school to political

movement that had begun in 1949 was accelerated. This transitional period also saw the formation of the first alliances between nascent neoconservatives and religious conservatives.

Most importantly, however, the War of Ideas brought about an increased focus on, and heightened awareness of foreign affairs among the anti-modernists and their students. Although Strauss, Voegelin, Horkheimer and their fellows had always viewed events through the prism of the Aristotelian regime, the collapse of the transformational project they had begun in 1949 seemed to turn their views increasingly outward. Indeed, in the twilight of his career, Strauss was able to lend anti-modernism a new and final impetus as he initiated a Thucydidean turn that continues to inform neoconservatism to this day.

Anti-Modernism, Empiricism and the Politicization of Philosophy

The Aristotelian turn that the anti-modernists had initiated in the late 1940s was not long in gathering momentum. By the dawn of the 1950s, it was evident that there were a sizeable number of both liberal and conservative scholars, in various academic fields, who viewed relativism as "spiritual disarmament." While there may have always been a latent antipathy toward empiricism within American academia, a great many of these men were probably influenced by the tenor of the times. This is, of course, certainly understandable. Against the backdrop of the Nuremburg trials and the Stalinist system, relativism suddenly appeared much less a harmless methodological assumption than a monstrous moral abdication.[53]

As if they sensed this new upwelling of support, the anti-modernists began to intensify their assault on empiricism. Some began to wonder aloud whether empiricist

[53] Peter Novick, That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 281-285, 287, 290.

political science crossed the boundary between "loyal" and "non-loyal" inquiry. Voegelin, for instance, asked if some political theorists were not "actively engaged, with the best of consciences, in the destruction of the civilization that we praise, like any Communist or National Socialist?" Similarly, Strauss argued that by abandoning the search for what is "true and noble" in favor of the pursuit of utilitarian facts, the empiricist social scientist becomes, in effect, a potentially disloyal mercenary. According to Strauss:

> The empirical social scientist lays himself open to the suspicion that his activity as a social scientist serves no other purpose than to increase his safety, his income, and his prestige, or that his competence as a social scientist is a skill that he is prepared to sell to the highest bidder. Honest citizens will begin to wonder if such a man can be trusted, or whether he can be loyal, especially since he must maintain that it is as defensible to choose loyalty as one's value as it is to reject it.[54]

In 1952, the anti-modernists attempted to strike a more substantive blow at empiricism by convincing anti-Communist crusaders in the Congress that value-free social science was the equivalent of disloyalty. The vehicle for the attack on empiricism was the Special Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, headed by U.S. Representative

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[54] Abram Kardiner, "Western Personality and Social Crisis," Commentary (November 1, 1949): 23-29; Edward Shils, "Social Science and Social Policy," Philosophy of Science 16, 3 (July 1949): 219-242; C.B. Macpherson, "A Disturbing Tendency in Political Science," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 16, 1 (February 1950): 98-106; Leo Strauss, "Review of John Locke's Political Philosophy by J.W. Gough," American Political Science Review 44, 3 (September 1950): 767-777, "Natural Right and the Historical Approach," Review of Politics 12, 4 (October 1950): 422-442; Felix Oppenheim, "Relativism, Absolutism and Democracy," American Political Science Review 44, 4 (December 1950): 951-960; David Easton, "Harold Lasswell; Policy Scientist for a Democratic Society," Journal of Politics 12, 3 (August 1950): 450-477, "The Decline of Modern Political Theory," Journal of Politics 13, 1 (February 1951): 36-58; Herbert Fingarette, "How Normativeness Can Be Cognitive But Not Descriptive in Dewey's Theory of Valuation," Journal of Philosophy 48, 21 (October 1951): 625-635; J. Roland Pennock, "Political Science and Political Philosophy," American Political Science Review 45, 4 (December 1951): 1081-1085; Abraham Kaplan, "The Study of Man: Sociology Learns the Language of Mathematics," Commentary (September 5, 1952): 3-27; Eric Voegelin, "The Oxford Political Philosophers," The Philosophical Quarterly 3, 11 (April 1953): 112; Leo Strauss, What is Political Philosophy? (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1959), pp. 348-349; Howard White, "The Problem of Loyalty in American Political Thought," paper delivered at the convention of the American Political Science Association, 1953; Walter Berns, "Freedom and Loyalty," The Journal of Politics 18, 1 (February 1956): 18; Paul F. Lazersfeld and Wagner Thielens, The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958).

Eugene E. Cox (D-Georgia). Chartered in 1952 to investigate Communist subversion of the major philanthropic foundations, Strauss's supporters sought to alter the committee's focus from an effort to uncover Communist infiltration, to an examination of how empiricism furthered Communist aims. In a letter to Cox's aide, Edward C. Kennelly, William T. Couch, the former president of the University of Chicago Press and a Strauss ally, urged the committee to look into the "ways of thinking" that had allowed "half of Europe and all of China to be captured by the Communists." "Communism as a conspiracy in the United States," Couch wrote, "is a serious problem, but it is of minor importance in comparison with this problem."[55]

Kennelly and Cox, however, did not heed Couch's suggestion and the Cox Committee focused on uncovering infiltration and subversion of the foundations by Soviet agents, rather than on the subversive nature of American social science. Even so, the committee uncovered no Soviet agents at work in the foundations, and the hearings culminated with the incredible sight of Chairman Cox earnestly inquiring of John D. Rockefeller III if the family, the Rockefeller Foundation, or any of its directors had ever, to his knowledge "undertaken any action that might tend to undermine the capitalist system."[56]

The following year, as the House convened under a new Republican majority, the Special Committee was reconstituted under Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R-Tennessee), who altered the committee's investigational focus along the lines suggested by Couch. Indeed, one of the new investigators, George de Huszar (a doctoral student of Strauss's and faculty member at the University of Chicago), wrote to Couch to assure him that he and fellow

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[55] William T. Couch to Edward C. Kennelly, November 10, 1952, folder 80, William T. Couch Papers #3825, General Manuscripts, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. [Hereafter, "Couch Papers"].

[56] Lally Weymouth, "Foundation Woes: The Saga of Henry Ford II," New York Times, March 12, 1978, p. 26.

investigator Karl Ettinger (a former of colleague and friend of Strauss's at the New School), would not simply "chase a few second-level Communists, but would try to appraise the whole problem of American intellectual life." Reece, vowing to uncover the "diabolical" Communist conspiracy in what he termed "socialist science," managed to make rather more headway than the predecessor Cox Committee. Focusing on specific social science research projects funded by the foundations, Reece delved into the ways in which "our basic moral, social, economic, and governmental principles can be vitally affected" by social science research methodologies.

Two of the more egregious examples in the eyes of the Special Committee involved projects supported by the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations: Gunnar Myrdal's groundbreaking economic study, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy; and Alfred C. Kinsey's Rockefeller-supported research into human sexuality. Reece argued that by supporting these and similar projects, the foundations and the researchers were engaged in a "conscious plan" to exercise "thought control," influence American society "in the direction of some form of collectivism," and promote "a generally 'leftist' approach to international problems." "Empirical methods," the Committee concluded, had, for some time, "promoted a general deterioration of moral standards" in America which weakened the nation and created an atmosphere more conducive to the promotion of socialist ideas.[57]

[57] U.S. Senate Historical Office, "Major Senate Investigations: A Selected List," May 2004; Harry D. Gideonse, "A Congressional Committee's Investigation of the Foundations," The Journal of Higher Education 25, 9 (December 1954): 457-463; Letter from George de Huszar to William T. Couch, May 31, 1953, Couch Papers; Norman Dodd, "Report of the Staff of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives to investigate Tax Exempt Foundations," 30 April 1954, reprinted in John Lankford, Congress and the Foundations in the Twentieth Century (River Falls, WI: Wisconsin University Press, 1964), p. 18; New York Times, "Karl Ettinger, 69, Business Expert, Teacher on Management and Writer Dies," September 26, 1969, p. 47.

Despite its "incredible and ominous" findings, the Reece Committee was forced to adjourn in August 1954. Congressman Reece blamed a combination of factors for the Special Committee's demise. The McCarthy dreadnought had, at long last, begun to run aground in the Senate, and the "liberal press" now felt free, according to Reece, "to throw its editorial power against the Committee." There was also the "antics" of fellow committee member Rep. Wayne A. Hays (D-OH), who constantly disrupted the proceedings to denounce the "crackpot views" driving the investigations.[58]

The most significant factor in ending the hearings, however, appears to have been the pressure exerted by the Eisenhower Administration. In February 1954, in what appears to have been a shot across the bow, the president fired Clarence Manion from his post as Chairman of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations without explanation. Manion, the former Dean of the Notre Dame Law School, had been an ardent and vocal supporter of both Reece and McCarthy. Although it is unclear whether the House leadership took its action at the president's behest or simply took the hint, Manion's firing was immediately followed by the rescinding of the Special Committee's funding a full five months ahead of the original appropriation.[59]

Although the foundation hearings proved to be only a glancing blows against the social sciences, the anti-modernist conflation of empiricism with disloyalty had borne some fruit. The hearings had attracted the attention of religious and social conservatives, many of whom did not seem to completely fathom the philosophical bases of the Reece Committee's

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[58] Rene A. Wormser, Foundations: Their Power and Influence (New York: Devin-Adair, 1958), p. 9.

[59] "Manion Ousted by White House as Head of Governmental Survey," New York Times, February 17, 1954, p. 1; George de Huszar to William T. Couch, January 3, 1955, #3825, folder 80, Couch Papers, folder 80, Couch Papers; Lankford, p. 18; Weymouth, p. 26; C.P. Trussell, "Foundations Help Subvert the Country, House Study Says," New York Times, December 20, 1954, p. 1.

investigation. While men such as Clarence Manion, Willmoore Kendall and William Couch almost certainly grasped the "ways of thinking" that were at issue, others embraced the liberal-empiricist-Communist conflation because it because it served more basic political interests. Governor Luther Hodges of North Carolina, for instance, and the Attorney General of Georgia, Eugene Cook, believed that that empiricist social science had "effected [sic] our American way of thinking, including that of the Supreme Court," and fueled desegregation efforts in the South.[60]

It is also unlikely that men such as Robert Welch, or Frank Cullen Brophy grasped the nature of the anti-modernist critique. Indeed, Welch, the founder of the ultra-conservative, anti-Communist John Birch Society, and Brophy, a wealthy Phoenix banker and the primary patron of both Welch and Sen. Barry Goldwater, embraced the anti-modernist conflation primarily because they despised President Eisenhower. In their view, Eisenhower's behind-the-scenes role in ending the foundation hearings was just more proof that the president was "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." The political philosopher Russell Kirk, a pragmatic New Conservative, defended the president against Welch's charges by replying: "Eisenhower isn't a Communist; he's a golfer." For the anti-modernists and their religious and social conservative allies, however, the failure of the Reece Committee marked the end of their initial foray onto the political plane. The abrupt end of the committee also seems to have convinced them that, in the war for the soul of America, they were facing enemies on the Right, as well as on the Left.[61]

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[60] Kendall, William T. Couch to Louis Round Wilson, May 5, 1955; Eugene Cook to William T. Couch, December 20, 1955 and Luther Hodges to William T. Couch, May 25, 1956, Couch Papers.

[61] Wormser, p. 239; James Y. Bartlett, "Same Strokes; Different Folks: Golfing with Presidents, Princes and Kings," Forbes (November 18, 1996): 17; Dwight Macdonald, "On the Horizon: Scrambled Eggheads on the Right," Commentary 17 (April, 1956):11-20.

Enemies on the Right: The New Conservatives and the Problem of an American Ideology

"The marvelous success and vitality of American institutions," the historian Daniel Boorstin wrote in 1953, "is equaled by the amazing poverty and inarticulateness of our theorizing about politics." In this single statement, Boorstin conveyed the central philosophical tenet of the "New Conservatives." America had avoided the travails of Europe because it had never indulged in attempts to "abstract, to separate the universal principles of all societies and governments from the peculiar circumstances of their own societies and governments." Theory, according to Boorstin, almost always degenerated into the "idolatry of ideology" because of the temptation to put it into practice as a "blueprint" for societies. America, however, had never required an ideology because Americans, according to Boorstin, shared an "unspoken national faith," which transmitted itself to the generations through a subtle process of internalization that he termed "giveness." [62]

Emerging in the wake of the Second World War, and coming to prominence in the early 1950s, the New Conservatives—men such as Daniel Boorstin, Russell Kirk, Clinton Rossiter, Peter Viereck and Louis Hartz—believed that ideology, or more properly, ideological ways of thinking, had been responsible for almost all of the strife and conflict in the Western world since the eighteenth century. The French Revolution's attempts to "reconstruct society after an abstract pattern" had, in their view, brought an end to the "age of faith" that had held sway in Europe since the Middle Ages. In the nineteenth century, ideology—this time in the form of nationalism—had set Europe on course that would result

[62] Daniel Boorstin "Our Unspoken National Faith," Commentary (April 1953): 327-328.

in two world wars. Nationalism had, in their view, undermined the rational, peaceful, realist order that had been established by Metternich at the Congress of Vienna.[63]

Now, in the twentieth century, the New Conservatives perceived an erosion of the "national faith" that had heretofore protected America against the dangers of ideology. America, the New Conservatives argued, was beset with a crass, "assembly line civilization" which encouraged the abandonment of tradition and religious faith and the degeneration of language and aesthetic sensibilities. The effects of modern civilization were manifest in the rapid growth of giant corporations, burgeoning consumerism, and the mindless philistinism that led Americans to regularly "commit television." To ensure that the national culture would continue to flourish, however, Americans needed only to turn for guidance to the great conservatives of the past: John Randolph of Roanoke, John Quincy Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Metternich, Lord Acton, John C. Calhoun and above all, Edmund Burke.

Embarking on a wide-ranging critique of American politics and culture that encompassed history, poetry, literary criticism, journalism and political philosophy, the New Conservatives did not so much critique liberalism as promote a new brand of genteel conservatism. Seeking to return to the values of previous eras, the New Conservatives studiously avoided the formulation of an explicit ideology, or in Boorstin's words, an "immutable body of dogma." "Once conservatism becomes an ideology," Russell Kirk wrote in 1954, "it ceases to be conservatism."[64]

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[63]Russell Kirk, The Conservative Mind: From Burke to Santayana (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), p. xvi.

[64] Ibid, p. 30. There are no in depth studies of the New Conservatives, despite their ubiquity in works about conservatism during the 1950s. As a result, they are best understood through their own writings. See: Adolph Berle, Jr., The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1954); Daniel Boorstin, The Genius of American Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953); William O. Douglas, An Almanac of Liberty (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1954); Peter F. Drucker, The New Society: The Anatomy of the Industrial Order (London: Heinemann, 1951); Gordon Harrison, Road to the Right: The Tradition and

The New Conservatives identified strongly with the Eisenhower Administration, believing that their exaltation of reason, realism and (non-political) religion reflected the administrations' moderate and non-ideological character. There seemed to be little consideration of the fact that Ike's "modern Republicanism" had early on departed from the traditional conservative policies of the Robert Taft wing of the Republican Party. It had foregone a balanced budget, embarked on an internationalist foreign policy and—much to Senator Taft's consternation—appointed FDR's Yalta translator, Charles Bohlen, as Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the New Conservatives remained focused on the administration's rhetoric and symbolism. The president, Clinton Rossiter declared, had managed to merge religion, unfettered capitalism, respect for tradition, rugged individualism and hard-headed realism with "a new concern for social stability and has produced an alloy."[65]

The New Conservatives' concern with social stability did not, however, mean that they favored social and political stagnation. They realized that American values and institutions would have to change and adapt if they were to survive. They simply did not

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Hope of American Conservatism (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1954); Louis Hartz, "American Political Thought and the American Revolution," American Political Science Review 46, 2 (June 1952): 321-342, "The Whig Tradition in America and Europe," American Political Science Review 46, 4 (December 1952): 989-1002, The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1955); Russell Kirk, Randolph of Roanoke: A Study in Conservative Thought (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), "Burke and the Philosophy of Prescription," Journal of the History of Ideas 14, 3 (June 1953): 365-380, A Program for Conservatives (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954); Clinton Rossiter, Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1953), "The Shaping of the American Tradition," William & Mary Quarterly 11, 4 (October 1954): 519-535, Conservatism in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955); Peter Viereck, Conservatism Revisited: The Revolt Against Revolt, 1815-1949 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), "Liberals and Conservatives," Antioch Review 11, 4 (Winter 1951): 387-396; "Unlaughing and Untragic," American Quarterly 4, 2 (Summer 1952): 166-168, "The Revolution in Values: Roots of the European Catastrophe, 1870-1952," Political Science Quarterly 67, 3 (September 1952): 339-356, Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals: Babbitt Jr. vs. the Rediscovery of Values (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953).

[65] William S. White, "Report on the 'New Nationalism,'" New York Times (June 28, 1953): SM8; Rossiter, "The Shaping of the American Tradition," p. 530.

view this improvement and adaptation and the veneration of tradition as mutually exclusive. Indeed, this willingness to change and evolve was the basis of the affinity that many New Conservatives perceived between themselves and the centrist, non-ideological liberalism typified by Arthur M. Schlesinger's Vital Center. Only a broad-based alliance of views, ideas, preferences and prescriptions could, they reasoned, successfully resist the blandishments of Marxist ideology. [66]

Given the views of the New Conservatives, it is not difficult to see how they came to blows with the anti-modernists. Their rejection of all formal ideology, their reverence for tradition and religion and their support of a restrained, realist foreign policy was diametrically opposed to the anti-modernist project of transformation. Although it seems that the two sides might have found some common ground in their shared dislike of mass culture and bourgeois materialism, both factions were aware that they hoped to achieve vastly different ends. The New Conservatives were, quite simply, interested in upholding and improving traditional institutions, educating elites in the ways of democracy and the free market and, in so doing, ensure social stability. Conversely, the anti-modernist project of transformation sought, almost by definition, to de-legitimize these very same elites and institutions.

In any conflict between the New Conservatives and the anti-modernists, the latter should have been at a great disadvantage. Outside of a relatively small circle of intellectuals, anti-modernism was still a rather obscure philosophy. Moreover, its adherents and advocates were almost exclusively academics. The New Conservatives, on the other hand, were

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[66] Viereck, Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals, pp. 114, 137; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949).

academics who also happened to be popular writers, politically connected, effective public speakers and adept publicists. Viereck, for instance had won the Pulitzer Prize in 1949, Kirk was a regular guest at the White House and Frank Chodorov was instrumental in the founding of the conservative educational organization, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

As it turned out, none of this mattered to the anti-modernists and their allies. The attack on the New Conservatives opened in earnest in 1955 when Walter Berns, a prominent student of Strauss's and a colleague of Voegelin's at Louisiana State, reviewed Kirk's A Program for Conservatives. In his review, Berns took Kirk to task for his presumption that tradition could possibly provide any meaningful intellectual criteria for distinguishing between good and evil. Only political philosophy, Berns argued, could provide such criteria. Indeed, Berns continued, Kirk had already fallen into error by believing that America's problems—the "Philistinism, the crass materialism. . .the "hymns of praise to a goal-less Progress. . .the Jacobin dream of absolute rights"—could be combated by returning to the principles of the Founders. After all, Berns continued, "according to that basic document of the American tradition [i.e., the Declaration of Independence], 'all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights,' which is a proposition not so 'remote from the Jacobin dream of absolute rights' as Mr. Kirk happens to think."[67]

Bern's assault on the New Conservatives, while one of the more pointed, was by no means the only one. The former socialists-turned-anti-modernists, James Burnham, Max Eastman and Frank Meyer piled on, as did Kendall and Weaver. There was also a particularly fierce attack by the political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington. Huntington, a political theorist at Harvard, and a Truman Democrat with definite anti-modernist tendencies, judged the New

[67] Walter Berns, review of A Program for Conservatives, by Russell Kirk, The Journal of Politics 17, 4 (November 1955): 684, 685, 686.

Conservatives' "strained, sentimental, nostalgic, antiquarian longing for a society that is past" to be "irrelevant and futile." What was needed, Huntington argued, was a clear American alternative to Marxist ideology. "Until the challenge of Communism and the Soviet Union is eliminated or neutralized," Huntington wrote, "ideology has a place in America today."

After 1955, the New Conservatives also found themselves under attack by social and religious conservatives in the pages of a new publication that proclaimed itself to be the voice of American conservatism—National Review. The brainchild of Kendall and his student, William F. Buckley, Jr., National Review was, almost from its inception, staffed or read by almost every significant conservative thinker in America. Aside from Kendall and Buckley (who had gained a measure of notoriety among liberals for his book, God and Man at Yale), the regular contributors to the National Review were a diverse lot that ranged from social conservatives, such as L. Brent Bozell and Frank Chodorov, to the former Soviet spy, Whittaker Chambers. Russell Kirk, seeking to remedy his chronic financial problems, also signed on to write about liberalism in academia. His career, however, was to be short lived as his fellow National Review contributors began attacking him in print at Kendall's urging. Even Buckley advanced the opinion that anyone who thought that Russell Kirk represented true conservatism, "was bound to enter the ranks of eccentricity." In 1957, Kirk asked Buckley to remove his name from National Review's masthead. That same year he assumed the editorship of Henry Regnery's Modern Age. [68]

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[68] Morton J. Frisch, "The Architecture of American Political Theory," Ethics 54, 3 (April 1955): 181-191, review of American Political Thought, by Alan Pendleton Grimes, William & Mary Quarterly 12, 3 (July 1955): 493-494; Maure Goldschmidt, review of Beyond the Dreams of Avarice, by Russell Kirk, The Western Political Quarterly 10, 2 (June 1957): 479-480; Howard B. White, "Commentary on Prothro's Content Analysis," American Political Science Review 50, 3 (September 1956): 740-750; Francis G. Wilson, "Public Opinion and the Intellectuals," American Political Science Review 48, 2 (June 1954): 321-339; Samuel Huntington, "Conservatism as an Ideology," American Political Science Review"51, 2 (June 1957): 471, 473.

By the dawn of the 1960s, the New Conservatives had been effectively marginalized. Kirk, ensconced at Modern Age for a mere two years before being replaced by Richard Weaver, was never again able to pose as the voice of American conservatism. Beset with financial problems, he managed in 1960 to convince Henry Regnery to launch a new publication dedicated to pedagogy and book reviews, The University Bookman. Although Kirk continued to write prodigiously, neither the curmudgeonly Bookman, nor any of the other fora in which his works appeared ever began to equal the reach of the National Review. As for Viereck, Boorstin and Rossiter, they seem to have wearied of the intramural conflict and submerged themselves in literary, journalistic and historical projects that removed them from the politics of the conservative movement. Even so, attacks by other ideologically-oriented conservatives continued. Kendall, for instance, accused the trio of writing "books that tell how to be Conservative yet agree with the Liberals about everything." The combination of such assaults, as well as their absence from the conservative intellectual scene, greatly diminished their influence and they soon ceased to exert any significant influence on the evolution of conservatism.[69]

The defeat of the New Conservatives did not, of course, clear the way for an American ideology. While many social and religious conservatives, like the anti-modernists, preferred the intellectual certainties and moral clarity of ideology to the uncertainties of

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William F. Buckley, "Conservatism," Saturday Review 40 (June 8, 1957): 37; Leo Strauss to Willmoore Kendall, November 19, 1956 in Murley and Alvis, pp. 192-193; Russell Kirk to William T. Couch, n.d., file 118, Couch Papers; Frank S. Meyer, "Retreat from Relativism," NR (December 14, 1955): 17-29; Willmoore Kendall, "Moon-Struck Madness," NR (June 13, 1956): 33-43; L. Brent Bozell, "None So Blind," NR (September 14, 1957): 5-8.

[69] Raymond English, "The First Job is Criticism," review of A Program for Conservatives, by Russell Kirk, New York Times (November 21 1954): BR30; D. Collier to William T. Couch, February 15, 1960, file 118, Couch Papers; Peter Viereck, The Tree Witch: A Poem and a Play (but first of all a poem) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961); Clinton Rossiter, Marxism: The View from America (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960); Willmoore Kendall, review of The Conservative Illusion, by M. Morton Auerbach, American Political Science Review 54, 2 (June 1960): 500.

pragmatism, there was no agreement as to what creed or theoretical body could serve as the basis for an American ideology. Beyond anti-Communism, the areas of conservative consensus encompassed a set of relatively vague and ill-defined preferences for tradition and the virtues and values of the past, most which had, ironically, been articulated by the New Conservatives as the bases of a non-ideological conservatism. There were also areas of outright conflict. The evangelical Protestantism of Weaver, for example, was hardly compatible with the conservative Catholicism of Manion. Similarly, Strauss, while being a regular reader of the National Review, confided to Kendall that he strongly suspected Buckley of anti-Semitism.

The prospect of an American ideology was in large measure also dependent on the national political situation. Neither of the two presidential candidates in the 1960 contest, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon and Senator John F. Kennedy, were ideological firebrands. Some conservatives remembered how deeply impressed they had been by Senator Barry Goldwater's (R-AZ) first nationally broadcast speech on the Clarence Manion Forum radio program in 1957. Goldwater, however, was said to be unpopular with the major Republican power brokers in the East, and appeared to harbor no national political ambitions.[70]

Despite the muddled state of their conservative allies, the anti-modernists remained a powerful force within the academic world. Their fervor, commitment and charisma instilled an assertive confidence—or, in Kendall's case, a blustery arrogance—that allowed them to hold their own as minorities in their political science departments. Strauss, for example, wielded an immense influence in the political science department at the University of Chicago. He was quite active in the politics of the department and through the considerable

[70] Best of the Manion Forum, ed. and comp. Michael Bauman (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1990), p. 73.

political skills of his secretary, Faye A. Lewis, was able to direct a significant portion of the department's financial resources to his graduate students and the students of other "normative" professors. As a result, he commanded the loyalty of a number of his colleagues.

The anti-modernists were also known for the passion and loyalty they inspired among their students. Indeed, Strauss's hold over his adherents is legendary. His following among the undergraduate student body was such that during the 1950s, students formed Straussian "truth squads." The truth squads would occasionally disrupt the classes of teachers they believed to be hostile or indifferent to anti-modernism. Finding seats in the large lecture halls, the Straussians would barrage professors with questions and/or demands that he or she explain their writings. Although the university and the political science department officially frowned on the truth squads, there was very little effort made to deter them. Strauss, for his part, made no effort to suppress the truth squads' activities.[71]

The most striking example of the ability of the anti-modernists and their allies to wield influence out of proportion to their numbers was their hold over the American Political Science Association (APSA). Control of the APSA seems to have been an important component in the anti-modernist transformational project, and from the mid-1950s through the early 1960s, they all but controlled the organization. In 1961, for instance, four of the sixteen members of the presiding council of the APSA were former students of Strauss (C. H. Pritchett, Kenneth Thompson, Maure Goldschmidt, and Francis Coker), and six were political allies (Harvey C. Mansfield, Merle Fainsod, Max Kampelman, Evron Kirkpatrick, Carl J. Friedrich and Elmer Plischke). In addition, Mansfield, a devotee of Strauss, was half-way through a ten year term as the editor of the APSA's journal, the American Political

[71] Anne Norton, Leo Strauss and the American Empire (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 44-45.

Science Review, while Pritchett served as Program Chair, Kirkpatrick as Executive Director and Kampelman as Treasurer. Strauss himself was, at the time, the long-time chairman of the editorial board, the first political philosopher to hold the office.[72]

The anti-modernist cause was also bolstered by the relatively wide appeal of their writing. Between 1958 and 1963, several anti-modernist works appeared that captured interest beyond the field of political science. Among the most notable were Arendt's The Human Condition, Hans-Georg Gadamer's Truth and Method, and Harry Jaffa's Crisis of a House Divided. Not only were these works influential within other academic fields, such as philosophy, history and law, but they also went some way toward attracting the attention of wealthy benefactors, such as the Richardsons, Olins, Coors, Mellon-Scaifes, and Kochs.[73]

Against this backdrop of dynamism and increasing influence, the anti-modernists appeared well-placed to advance their transformative project. While their first foray into the political sphere had only been rebuffed (as the neoconservative myth was later to have it) by the personal intervention of the iconic Eisenhower, they had managed to land a telling blow against relativist social science. Their critique of value-neutral empiricism precipitated a burgeoning alliance with social and religious conservatives. They had also managed to consolidate and enhance their position within academia. Despite being significantly

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[72] American Political Science Association, "Professional Conferences," American Political Science Review 54, 4 (December 1960): 1077-1079.

[73] Hannah Arendt, The Human Condition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Edward Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958); Harry V. Jaffa, Crisis of a House Divided (New York: Doubleday, 1959); Leo Strauss, What is Political Philosophy? (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1959); Willmoore Kendall, John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority Rule (Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 1959); Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959); James Pierson, "Funding Father of the Right," Washington Post (May 2, 1999): 12, 18, "You Get What You Pay For," Wall Street Journal (July 21, 2004): 2; Sally Covington, "How Conservative Philanthropies and Think Tanks Transform U.S. Policy," Covert Action Quarterly (Winter 1998): 1; Andrew Rich, "War of Ideas," Stanford Social Innovation Review (Spring 2005): 3.

outnumbered by empiricist social scientists, the anti-modernists were able to exploit empiricism's lack of activism and prescriptive conclusions.

This state of affairs, however, was to prove short-lived. As the decade of the 1960s dawned, the anti-modernists were confronted with a reinvigorated empiricism. This resurgence of empiricism—or behavioralism as it was now becoming to be known—was driven by the U.S. government's interest in countering Communist influence by shaping behavior in Third World countries. Experts on voting behavior and modernization theory were starting to be recruited to design new strategies for furthering the development of capitalist democracy and funded generously. In the wake of this new interest in empiricism, the anti-modernists renewed the ideological conflict with the behavioralists and, in so doing, found that they faced an even greater threat: the New Left.

Enemies on the Left—Again: Anti-Modernism and the Emergence of the New Left

The New Left, or as they were known in academia at the time, the "new political science," was a highly energetic and diverse philosophical and political movement that began to emerge in the mid-1950s. Initially associated with the thought of William A. Williams, C. Wright Mills, Howard Zinn and the political philosophy of Strauss's fellow émigré, Herbert Marcuse, by the mid 1960s, the New Left had proliferated in almost every academic field. The movement also managed to diversify rapidly into the political plane, with activists and interest groups in Europe and the United States identifying themselves as New Leftists.[74]

[74] Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), One-Dimensional Man (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964); William A. Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1959); C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); Howard Zinn, The Southern Mystique (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1964), Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).

The main focus of the New Left was the achievement of social justice. On the political plane, this focus translated into extensive involvement in the civil rights and anti-war movements, as well as numerous other—and sometimes more radical, less legitimate—causes. In the academic sphere, the New Left concern with social justice manifested as a wave of criticism, methodological experimentation and revisionism that precipitated a number of heated controversies within history, economics, sociology and political science. Less attuned to academic tradition and much less deferential to authority, New Left scholars were also much less averse to engaging in polemics than their empiricist elders.[75]

In the field of political science, New Left scholars rejected the empiricist fact-value distinction in favor of analyses that incorporated values such as freedom and justice. Believing that liberals in general and behavioralists in particular were fixated on practical at the expense of justice, the New Left demanded that human values could not and should not be excluded from the study of politics. Indeed, most viewed the empiricists' disregard for theory and values as amoral and their large statistical works as socially irrelevant. While they also saw no great evil in deploying empiricist methodologies, they insisted that surveys and statistical models have a prescriptive, socially-relevant value as well as a descriptive value.

Although the New Left shared the anti-modernist conviction that political science could never be value-free, there were important differences. The most significant difference lay in the two sides' conceptions of equality, freedom and justice. The anti-modernist view (as well as that of many religious and social conservatives), was grounded in the concept of Natural Law. More specifically, they held that because Nature bestowed human moral and

[75] James P. O'Brien, "The Development of the New Left," Annals of the American Academy of Political Science 395 (May 1971): 15-25.

intellectual capacity unequally, it was contrary to Nature to seek absolute equality and to promote individuals beyond their "natural" circumstances or station in society. While the interests of the state required universal guarantees of physical security and the removal of obstacles to realizing one's natural station ("excellence," in anti-modernist parlance), the interests of the individual must, in general, be subordinated to the greater good.[76]

In the New Left view, the individual was given priority over the needs of the *polis.* All human beings, they argued, were not only equally entitled to freedom and justice, but also entitled to protection from state attempts to infringe on the rights of the individual. Indeed, the New Leftists maintained that almost all existing limitations on the rights of the individual were really morally unjustifiable restraints imposed by the existing political and economic power structure. Moreover, they held that the individual retained the unqualified right to define freedom and justice for themselves.[77]

In 1959, Christian Bay, a faculty member of the University of California at Berkeley, extended the emerging New Left conception of freedom and justice even further in his Woodrow Wilson Award-winning book, The Structure of Freedom. In this classic New Left work, Bay argued that the supreme political value is the maximum freedom of the individual as defined by the individual. Although maximum freedom for every individual was, Bay recognized, not easily attainable as a practical matter, the idea could and should serve as a political ideal. According to Bay, political systems that failed to accommodate the particular social, psychological and economic needs of individual citizens risked becoming illegitimate.

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[76] See Leo Strauss, Natural Right and History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953); Harry V. Jaffa, "The Case Against Political Theory," Journal of Politics 22, 2 (May 1960): 270; Joseph Cropsey, "Political Life and Natural Order," Journal of Politics 23, 1 (February 1961): 46-56.

[77] See Christian Bay, The Structure of Freedom (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958); Sheldon Wolin, Politics and Vision (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1960).

Such a relativist philosophical orientation of course, seemed bound to bring them into conflict with the anti-modernists.[78]

In 1961, it did. Walter Berns, a prominent student of Strauss's then at Cornell, published a scathing review essay of Bay's work. Although Bay was quite critical of the behavioral (the new term for the empiricism), fact-value distinction, Berns ignored this aspect of the work. Rather, he focused his fire on Bay's focus on the individual. Individual choice, according to Berns, cannot result in freedom because choice implies that values are relative to the individual, and relativism inevitably leads to conflict and the restriction and enslavement of others. According to Bay's definition, Berns observed, "Hitler would have been a free man too. He destroyed completely whatever external restraints he perceived; he was therefore socially free." Freedom, according to Berns, can only be realized by attaining an understanding of "man's nature in the ancient sense of that word." "To deny nature in the sense of a perfected end," Berns admonished, "is to make it impossible to define freedom. If we cannot speak of man as he ought to be, we cannot speak of free men." In short, questions of individual freedom must be superseded by and subsumed to duty and the quest for a "naturally ordered" society or, in the Straussian vernacular, "how men ought to live."[79]

Hard on the heels of Berns's attack on the Bay, the Straussians launched a strike against what they perceived as their main target, the behavioralists, as empiricist social science was now called. In early 1962, several prominent members of the "Michigan school" of behavioralism, Robert Dahl, Herbert Simon, A.F. Bentley and Harold Lasswell published an essay collection exploring behavioural methodology, entitled Essays on the Behavioral

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[78] Bay, pp. 3, 6, 390.

[79] Walter Berns, "The Behavioral Sciences and the Study of Political Things: The Case of Christian Bay's The Structure of Freedom," The American Political Science Review 55, 3 (September 1961): 552, 555-559; Strauss, What is Political Philosophy?, p. 36.

Study of Politics. Strauss and several of his students, Berns, Herbert Storing, Leo Weinstein, and Robert Horowitz, had learned of the project in its early stages and began planning a critique of the work before it was even published. Confusingly entitled Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics, the Straussian critique was produced over two summers in Chicago, with Strauss and his co-authors "working together and holding seminar discussion." The aim was to have their critique appear simultaneously with the behavioralists' work.

To call the Straussians' work a critique of behavioral methodology is an understatement. In a fierce attack, the Straussian faction repeated their traditional condemnations of empiricism as "relativist," "morally bankrupt" and "disloyal," with Storing asserting that "the new political science has nothing to say against those that unhesitatingly prefer surrender to war." Berns, Weinstein and Horowitz and added that behavioralists' work was atheistic, dogmatic, politically irresponsible, cynical, selfish and depraved. Strauss himself characterized the book as "a judicious mating of dialectical materialism and psychoanalysis to be consummated on a bed supplied by logical positivism." The attack was particularly focused, owing to the Straussians obvious prior knowledge of the specific points made by Dahl and company—including the title—and two years of lead-time. The work concluded with the assertion that subjects, such as voting behavior and poverty, deflected the field's attention from the fact that "the most important concern is the Cold War."[80]

The counterattack came on two flanks. Carrying the empiricist/behavioral banner was Stanley Rothman. Rothman, a conservative political scientist who specialized in communications studies, ventured that anti-modernism was not only anachronistic and

[80] Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics, ed. Austin Ranney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962); Strauss, On Tyranny, ed. Victor Gourevitch and Michael S. Roth (New York: The Free Press, 1991), p. 313; Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics, ed. Herbert Storing, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1962), p. x, 307, 312, 318, 327.

corrosive to the field but also un-American. Engaging Strauss's writing with his own esoteric interpretative method, Rothman found that the Straussian characterization of America as a descendant of the relativistic thought of Machiavelli, Hobbes and Locke was tantamount to "a rejection of the values underlying the American experience." Furthermore, Rothman maintained, the dissemination of this hostility toward American values and ideals seemed "designed to prepare the way for that unlikely conjunction of philosophy and power which will place in power the philosopher-king and the Guardians, i.e., Strauss and his disciples."[81]

The response from the New Left was launched by two prominent members of the Berkeley school, John Schaar and Sheldon Wolin. In a detailed review of Essays, Schaar and Wolin characterized the book as a "melangé of invective, innuendo and bald pronouncements" that "treated the reader to the same observations for more than three hundred pages." Nor did Strauss himself escape reprobation. "Fanatic," Wolin and Schaar wrote, "is a harsh term and is seldom found in scholarly book reviews. But no other term fits." After characterizing Strauss as "fanatic," "imperious," "disingenuous" and "dogmatic," Schaar and Wolin closed with an attack on Strauss's affirmation of the utility and morality of the Platonic "noble lie," a device whereby intellectual honesty may be sacrificed to the political exigencies of the state:

> We wonder further what manner of justice *their* opponents can expect when the new men [i.e., the students of the future] have before them, as models, teachers who believe that scholarly scruples may be suspended when combating evil. What will happen to nobility of spirit and sensitivity of intellect when students are advised that 'intellectual honesty' represents a clever dodge . . . What encouragement will there be for the wide-ranging and intellectually curious student when he is instructed in the hard doctrine that

[81] Stanley Rothman, "The Revival of Classical Political Philosophy: A Critique," American Political Science Review 56, 2 (June 1962): 341-352.

> 'what is most important for political science is what is most important politically?'[82]

Strauss appears to have been taken aback by such an intense attack from an unexpected quarter. In reply, Strauss was uncharacteristically blunt and openly defended the transformation project by asserting that "hard doctrines may be true doctrines, and in addition, they may be in need of being taught." Does not "nobility of spirit . . . call, in the first place for the improvement of the political community to which one belongs, for its pursuit of excellence, for one's adorning of the Sparta that fate has allotted to one?" Strauss's reply was followed by a counterattack by his student, Dante Germino, who ironically characterized the New Left as "messianic humanists," who sought to "change the world, rather than simply interpret it." Rebuttals also ensued from Berns, Storing, Weinstein and Horwitz, none of whom ever again seemed to have mentioned Schaar and Wolin by name, but rather referred to them only as "the critics."[83]

The three-way intramural conflict between the anti-modernists, behavioralists, and New Leftists had by now begun to attract the attention of non-political scientists not directly involved in the feud. Some were empiricists from other fields that offered defense of the behavioralists' work. Others were New Left scholars that sought to take advantage an opportunity to express their feelings about Strauss and his school, make mischief or both. The New Left sociologist Angus Campbell, for instance, jibed at both the behavioralists and the anti-modernists. Referring to Strauss's characterization of the empiricists as "latter-day

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[82] John Schaar and Sheldon Wolin, "Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics: A Critique," The American Political Science Review 57, 1 (March 1963):128, 145, 150.

[83] Leo Strauss, Herbert Storing, Walter Berns, Leo Weinstein and Robert Horowitz, "Replies to Schaar and Wolin," American Political Science Review 57, 1 (March 1963): 155; Dante Germino, "The Revival of Political Theory," Journal of Politics 25, 3 (August 1963): 437.

Neros who fiddled while Rome burned," Campbell conjectured that even Strauss would have to admit there was "some small value in knowing that Nero actually played a lyre, and that only 68.24 per cent of Rome burned." [84]

As for political scientists, most wondered what effects the controversy would have on the field. Some believed that the divide between political philosophy and political science had become so great that the fields would inevitably become two distinct fields of study. Most, however, surmised that classical political theory would eventually just fade away. Germino wondered aloud why it was that so many academics had concluded "with appalling swiftness" that "political theory is on the verge of extinction."[85]

The End of Anti-Modernism and the Thucydidean Turn

The answer to Germino's plaintive question, of course, was that classical political theory *was* on the verge of extinction. The most obvious reason for political theory's demise was the sudden emergence of the new social justice ethos that reached far beyond academia. The New Left, the advent of newly-militant civil rights and women's movements, and the first stirrings of the counterculture on college campuses represented a large, mutually-

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[84] Paul J. Hoffman, "A Review of Essays in the Scientific Study of Politics," The Western Political Quarterly 15, 4 (December 1962): 772 – 773; Angus Campbell, "Review of Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics," American Sociological Review 27, 5 (October 1962): 702-703; Alvin W. Gouldner, "Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Society," Social Problems 9, 3 (Winter 1962): 199-213; Wilbert E. Moore, "But Some Are More Equal Than Others," American Sociological Review 28, 1 (February 1963): 13-18; Fred I. Greenstein, "Review of Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics," American Journal of Sociology 68, 6 (May 1963): 723-724.

[85] Robert E. Lane, "Review of Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics," American Political Science Review 57, 1 (March 1963): 162-163; Malcolm B. Parsons, "Review of Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics," Journal of Politics 25, 2 (May 1963): 379-381; H. Bradford Westerfield, "Review of Essays on Scientific Study of Politics," Annals of the American Academy of Political Science 348 (July 1963): 186-187; Dante Germino, "The Revival of Political Theory," Journal of Politics 25, 3 (August 1963): 437-460; Andrew Hacker, "Review Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics," Political Science Quarterly 8, 2 (September 1963): 125-165; Warren G. Bennis, "A New Role for the Behavioral Sciences: Effecting Organization Change," Administrative Science Quarterly 8, 2 (September 1963): 125-165.

reinforcing conjunction of social and political phenomena that, for a time, simply swamped all other views. The anti-modernist dream of transformation was beginning to be realized, only not by the anti-modernists.

Anti-modernism was also weakened by the fading from the scene of the first generation of anti-modernist teachers. Strauss and Voegelin were nearing retirement and in ill health. Kendall had been quiet since being jettisoned from Yale. A demanding position at the University of Dallas, coupled with his undiagnosed heart disease, alcoholism and despondency over a falling out with Buckley, muffled his voice. Löwith, Jaspers, Habermas, Adorno, Gadamer and Horkheimer had returned to Germany. Of the first generation, only Arendt possessed the vitality, charisma and name-recognition outside of academia that might have revived anti-modernism. Arendt however, had begun to move away from anti-modernism and was rapidly becoming a thinker in a class all her own.

As for the second generation, they lacked the numbers and the intellectual firepower to contend with the New Left. Shils and Goldschmidt had taken positions in Britain. Weaver had died. The remaining anti-modernists, such Berns and Jaffa, along with Thomas Pangle, were, to be sure, able defenders of the faith, but did not yet command the same devotion as had their mentors. Their status as "Straussians" also precluded them from achieving tenure at Cornell, Yale and Berkeley, respectively. As a result, they were forced to concede much of the professional high ground to the New Left. While the various conservative foundations, Olin, Richardson-Vick, and Mellon-Scaife, continued to dispense monies on a regular basis, the competition for their largesse had grown increasingly sharp. As for the employment outlook, the lack of positions caused many anti-modernist scholars to remain cloistered at a

handful of institutions, such as the University of Toronto, the University of Chicago, and Claremont.[86]

The increasing marginalization of the anti-modernists within academia caused some to look for new expressive avenues. The most notable of these new avenues took them away from consideration of the Cold War to other, more provincial matters. Temporarily abandoning Hobbes, Locke and Machiavelli, Harry Jaffa and Martin Diamond began to reinterpret de Tocqueville, Lincoln, Madison and Hamilton in an effort to justify opposition to desegregation, voting rights, and equal opportunity hiring. Edward Banfield, James Q. Wilson and Harvey Mansfield explored the relationship between philosophy and urban life and the moral hazards of the American party system. Gertrude Himmelfarb and Allan Bloom examined the impact of science, music and literature on contemporary political thought. [87]

Circumstances, however, brought some back to the exigencies of the Cold War. William J. Baroody, the resident intellectual of the nascent Barry Goldwater presidential campaign detected, via Clarence Manion, the outlines of a new vision of conservatism in anti-modernists writings. He was particularly intrigued by their conception of a strong, activist and unilateral foreign policy. Drawing on the anti-modernist works—particularly

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[86] "Biography: Resident Scholar Walter Berns," American Enterprise Institute [online] http://www.aei.org/scholars/scholarID.4/scholar.asp [May 8, 2008]; "Dry Rot at College," Wall Street Journal, August 31, 1979, p. 6; Eugene Genovese, "Saving the Free World," Yale Political Monthly (December 1979): 2-11.

[87] Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution," The English Historical Review 76, 298 (January 1961): 173-174, "Essays on Politics and Culture by John Stuart Mill," Victorian Studies 7, 3 (March 1964): 317-318; George C.S. Benson, Martin Diamond, H.F. McClelland, William S. Stokes and Proctor Thomson, Essays in Federalism (Claremont, CA: Institute for Studies in Federalism, 1961); Harry V. Jaffa, "Conflicts within the Liberal Tradition," Comparative Studies in Society and History 5, 3 (April 1963): 274-278, Equality and Liberty (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965); Edward Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Willmoore Kendall and George W. Carey, "Towards a Definition of Conservatism," Journal of Politics 26, 2 (May 1964): 406-422; Marvin Zetterbaum, "Tocqueville: Neutrality and the Uses of History," American Political Science Review 58, 3 (September 1964): 611-621; Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., Statesmanship and Party Government: A Study of Burke and Bolingbroke (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Allan D. Bloom, Shakespeare's Politics (New York: Basic Books, 1965).

Strauss—Manion constructed a foreign policy framework for the campaign. Explicated in Goldwater's ghost-written book, Why Not Victory? and some privately-circulated essays, this militaristic foreign policy vision even gave some of Goldwater's fellow Republicans pause. On the opposing side, Democrats began portraying Goldwater as an extremist and the Johnson campaign began raising the specter of nuclear war.

In response to liberal criticism, Baroody enlisted Jaffa as a speechwriter and charged him with articulating a defense for Goldwater for use at the upcoming Republican National Convention. Curiously, Jaffa drew upon Cicero's injunction to the Roman Senate, and formulated what he believed to be succinct response for Goldwater:

> I would remind you, [lords, senators,] that extremism [extreme patriotism] in the defense of liberty [freedom] is no vice [crime]. And let me remind you also that moderation [pusillanimity] in the pursuit of justice is no virtue [in a Roman.] [88]

Although Jaffa's efforts had quite the opposite effect from that desired, the anti-modernist involvement with the Goldwater campaign was significant for two reasons. First, it marked the first direct anti-modernist involvement in a presidential campaign. As such, it helped establish their credentials as a source of intellectual firepower upon which the party could call. This was particularly appealing to the Republicans insofar as they usually found it difficult to attract academics to their cause.

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[88] Rick Perlstein, Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001), pp. 249, 348, 391; Barry M. Goldwater, Conscience of a Conservative (New York: Hillman Books, 1960), Why Not Victory? New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962); Jay D. Hartz, "The Impact of the Draft Goldwater Committee on the Republican Party," Continuity 24, 1 (Spring 2000): 18; Harry V. Jaffa, Crisis of the House Divided (New York: Doubleday, 1959); Karl Hess, Mostly On the Edge (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 1999), p. 159.

The end of the Goldwater campaign also signaled the appearance of a major fissure within anti-modernism. While the anti-modernists had been willing to make common cause with social and religious conservatives to further their agenda, most had avoided identification with the two major political parties. In the wake of Goldwater's defeat, Jaffa and a number of his students began to claim allegiance to the Republican Party, while the majority claimed no party. Within academic circles, anti-modernists began to denote Jaffa's faction as "West Coast Straussians." In reality, these divisions had existed for some time, but had not been explicit. Most of Strauss's students, as well as those of Voegelin, adopted a public stance of appearing unconcerned with the politics and foreign policy of the present. [89]

For Strauss himself, the real issues remained the Cold War and the transformational project, although his thought seems to have experienced a renewed interest in foreign affairs. The reasons for this renewed interest unclear. He may have sensed the prospects for the regime-change project were fading and in need of some new impetus and approach. Alternately, this re-orientation may have been a result of a fear that America would not continue to support other countries against Communism. Although the crusading spirit of Kennedy's declaration that America would "bear any burden . . . and pay any price" seems as if it would have appealed to Strauss, this was not the case. Strauss did not have much faith in the incoming Kennedy Administration and confided to Kendall that the new president could be summed up in one word: "image."[90]

Whatever his motivations, by the 1960s Strauss had begun to turn his attention to foreign policy in earnest. The first fruit of this new focus was a powerful denouncement of *Realpolitik* in the form of a lengthy, thirty-one page preface, inserted in a new edition of

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[89] Howard Slaate, interview by Robert Richardson, Cary, N.C., July 9, 2004.

[90] Leo Strauss to Willmoore Kendall, Chicago, September 22, 1963, Murley and Alvis, pp. 215.

Spinoza's Critique. Germany, Strauss maintained, had never been fertile ground for democracy. A brief window of opportunity for the transformation of the regime had, however, existed in 1918. The First World War had swept away the old, moribund conservative German social structure, as well as the emergent symptoms of modernity, leaving a "blank slate." Yet, "at the crucial moment the victorious liberal democracies discredited liberal democracy in the eyes of Germany by the betrayal of their principles through the Treaty of Versailles." The result of this "betrayal" was to open the door to fascist tyranny and the Holocaust.[91]

Hard on the heels of this work, Strauss published his third major commentary on the Cold War (after On Tyranny and Natural Right and History), and only major statement on foreign policy, The City and Man. The capstone work of Strauss's career, The City and Man, presented an argument for a foreign policy based on Justice, and posited the idea that such a policy constituted a second avenue to the transformation of the American regime. As such, the work represents a new—and the final—stage in the evolution of anti-modernism: the Thucydidean turn. [92]

Deriving its name from a new (or some cases a renewed) anti-modernist interest in the work of the Athenian general Thucydides, the Thucydidean turn was also characterized by a renewed interest in contemporary foreign affairs. In most cases, the literature that accompanied this new intellectual impulse was prescriptive as well as analytical and strongly oriented toward activist U.S. foreign policy abroad. Although it did not garner same support as the earlier Aristotelian impulse, the Thucydidean turn did include most of the more prominent and prolific anti-modernists, such as Kendall, Horkheimer, Voegelin, Strauss and,

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[91] Strauss, Spinoza's Critique of Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 2.

[92] Leo Strauss, The City and Man (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

in a last anti-modernist foray, Arendt. Most of the resultant works also seem to have aimed at non-academic audiences, with Strauss's contribution representing his most popularly successful book.[93]

The subject of The City and Man is the "Crisis of the West." Speaking uncharacteristically in his own voice, Strauss described the Crisis of the West in the introduction as one in which "the West's very survival" is at stake. According to Strauss, this crisis has two distinct facets. On one hand, the West faces an external threat from "the most extreme form of Eastern despotism." This threat, however, can be kept at bay by the Western nations' "immense military power."

More insidious and dangerous, however, is the internal danger that ensued from the West's loss of moral clarity. "Spengler," Strauss declared, "has proved to be right." The West has lost its moral clarity and become "uncertain of its purpose." This uncertainty, he argued, is deadly to a society "accustomed to understand itself in terms of a universal purpose." Better that the West "go down in honor, certain of its purpose," than to meekly and willingly give itself over to degradation and slavery.

The fact that the external threat was able to emerge and grow, Strauss argued, is a direct result of the West's loss of moral clarity. "The amiable high priests of democracy," blinded by relativism, were "unable to morally distinguish between the British Empire and the Soviet Empire" and sought to negotiate and bargain with the enemy. Later, "when Communism revealed itself even to the meanest capacities as Stalinism and post-Stalinism," the West "failed to act" against Communism. Western leaders placed their faith in the

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[93] Hannah Arendt, "The Cold War and the West," Partisan Review, 29, 1 (1962):13; Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought (New York: Viking Press 1968), p. 150; Eric Voegelin, The World of the Polis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1957); "World-Empire and the Unity of Mankind," International Affairs, 38, 2 (April 1962):170-188.

imaginary restraints of a multilateralist "federation of nations" and the "pious fraud of disarmament."[94]

Having stated the nature of the threat openly, Strauss reverted to his customary esoteric style to in order to explain his prescription for surviving the Crisis of the West. Unfolding over the course of three chapters which treat Aristotle's Politics, Plato's Republic, and Thucydides' Peloponnesian War, this prescription deals with domestic politics, political theory and foreign policy. The first two chapters, for instance, are elaborations of Strauss's earlier works on the nature of the *polis* and Justice, respectively. Together, these two chapters reprise the arguments of On Tyranny and Natural Right. The third chapter treats foreign policy through an examination of Thucydides's account of the Peloponnesian Wars (431 - 401 BCE).

In this chapter, Strauss offers a singular interpretation that is notable for two reasons. First, although all of his previous works contain only a single passing reference to Thucydides, he now declares that Thucydides, a Greek general and historian, was a philosopher of the first rank. In this regard he seems to have been influenced by the groundbreaking work of the Harvard anti-modernist classicist, John H. Finley, who argued that Thucydides had been educated in philosophy, but that the general hid this fact. Strauss adopts a similar position, and his contention that Thucydides was a philosopher clears the way for his claim that the Greek's words should not be taken at face value. As a philosopher, Thucydides's words require interpretation.[95]

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[94] Strauss, The City and Man, pp. 1-5.

[95] Strauss, Natural Right and History, p. 120; John H. Finley, Jr., Thucydides (Cambridge: Harvard, 1942), pp. 44-68, 73, 89.

Strauss's treatment of Thucydides is also notable for his contention that the Greek general was not, in fact, a proponent of realist foreign policy. At the time, this was substantial departure from the accepted view within academia. Indeed, The Peloponnesian War was so generally accepted as a realist-oriented work that, by the end of World War II, it had acquired the status of a sort of "manual" for realists. Only Finley's work had shaken this assumption. Strauss, for his part, sided with Finley in order to strike a blow at realism.

Strauss argued that realism ultimately brought Athens, the most powerful city-state in the Hellenic world, to ruin. Viewing foreign policy through the lens of the regime, Strauss posited a powerful organic relationship between the character of the Athenian regime and foreign policy. The door to Athens's doom, he argued, was opened by Pericles's decision to "radicalize" Athenian democracy by granting the masses a voice in Athenian democracy. While this policy first resulted in an ability to command enormous manpower for military purposes, at Pericles's death the true import of the policy became apparent as various factions representing the masses were able to gain a measure of control over the city. Comprised of oligarchs, demagogues, intellectuals and other proponents of "extreme democracy," the ruling cliques were Strauss asserted, "ruthless men with second-rate minds." Disdainful of the principles that had heretofore guided Athenian policy, the factions conducted policy on the basis of naked interest—the interests of the masses. The final result of this realist view was, according to Strauss, the strategically disastrous Sicilian Expedition in which the main portions of the Athenian navy and army were destroyed.[96]

Strauss also argued that Thucydides's real purpose in constructing his monumental history was to promote Justice as the proper basis for foreign policy. Although Thucydides never makes his policy preferences known, Strauss contended that his powerful examples of

[96] Strauss, The City and Man, pp. 139-143, 168-169, 171-178, 191-195, 211, 227-229.

the evils of the realism are evidence of his true preference. Thucydides preference for Justice, Strauss contends, is based on his understanding of the relationship between human nature and the nature of the regime. If, for example, the citizen acts out of self-interest, his fellow citizens will soon follow suit. This will, of course, translate into an acquisitive, interest-based foreign policy, where the state also "wants more" than it is entitled to by Nature. Eventually, Strauss maintains, because human greed is not subject to moderation, self-interested policy will end in disaster. Conversely, if the state or individuals acts out of considerations of Justice—and only Justice—it is more likely that moderation will prevail.[97]

Strauss, however, also made clear that considerations of Justice must take precedence over moderation. Thucydides, he claims, understood that because Nature (*physis*) will always overcome Law (*nomos*), those inclined to do evil—like the Soviet Union—will not be deterred, even by the threat of death. In Strauss's view, Evil is by definition an abrogation of Natural Law. Thus, to intend harm represents a violation of Natural Law and bestows upon the intended victim a moral justification for self-preservation that would not exist otherwise. Thus, the state inclined to do Justice is morally justified "in all circumstances" (i.e., preemptively or after the fact), in assailing the state that means it harm. [98]

Although we have at this point examined the full measure of Strauss's argument, as is the case with many of the anti-modernists' works and Strauss's in particular, the full meaning is dependent on the structure as well as the content of the work. In regard to The City and Man, the juxtaposition of the three main chapters is the key to discerning Strauss's intentions. The central position of the high theory of Plato's Republic, flanked by the more practice-

[97] Ibid, p. 193.

[98] Ibid, p. 234; Strauss, "The Origins of Modern Political Thought," lecture, n.d., n.p., box 14, folder 11, "The Philosopher in the Cuzari," lecture and notes, December 21, 1941, n.p., box 16, folder 6, Strauss Papers.

oriented chapters by Aristotle and Thucydides, signifies that there are two possible avenues of transformation of the American regime. Aristotle's Politics, which deals with the nature of the polis, represents transformation that begins within, while Thucydides's account of the Peloponnesian War represents change through external exertion.

What, then, can be said about his purpose? I would assert that Strauss intended The City and Man to be a sort of "users' manual" for the practice of politics, intended for those that he called "the gentlemen," the soldiers, diplomats, bureaucrats, writers and politicians of the future. Increasingly aware that classical political philosophy's days were numbered in the academy, Strauss may have himself felt the shadows beginning to lengthen when, in late 1963, he suffered a serious heart attack that forced him to leave Chicago for Claremont, California. In light of these considerations, he may have wanted, like the ancient philosophers, to bequeath a final timeless lesson of universal applicability. His testament did not, as we shall see, go unheeded.

2.1 The American Anti-Modernists

Willmoore Kendall
OSS man, avid baseball fan, brilliant scholar, and *provocateur extraordinaire,* Kendall declared himself Strauss's "disciple."

Richard Weaver
He believed a society modeled on the antebellum South would deliver America from modern materialism.

Clarence Manion with President Eisenhower

Mortimer Adler

Edward Shils

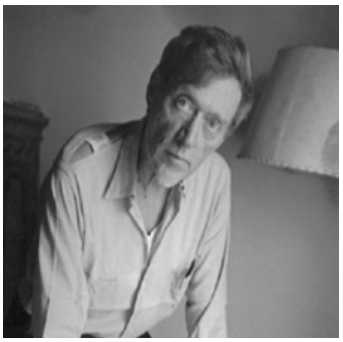
Harry Jaffa

2.2 The New Conservatives

Russell Kirk
Conservative philosopher and antiquarian, he believed ideology was toxic to conservatism.

Daniel Boorstin
A philosopher and historian of ideas, he believed Americans shared an "unspoken national faith.

Clinton Rossiter
A political scientist, his moderate positions on Vietnam and civil rights led Allan Bloom to brand him a "traitor."



Peter Viereck
Poet, historian and playwright, he denounced the anti-modernists as "Goldwater intellectuals."

2.3 Founders of the New Left

William Appleman Williams
His 1959 critique of U.S. foreign Policy, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy was the classic New Left statement on U.S. foreign policy.

C. Wright Mills
His The Power Elite argued that the growing power of social elites diminished social justice and marginalized ordinary citizens.

Herbert Marcuse
An émigré who studied under Heidegger, and later served in the OSS, Marcuse fused Heidegger's postmodernism with Marxism.

Chapter 3

Neoconservatism as Strategy: Albert Wohlstetter and the Transformation of American Nuclear Doctrine

When Albert Wohlstetter died on January 10, 1997, very few Americans noticed. The New York Times did not publish a death notice until January 14, and that was buried in section *B*, page 8. "If Henry Kissinger had died last Friday," former Wall Street Journal editor Jude Wanniski observed, "the weekend newspapers and television programs would have devoted considerable space to his obituary. In fact, of the two men, Kissinger and Wohlstetter, it is no exaggeration to say that Wohlstetter was the more influential. It is no exaggeration, I think, to say that Wohlstetter was the most influential *unknown* man in the world for the past half century."[99]

A closer look at Wohlstetter's career seems to bear out Wanniski's assessment. Over the course of a career that spanned almost fifty years, Wohlstetter built a reputation as an expert in strategy that is almost unsurpassed in American history. As a RAND Corporation analyst in the 1950s, Wohlstetter took part in the early U.S. efforts to think through the awful new realities of the atomic age. In the process, he seemingly single-handedly designed some of the most significant planning and conceptual elements of early U.S. nuclear strategy. Over the next four decades, as an academic, government consultant and private citizen,

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[99] Jude Wanniski, "Albert Wohlstetter, R.I.P.," January 10, 1997, [online] www.Polyconomics.com, June 1, 2005; Eric Pace, "Albert Wohlstetter, 83, Expert on U.S. Nuclear Strategy, Dies," New York Times. January 14, 19997, B8.

Wohlstetter's voice was heard in almost every significant debate over strategic affairs. Indeed, his influence was such that presidents from Dwight Eisenhower to Bill Clinton gave serious consideration to his views on issues ranging from surprise nuclear attack, to the Cuban missile crisis, to arms control, to the air strikes designed to halt the "ethnic cleansing" of Bosnia.[100]

Wohlstetter's most historically significant and lasting influence, however, derives from his role as one of the "founding fathers" of neoconservatism. Wohlstetter merits this title in two respects. As a strategic theorist, Wohlstetter, more than any other individual, is responsible for the introduction and promotion of the neoconservative impulse in the realm of American strategic thought. This impulse, which incorporates the anti-modernist idea that through moral clarity it is possible to eradicate evil and establish Justice, translated onto the strategic plane as the idea that not only was it possible to fight and win a nuclear war with the Soviet Union, but that one day it would be necessary to do so.[101]

Wohlstetter is also a founder insofar as he played a central role in the coalescence of neoconservatism into a political movement. Over the course of his long career, Wohlstetter, through a combination of professional virtuosity, personal charisma and bureaucratic-political skill, built a group of students, protégés and colleagues into a distinct intellectual "clique." Recognizable by their loyalty to, and promotion of Wohlstetter and his ideas and

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[100] Joint Committee on Defense Production, Security Resources Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee, "Deterrence and Survival in the Nuclear Age," November 7, 1957, pp. 6, 7, 12-14, Digital National Security Archive [online] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 20060) www.gateway.proquest.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.882004&res_dat=xri:dnsa&rft_dat=xri:dnsa:article:PD00531 [Hereafter DNSA]; Roberta and Albert Wohlstetter, D(L)-17906: On Dealing with Castro's Cuba (Santa Monica: RAND, 1965); Albert Wohlstetter, "Genocide by Mediation," New York Times, March 3, 1994, p. 21.

[101] There are only a few serious works that treat the origins, mechanics and/or implications of nuclear war-fighting. The best are: Lawrence Freedman, The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989); Fred Kaplan, Wizards of Armageddon (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983); Steven P. Lee, Morality, Prudence, and Nuclear Weapons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Terry Teriff, The Nixon Administration and the Making of U.S. Nuclear Strategy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

policy preferences, this clique began establishing the neoconservative reputation for strategic competence and expertise in the early 1960s. In so doing, these men also formed the core of what would become a neoconservative movement to transform U.S. national security policy.

Early Life and Education: Logic, Lenin and Anti-modernism

Albert James Wohlstetter was born in New York City on December 19, 1914, the youngest of the four children of Philip and Nellie Wohlstetter. The elder Wohlstetter was a relatively recent Jewish immigrant from Austria-Hungary who served as the Chief Legal Counsel to the Metropolitan Opera. Philip not only provided a comfortable living for his family, but also able had performers appearing at the Met, such as Milo Pico, Enrico Caruso, and Giulio Gatt-Cassoza, to the Wohlstetter home. Unfortunately, the Wohlstetter family's genteel lifestyle ended rather abruptly in 1918 when Philip Wohlstetter died. Nellie Wohlstetter, struggling to make ends meet, took a job and moved the family to a more affordable apartment in the Washington Heights neighborhood of New York. The oldest son, Bill, who was 15, also took a job. [102]

As he grew older, the youngest son, Albert began to exhibit an authoritarian streak that annoyed and disturbed his family members. Taking it upon himself to uphold the family's cultural and intellectual standards, the teenaged Albert encouraged and moderated wide-ranging family discussions and debates at the dinner table, just as his father had done. An excellent student, Albert was, his brother Charles recalled, a formidable opponent in debate. As the Wohlstetter children aged and began to become aware of popular culture,

[102] Charles Wohlstetter, The Right Place, The Right Time (New York: Applause Books, 1997), pp. 1-5.

Albert also began to police the home's reading materials, disposing of any that he did not feel to be sufficiently intellectual or tasteful.[103]

In 1931, at the age of 17, Albert entered New York's City College, (CCNY). Although the Depression had further eroded the family's already modest financial resources, Wohlstetter applied for a CCNY scholarship in modern dance. Relatively skilled in the fox trot, samba, tango and mambo (presumably as a result of his early exposure to the musicians and dancers that had visited his home), he received the scholarship. Once enrolled at City College, however, Wohlstetter gravitated rapidly toward mathematical logic, an obscure and esoteric field that explores the relationships between the natural sciences and philosophy in order to discern the true nature of reality.[104]

At CCNY, Wohlstetter studied under the Russian émigré philosopher and mathematical logician, Morris Raphael Cohen. A former Marxist, Cohen's mature philosophy—as well as his style of teaching—embraced a Platonic conception of objective reality that he believed manifested itself through ideas. Cohen's philosophy also contained a distinct anti-modernist element that held both socialism and liberalism to be manifestations of modernity and, as such, inimical to the essence of Western civilization. Both systems, he believed, promoted social "leveling" by removing "the political and economic restraints which kept the multitude from the realm of education," and as a result, had "let loose a horde of barbarians for the invasion of the fields of intellectual culture."

At the time of Wohlstetter's enrollment, Cohen was engaged in the development of a heuristic theory he called "principle of polarity." Reserved for what one colleague characterized as "a small and almost secret circle," the polarity theory was aimed at solving

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[103] Ibid, p. 15.

[104] Neil Swidey, "The Mind of the Administration, Part2: The Analyst," The Boston Globe, May 18, 2003, p. 4.

social and political problems through a focus on "opposites," or contradictory (or seemingly contradictory) ideas. This focus on opposites would, Cohen held, help to strip away the various relativist assumptions that he presumed had accumulated over time and been reinforced by repeated human agreement, and uncover aspects of objective reality. Wohlstetter, for his part, apparently became quite adept at Cohen's techniques. He published a senior thesis, "The Structure of the Proposition and the Fact," which purported to mathematically describe how similar assumptions are to facts.[105]

Wohlstetter's collegiate career also marked his earliest exposure to socialism. In the philosophy department of the CCNY of the 1930s, one's political awareness was often measured by one's awareness of socialist thought. Groups representing the Stalinist, Leninist, Social Democratic and Trotskyist variants of socialism, as well as a number of sub-variants, the Shermanites, Cochranites, Oehlerites, Lovestoneites, Weisbordites, Stammites, Marlenites, Mienkovites and Fieldites, existed in practically every union hall, educational institution, and neighborhood gathering-place in New York City. Indeed, socialism was so ubiquitous and dynamic in the New York of the 1930s, that the literary critic Lionel Abel characterized the city as "the most interesting part of the Soviet Union."[106]

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[105] Wohlstetter, p. 13; Robert Bierstedt, "Review of The Meaning of Human History," by Morris Raphael Cohen, American Sociological Review 14, 1 (February 1949): 169; Morris R. Cohen, Reason and Nature (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1931), pp. 6, 165, The Meaning of Human History (LaSalle, IL: Open Court Publishing, 1947); Studies in Philosophy and Science (New York: Henry Holt, 1949); "The Insurgence Against Reason," The Journal of Philosophy, v. 22, no.5 (February 1925): 116; Albert Wohlstetter, "The Structure of the Proposition and the Fact," The Journal of Philosophy, v. 3, no. 2 (April 1936): 167-184; American Thought: A Critical Sketch, ed. Felix Cohen (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1954), p. 113, 291; Lewis S. Feuer, "The Philosophy of Morris R. Cohen: Its Social Bearings," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research v. 10, no. 4 (June 1950): 471-485; David Hollinger, Morris R. Cohen and the Scientific Ideal (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1975), 52, 111; Leonora D. Cohen Rosenfield, "Who Was Morris Raphael Cohen?," The City College Alumnus v. 76, no. 2 (December 1980): 8-9.

[106] Max Shachtman, "The Genesis of Trotskyism: The International Let Opposition," pamphlet, November 1933; Lionel Abel, "New York City: Remembrance," Dissent (Summer 1961): p. 255.

Wohlstetter seems to have preferred a Leninist variant of socialism. Originally a member of the main Trotskyist group in the United States, Max Shachtman's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Wohlstetter and his City College classmates, Lawrence Kagan and Morton White left the group in 1932. At issue was an American version of the "Party versus workers" primacy question that had once confronted Lenin: Did the Party exist to serve the workers, or did the Party's interests trump those of the workers? Believing, like Lenin, that the Party should be supreme, Wohlstetter, Kagan, White and five others SWP dissidents founded the "Organization Committee for a Revolutionary Workers' Party" (OCRWP), or "Fieldites," after their leader, B.J. Field. Once separated from the parent organization, the Fieldites, began describing the mainstream Trotskyists as "utterly compromised," ideologically and morally. Eventually the Fieldites' anti-SWP rhetoric became so harsh that Abel once heard them discussing the Trotskyites and thought that they were discussing the Republican Party![107]

Wohlstetter's preference for the Fieldite faction probably had much to do with his personality and the highly theoretical orientation of the group. Quite atypically of the socialist splinter groups of the time, the Fieldites' meetings did not primarily consist of organizing fiery denunciations of capitalism or other groups. Rather, the Fieldites preferred calm, reasoned discussion, interspersed periodically with research presentations. Field himself had been an economic statistician, an occupation not particularly known for producing dynamic revolutionaries. The group's primary theoretical activity consisted of subjecting political issues to what sounds like an early form of systems analysis or economic analysis. This dialectical technique consisted of "breaking" an issue into parts

[107] Max Shachtman, "Dictatorship of Party or Proletariat?," New International v.1, no. 1 (July, 1934): 9-11; Lionel Abel, The Intellectual Follies: A Memoir of the Literary Venture in New York and Paris (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), p. 37.

and analyzing the pieces. This theoretical development effort was characterized at the time as "political cubism." [108]

By mid-1935, the Fieldite faction had begun to implode, as most of its most able members—Wohlstetter and White, in particular—left for graduate school or joined other socialist sub-groups. Wohlstetter enrolled in Columbia University in the fall of 1935, aiming to continue his studies in mathematical logic, as well as statistics and economics. Upon arriving at Columbia, Wohlstetter began his studies under the Romanian émigré, theoretical mathematician Abraham Wald. Wald also served as advisor to Jacob "Jack" Wolfowitz, a young New York City high school math teacher studying part-time for his Ph.D. in statistics.

Wald also introduced Wohlstetter to one of Columbia's most prolific patrons, Frank Altschul. Altschul, a prominent investment banker with a keen interest in foreign affairs, was personally acquainted with such notables as Henry and Claire Booth Luce, Alf Landon, Herbert Hoover, the Dulles brothers, David Ben-Gurion, Reinhold Niebuhr and Margaret Bourke White. A staunch anti-Communist, Altschul was later to become a founding member of the original Committee on the Present Danger. Taking Wohlstetter under his wing, Altschul began to introduce the young man to his rarefied social circle. He also lectured Wohlstetter on the evils of socialism. Presumably, Wohlstetter did not mention his extracurricular activities with the Fieldites.[109]

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[108] James P. Cannon, "Internationalism and the Socialist Workers Party," Defending the Revolutionary Party (New York: Resistance Books, 1966), p. 23; Abel, p. 37; Max Schactman, "A Footnote for Historians," New International v.4, no. 12 (December 1938): 377-379.

[109] Shelemyahu Zack, "Jacob Wolfowitz, A Biographical Memoir," National Academy of Sciences Biographical Memoirs, v. 82 (Washington DC: The National Academy Press, 2002), pp. 5-12; Jack Wolfowitz, "Abraham Wald, 1902-1950," The Annals of Mathematical Statistics (New York: Institute of Mathematical Statistics, 1952), pp. 1-8; Albert Wohlstetter to Frank Altschul, Frank Altschul Papers, Herbert H. Lehman Papers, folder

While at Columbia he also met Roberta Morgan, a Vassar graduate (B.A., 1933), working toward her Master's degree in Political Science. Finding that they shared an interest in socialist politics and modern dance, Albert and Roberta quickly became romantically involved. Both had completed their coursework in 1939, and they celebrated by getting married and making plans for traveling to Great Britain. America's entry into the war in 1941, however, interrupted their plans.

Although Wohlstetter was exposed to the draft, he was able to avoid service. His brother Charles, by now a Wall Street investment banker who counted E.F. Hutton and J. Paul Getty among his personal friends, was able to secure a civilian position for him. In early 1942 Charles prevailed upon his friend, former Rutgers economics professor and head of the newly formed Office of Production Management, Supply Priorities and Allocations Board (PMSPAB), Arthur Burns, to appoint Wohlstetter to its economic research section. In 1942, the PMSPAB was organizationally (and alphabetically) streamlined into the War Production Board (WPB), and Albert was appointed to its Planning Committee. The new position, aside from more responsibility and professional prestige, allowed Wohlstetter to gain invaluable experience in government planning and procurement systems.

Wohlstetter's new position also required him to spend much more time in Washington. His time there allowed him to make a number of high-placed contacts. Most notable among these was Charles Hitch. A former Oxford economist who had abandoned academia to serve as a corporal in the Army Air Force, Hitch later became the Assistant Director of the U.S. Army Air Force-Douglas Aircraft Corporation joint venture known as

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549, Columbia University Library, Columbia University, New York, New York; "Civic Group Asks Aid to Eisenhower," New York Times, January 8, 1951, p. 1.

RAND (for Research And Development) Corporation. Wohlstetter's acquaintance with Hitch was later to prove very important to his career.[110]

In On the Ground Floor: Wohlstetter and the First Window of Vulnerability

The end of the war found the Wohlstetters unemployed, and in 1947, they moved to California to pursue employment. Almost as soon as they arrived in California, the Wohlstetters ran into Abraham Girshick, an old friend from Columbia's statistics department, on the street in Santa Monica. Girshick immediately attempted to recruit both Roberta and Albert to join him at the newly formed RAND Corporation. In short order Roberta interviewed with Albert's old acquaintance Charles Hitch, and was hired as a consultant in RAND's social science division. Albert signed on with a fabricated housing manufacturer called General Panel Inc. In 1949, however, General Panel filed for bankruptcy.[111]

Wohlstetter's luck had changed by 1950. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 sparked planning for an expanded and re-organized Air Force, and these changes were reflected in expansion and re-organization at RAND. Roberta, aware that Hitch was casting about for people with mathematical-analytical and management backgrounds, approached him about a consulting position for Albert. In early 1951, Hitch hired Wohlstetter as a consultant, and assigned him to the Mathematics Group under John Williams. Williams

[110] Albert Wohlstetter, interview with Martin Collins and Joseph Tatarewicz, Los Angeles, CA, July 29, 1987, tape 1, side 1 (Washington DC: National Aerospace Museum RAND Oral History Series, 1989) [Hereafter referred to as: Collins, "Wohlstetter"]; Marc Trachtenberg, "Strategic Thought in America, 1952-1966," Political Science Quarterly, 104, 2 (Summer 1989): 308; James Digby, "Strategy for the Nuclear Era," 50th: Project Air Force, 1946-1996, ed. James Digby (Santa Monica: RAND, 1996), p. 23; American Historical Association, "Historical News," The American Historical Review, 46, 1 (October 1940): 258.

[111] Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1; Joseph Giovanni, "…And Prefabricated Homes: An Idea That Didn't Take," New York Times, October 13, 1983, sec. C, p. 6.

assigned Wohlstetter to an internal project headed by the scientific management expert, Igor Ansoff, entitled "Outline of a Study for the Plans Analysis Section." [112]

The expansion and transformation of the Air Force during this period presented it with a number of large and open questions. Air Force planners, for instance, sought to acquire several new types of airplanes, including at least one, and possibly two, new intercontinental bombers. Almost all of the programmed airplanes incorporated new technologies that presented a number of manufacturing challenges. As a result, the service found it extremely difficult to estimate its costs. In the face of such a massive investment—and tough questions from the Congress—the Air Force wanted to be quite certain about its choices. As a result, the service asked RAND to "examine all types of hot and cold war situations likely to occur in the near future," to match each with "the most efficient and flexible strategies and weapons," and to "forecast costs."[113]

The Air Force's expansion also involved implementation of its "forward-basing" strategy that would literally contain the Soviet Union by surrounding it with Strategic Air Command (SAC) airbases. The number of air wings was slated to increase from 40 to 110, and approximately 82 new airbases would be constructed. In terms of manpower, forward-basing required an increase in total service personnel of approximately 400 per cent. During peacetime, these bases would be operated below full strength, with approximately half of SAC's strategic bomber force dispersed among them. Upon receipt of strategic warning, however, SAC would begin operating under a deployment plan, code-named

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[112] H. I. Ansoff, W. W. Baldwin, D. J. Davis, N. Kaplan, P. Kecskemeti, and A. Wohlstetter, D-937: Outline of a Study for the Plans Analysis Section (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, May 10, 1951), pp.1- 2; Collins, "Wohlstetter," pp. 3-4.

[113] Dr. David Novick, interview with Martin Collins, Santa Monica, CA., February 24, 1988, tape 1, side 2 (Washington DC: National Aerospace Museum RAND Oral History Series, 1989) [Hereafter: Collins, "Novick"]; David Novick, Beginning of Military Cost Analysis: 1950-1961 (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1988), pp. 1-3.

"Reflex," in which the entire U.S. bomber force would fully deploy to the forward bases and, within "several days," begin combat sorties against Soviet targets. RAND's task was to examine the forward-based strategy, seek to improve on earlier Air Force analyses, and make recommendations about site selection, defensive measures, and costs.[114]

Charged with directing the gigantic, multifaceted project, the economist David Novick began to scour RAND for all available personnel. Wohlstetter, then still a consultant, was assigned to look at dispersal and "hardening" measures that the Air Force might take to mitigate the vulnerabilities of its air bases. This represented a daunting task for Wohlstetter insofar he had no prior experience in military affairs or heavy construction. Moreover, he would have to do a large portion of the work single-handedly. As a consultant, Wohlstetter had no authority to requisition internal resources or assign tasks to regular RAND employees. Rather, he had to rely on cajoling and bargaining to gain assistance from engineers, physicists and other professionals—an approach that he described as "more seduction than rape."[115]

As a seducer, however, Wohlstetter was relatively successful. He managed to secure significant assistance from several analysts from the Mathematics Group, Edward Quade, Henry Rowen, Alain Enthoven and Fred Hoffman. Applied mathematicians Quade, Rowen and Enthoven were sought out by Wohlstetter to examine the sortie and probable attrition rates of U.S. strategic bombers in a conflict with the Soviet Union. These rates would play

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[114] Robert E. Harkavy, Great Power Competition for Overseas Bases: The Geopolitics of Access Diplomacy (New York: Penguin Press, 1982), p. 116; Albert Wohlstetter, Fred S. Hoffman, R.J. Lutz and Henry Rowen, R-266, TS-972: Selection and Use of Strategic Airbases (Santa Monica: RAND Corp., 1954), p. 4; C.L. Sulzberger, "New Bomber Bases in Morocco Bolster U.S. Global Air Strategy," New York Times, February 9, 1952, p. 5.

[115] Edward Quade, interview by Martin Collins, Laguna Hills, CA., February 18, 1988, tape 1, side 2 (Washington DC: National Aerospace Museum RAND Oral History Series,1989) [Hereafter: Collins, "Quade"]; Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1; Collins, "Novick, tape 2, side 2.

a crucial role in determining the location and defensive characteristics of the new SAC bases.[116]

The difficulties Wohlstetter encountered in securing assistance may have also led to another, more serious problem. In May of 1953, Novick received a call from the president of RAND, Frank Collbohm, asking if he was aware that Wohlstetter had drafted a summary of the air base study's key findings (Summary Staff Report, R-244-S), and had briefed members of the Air Force's Air Staff on it. Collbohm was troubled by the material in Wohlstetter's presentation, and did not want Wohlstetter to conduct further briefings until the data could be analyzed further. Novick replied that he had approved neither the summary nor the briefing, and asked Collbohm to send him a copy of Wohlstetter's report.

The next day, Novick summoned Wohlstetter to his office to express his concerns about the veracity of the data contained in Wohlstetter's summary. "Albert," Novick asked, "where did you get these numbers?" Wohlstetter replied that he had gotten them from his secretary. Upon questioning, the secretary told Novick that she had gotten the data from Wohlstetter. Novick again called Wohlstetter to his office to inquire about the figures. On this occasion, Wohlstetter replied that he had gotten the figures from Quade. When Novick asked Quade about the data, however, Quade told Novick that the numbers must have come from Wohlstetter. At this point, Novick, convinced that Wohlstetter had falsified his data, fired him.[117]

Wohlstetter was not, however, prepared to end his career at RAND so quickly. The next day, he made an early morning trip to the Los Angeles airport to meet Charles Hitch, who was returning from Europe. Telling Hitch that Novick had "censored" his work,

[116] Collins, "Quade," tape 1, side 2 and tape 2, side 2.

[117] Collins, "Novick," tape 2, side 2.

Wohlstetter prevailed upon Hitch to come with him immediately to RAND to confront Novick. Going to Novick's office alone, Hitch heard his version of events and, apparently satisfied, departed for home and some much needed rest. After Hitch had left, Novick called Wohlstetter to his office again and informed him in no uncertain terms that he was not being censored, but fired. The matter seemed at an end.[118]

Wohlstetter's career at RAND did not, however, end with his termination by Novick. Although the historical record is murky, it seems that Lawrence Henderson, the chief of RAND's Washington office, telephoned Hitch to protest Wohlstetter's firing. Wohlstetter had arranged to brief the Air Staff, and Henderson feared that explaining his departure at a critical juncture in the project would be quite awkward. Hitch, apparently also not wanting to endanger RAND's Air Force contract, informed Frank Collbohm that he wanted to re-hire Wohlstetter as a regular employee. Although Collbohm objected, he and Hitch eventually reached a compromise whereby Wohlstetter would not conduct any further briefings until a complete draft of the final report was available, and not just the Summary Staff Report (R-244-S) prepared by Wohlstetter. As a result of this compromise, Wohlstetter was re-hired—this time as a RAND employee—in June, 1953.

Wohlstetter's ability to avoid being sacked at RAND is a testament to his political instincts and ability, as well as a great deal of luck. He had had the foresight to have himself assigned as the Washington briefer, perhaps aware that this position would bestow a measure of indispensability. Of course, it also demonstrates a measure of presumption

[118] Ibid.

insofar as Wohlstetter seems to have contacted Henderson without the knowledge of his direct superiors. He had, it seemed, already learned something of bureaucratic politics.[119]

Despite the difficulties attendant to its completion, the final version of the air base study was presented to the Air Staff for review in October, 1953. Entitled "Selection and Use of Strategic Airbases" the study compared the Air Force's "Reflex" plan with three other systems: 1) a modified version of "Reflex" in which the bombers were positioned at the nearest of the foreign bases; 2) a system in which the bombers were based both abroad and within the continental U.S. and re-fueled in flight; 3) a continental U.S.-based system in which the bombers were re-fueled on the ground at overseas bases. In a conclusion that seems counter-intuitive, Wohlstetter found that the third option would be cheaper by almost $9 billion.[120]

More astonishing and significant than the cost figures was the degree to which the U.S. strategic bomber force was found to be vulnerable to a Soviet attack. While studying the distribution of the SAC bomber force in the overseas bases, it became obvious to Wohlstetter rather quickly that the bombers were vulnerable to a preemptive Soviet strike. When the damage estimates of what aircraft and infrastructure could be expected to survive were considered, however, the results were shocking. A Soviet attack, Wohlstetter concluded, would destroy anywhere from 60 to 85 per cent of America's atomic delivery capability with only "small numbers of A-bombs." Moreover, the destruction to runways and re-fueling and maintenance facilities would be so complete that any aircraft that

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[119] Ibid; Collins, "Quade," tape 1, side 2; Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1.

[120] Albert Wohlstetter, Fred S. Hoffman, R.J. Lutz and Henry Rowen, R-266, TS-972: Selection and Use of Strategic Airbases, (Santa Monica: RAND Corp., 1954); Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1.

managed to survive the initial attack would not be able to re-load and re-fuel at the overseas bases.[121]

Although many of Wohlstetter's RAND colleagues were dubious of his findings, checking and re-checking could find no fault with his analysis. The Air Force, too, mistrusted his results and hastily assembled an *ad hoc* study group to verify his conclusions. Like the RAND team, they also found no errors. Although the task of the "checkers" was complicated by the fact that many of Wohlstetter's figures and formulae originated with SAC, with little or no explanation as to how the Air Force had arrived at them, the conclusions seemed valid. Finding no mathematical errors, the Air Force asked for an explanation of his methodology.

Wohlstetter's unique conclusions were not, however, the result any unique methodology, but a result of his alteration of the premise of the basing study. In a manner reminiscent of Cohen's polarity theories, Wohlstetter managed to strip away the various "intuitive" assumptions that surrounded the problem. His most basic alteration of the study's premise was to assume that the Soviets would one day mount a surprise attack. Proceeding from this premise, Wohlstetter began to look at costs and sortie rates based on time and distance. The earlier Air Force analyses of "Reflex" had proceeded from the seemingly common-sense assumption that the sheer proximity to the Soviet Union of the forward foreign bases meant that they would be cheaper and result in more bombers over the targets. As a result, these earlier analyses tended to look for ways to improve conditions and

[121] Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1; Wohlstetter, Rowen, et. al., pp. xxvi, 263, 292.

equipment at the forward bases, while completely overlooking the increasing vulnerability of the bomber force. [122]

Although Wohlstetter's conclusions appeared to have undermined most of the operational assumptions upon which the forward-basing strategy rested, the Air Force did not elect to immediately abandon that strategy. The primary obstacle to Air Force acceptance of the study's recommendations was General Curtis LeMay, the commander of SAC. LeMay opposed the removal of the SAC bomber force to the continental United States because he did not regard vulnerability as a problem. SAC's bombers would not await a Soviet strike against them before they took to the air. Moreover, LeMay believed that relocation to the United States would greatly complicate the sort of World War II-style strategic bombing campaign that SAC had planned for against the Soviet Union. LeMay did, however, move to reduce SAC's vulnerability by developing a plan—which was never fully implemented—whereby approximately one-half of the bomber fleet was to be kept on "ground alert" at all times. SAC also partially instituted a plan whereby various nuclear-armed units were rotated among the overseas bases for "training." The idea here, of course, was to complicate Soviet targeting by conducting a sort of strategic "shell game," in which the Soviets could never be sure exactly which air wings were armed with atomic weapons.[123]

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[122] Dr. Ernst Plessett , interview with Martin Collins and Joseph Tatarewicz, Woodside, CA., tape 1, side 2, February 9, 1988 (Washington DC: National Aerospace Museum RAND Oral History Series, 1989) [hereafter Collins and Taterwicz, "Plessett."]; Bruce L.R. Smith, RAND: Case Study of a Non-Profit Advisory Corporation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 11-45.

[123] U.S. Congress, House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Civil Functions and Military Construction, "Report, 1954," 83rd Congress, 2nd Session (March 11, 1954): 78-90; Richard Smoke, National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma (New York: Random House, 1987), pp. 98-99; Secretary of Defense Charles F. Wilson, "Memorandum for the President," June 24, 1953, Declassified Documents Reference System, [online] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006): http://eresources.lib.unc.edu/eid/list.php?letter=D, CK3100045304 [Hereafter DDRSO]

Despite SAC's initial lukewarm reaction to Wohlstetter's work, the basing study represents a transformative event in the evolution of American strategic thought. Wohlstetter's study and its companion studies were the first serious consideration of "nuclear war-fighting," or the use of nuclear weapons against a *similarly armed enemy*. While there was, by the late 1940s, a burgeoning body of literature on how nuclear weapons might be used in war, the majority of these works focused on what SAC could do to the Soviet Union on a clear day. Almost none of the earlier works took into account the incredible operational complexities involved in actually fighting a war with nuclear weapons.

Similarly, almost no one took defensive measures, accidents, or equipment, communication and leadership failures into account. The few authors that did address the problems inherent in nuclear operations, such as Bernard Brodie and Thomas Schelling, offered few prescriptions. As a result, many began to suspect that, against a similarly armed enemy, nuclear weapons had no real political and military utility beyond mutual deterrence. As Harry Truman put it, "an atomic war is totally unthinkable for rational men." Wohlstetter's analysis, however, indicated that not only was nuclear war militarily "thinkable," but also that striking first was the only route to victory.[124]

The basing study was also a milestone in Albert Wohlstetter's career. From 1951 to 1956, he delivered literally hundreds of briefings to policymakers, academics, military leaders and defense contractors. Indeed, in one notable stretch of seven months, he delivered no less than ninety-two briefings. In the process of conducting these presentations,

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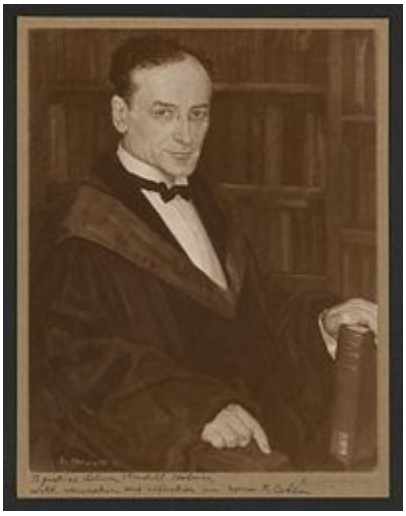
[124] Harry S. Truman, "Farewell Address," January 15, 1953, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1945-1953, ed. John Woolley and Gerhard Peters [online] The American Presidency Project (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California, 2006): www.presidency.uscb.edu/ws, 12238; Stefan T. Possony, Strategic Air Power, The Pattern of Dynamic Security (Washington DC: Infantry Journal Press, 1949); Hans Morgenthau, "The Conquest of the United States by Germany," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 6, 1 (January 1950): D.F. Fleming, "What Follows the Arms Race,?" Journal of Politics 14, 2 (May 1952): 203-223; John Slessor, Strategy for the West (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1954); C.N. Barclay, The New Warfare (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954).

3.1 Albert Wohlstetter

Wohlstetter at RAND, 1958

Congressional testimony, 1975

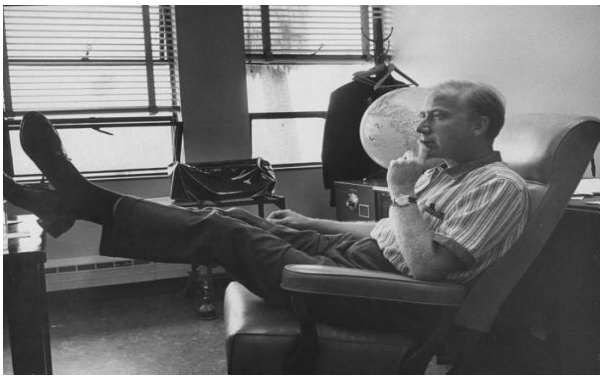


Morris Raphael Cohen
in his academic regalia as head of the Mathematics and Philosophy Department at City College of New York. Wohlstetter's graduate advisor, his fusion of anti-modernism and mathematical logic provided a model for Wohlstetter's approach to strategic problems.

3.2 Wohlstetter at RAND

The RAND Corporation in 1947

General Maxwell Taylor (l) with Wohlstetter's boss, Frank Collbohm, RAND, 1958



Wohlstetter in his office at RAND

3.3 Wohlstetter and his Nuclear Family

Albert Wohlstetter's living room sometime in the 1960s
L-R: Andrew Marshall, Daniel Ellsberg, Frank Trinkl, Wohlstetter, Roberta Wohlstetter.

Wohlstetter not only became personally identified with the issue of strategic vulnerability, but he also literally became the face of RAND within the defense establishment. Tall, trim, impeccably dressed, and self-assured, he undoubtedly cut a striking figure in front of an audience. Possessing an almost superhuman ability to talk for hours (a "monomaniacal monologuer," according to one colleague), his presentations were, from all accounts, forceful, interesting and quite eloquent, as well as physically and mentally demanding. Wohlstetter, however, did not suffer critics gladly. Hostile questions were likely to be dismissed curtly, or the questioner demolished with a barrage of logic and obscure facts that Wohlstetter would recite from memory.[125]

Closing the Window of Vulnerability: Wohlstetter, Limited War and Counterforce

Dwight Eisenhower had been in the White House barely a month when his administration began to take fire for its lack of a well-defined security policy. The first significant criticism emanated from Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA), a member of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Chaired by Senator Russell B. Long (D-LA), the subcommittee decried the "excessive" cost and high vulnerability of U.S. air bases abroad. Drawing heavily on Wohlstetter's basing study, Long's subcommittee prepared a public and well-publicized report that detailed U.S.

[125] Robert Jervis, telephone interview with the author, June 16, 2005; Tom Wells, Wildman: The Life and Times of Daniel Ellsberg (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 134; On Not Confusing Ourselves: Essays on National Security Strategy in Honor of Albert and Roberta Wohlstetter, ed. Henry Rowen, J.J. Martin and Andrew Marshall (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 210. In order to gain an idea of the breadth of Wohlstetter's briefings, see Albert Wohlstetter, D-1062: Initial and Annual Costs and Peacetime Life Expectancies October 30, 1951; D-1114: Economic and Strategic Considerations in Airbase Location December 29, 1951; Albert Wohlstetter and Harry Rowen, D-1147: Campaign Time Pattern, Sortie Rate and Base Location January 25, 1952; D(L)-1246: A Little Answer and Some Big Questions for the Target Systems Analysis April 9, 1952; Albert Wohlstetter and Fred Hoffman, D-2270: Defending a Strategic Force After 1960 February 1, 1954; Albert Wohlstetter, Fred S. Hoffman, and M. E. Arnsten, RM-1398: Measures to Protect Air Base Bulk Fuel Stocks, (Santa Monica: RAND,1954).

vulnerabilities. The grim tenor of this report not only moved the issue to the top of the Armed Services Committee's agenda, but also prompted a parallel investigation into SAC vulnerability in the House.[126]

Despite appearances and congressional accusations, the Eisenhower Administration was not sitting on its hands. Ike had come into office promising a New Look" at U.S. national security and had commissioned in February 1953 what was to be the first of several defense studies, "Project Solarium." Completed in December, "Project Solarium" resulted in what was to be the strategic centerpiece of the Eisenhower Administration's security policy: Massive Retaliation. First articulated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on January 12, 1954, Massive Retaliation put the Soviets on notice that any aggression on their part would potentially be met by a U.S. nuclear strike. Where the nuclear blow would fall or in response to what Soviet actions was not spelled out but left intentionally vague. The United States, Dulles said, would "reserve the right to retaliate in places and with means of our own choosing."[127]

The articulation and subsequent elaborations of Massive Retaliation did little to silence the administration's critics. Criticism of Massive Retaliation became a veritable cottage industry within American and British academia, largely on the grounds that it simply was not credible to threaten nuclear war over any intrusion upon the "Free World." Congressional critics took a different tack, arguing that the administration was simply not doing enough to protect the nation. Various Democrats (and at least one Republican)

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[126] Harold B. Hinton, "Global Air Bases Fail Despite Huge Costs, 2 Senators Charge," New York Times, February 15, 1953, p.1;Senate Armed Services Committee, Investigation of the Preparedness Program, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, September, 1953; Report of Special Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, 83rd Congress, 2nd Session, April 12, 1954.

[127] John F. Dulles, "The Evolution of Foreign Policy," Department of State Bulletin 30, Washington DC, January 25, 1954 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office), pp. 107-110.

seeking to establish themselves as defense experts, initiated a series of hearings on various aspects of national security policy. Some explored continental defense and the state of missile technology. Other hearings, reflecting the influence of Wohlstetter's RAND colleague, Herman Kahn, looked into civil defense and post-nuclear war conditions. The most prominent investigation, however, was Symington's "bomber gap" hearings. Exploring the possibility that the Soviets were producing their "Bear" and "Bison" bombers much faster than the United States was building the B-52, the subcommittee generated a great deal of newsprint and presidential bile, but very little substantive information.[128]

The Congress was not, however, the only branch of government conducting investigations. Throughout Eisenhower's two terms, the president authorized a number of studies by both government agencies and private consultants—chartered as presidential "panels" and "committees"—to look into various aspects of U.S. national security. In the spring of 1957 one of these agencies, the Federal Civilian Defense Administration (FCDA), submitted a remarkable and disturbing report to the White House. The United States, the

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[128] Bernard Brodie, "Some Notes on the Evolution of Air Doctrine," World Politics 7, 3 (April, 1955): 349-370; "The Anatomy of Deterrence," World Politics 11, 2 (January, 1959): 173-191; Edgar S. Furniss, Jr., American Military Policy: Strategic Aspects of World Political Geography (New York: Reinhart & Co., 1957); Donald Cox, "A Dynamic Philosophy of Airpower," Military Affairs 21, 3 (Autumn, 1957): 132-138; "Report on European trip of the Subcommittee on Defense Activities," House Armed Services Committee, 83rd Congress, 2nd session, September 9-October 11, 1954; "Aircraft Nuclear Propulsion Program," Joint Committee on Atomic Energy March 14, 1955 84th C, 1st session; "Continental Defense Panel Report," Jan 10, 1955; Development of Rockets and Guided Missiles with Nuclear Warheads," May 25, 1955; "State of Atomic Preparedness," May 3, 13, 1955; "Civil Defense for National Survival," Government Operations Committee, January 31, February 1, 1956, March 13-15, 20, 22, 23, 27-29, 1956 84th C, 2nd session; "Briefing on National Defense," House Armed Services Committee, Congressional Record, 83rd Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 647-656; "Study of Airpower," Hearings before the Subcommittee on the Air Force of the Senate Armed Services Committee (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956); Dean Acheson, "Instant Retaliation: The Debate Continued," New York Times Magazine (March 28, 1954): 78; "Defense Study Pushed," New York Times (February 24, 1955): 34; C.P. Trussell, "Defense Study Underway with Stress on Air Power," New York Times (September 13, 1955): 1; "15 Major Cities Picked for Civil Defense Study," Washington Post (September 18, 1955): 74; William S. White, "President Scored On Missile Output," New York Times (February 11, 1956):8; "Senate Unit Sets Air Power Study; Soviet Gains Cited," New York Times (May 18, 1955): 1; Herman Kahn, R-322-RC: Report on a Study pf Non-Military Defense (Santa Monica: RAND Corp., July 1, 1958); Sharon Ghamari-Tabizi, The Worlds of Herman Kahn: The Intuitive Science of Thermonuclear War (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 187-8, 209, 275.

FCDA report stated, would lose somewhere between 70-90 per cent of its population and 100 per cent of its industrial base if the Soviet Union launched a nuclear attack against the nation. In order to prevent such a catastrophic loss of life, the agency recommended that the government construct a system of blast shelters for the population at a cost of approximately $40-$50 billion.[129]

The FCDA report presented Eisenhower with a dilemma. The cost of constructing a national system of blast shelters was, as Ike knew, prohibitive. Indeed, the $40 billion price-tag was roughly equivalent to one-quarter of the entire U.S. defense budget. Sensitized by the Democrats' charges, the president was not, however, willing to simply ignore the FCDA findings. In order to resolve the quandary, Eisenhower ordered his Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, Robert Cutler, to form a presidential investigatory panel, designated the Security Resources Panel, to "form a broad-brush opinion of the relative values of various active and passive measures to protect the civil population in case of nuclear attack."[130]

As chairman of the panel, the president selected H. Rowan Gaither. Although Gaither, a prominent San Francisco attorney, had never served in government, he was well-versed in national security affairs and grasped the gravity of the issues at stake. Gaither was also a close personal friend of Eisenhower's and a man that the president believed could be relied upon to present an objective report. As chairman of the board of the RAND Corporation and president of the Ford Foundation, Gaither not only had knowledge of, and

[129] Science Advisory Committee, "Report of the Technological Capabilities Panel: Meeting the Threat of Surprise Attack," v.1, February 14, 1955, p. iv, DDRSO, CK310002005.

[130] Robert Cutler, "Memorandum to the Director of the Security Resources Panel, Mr. H. Rowan Gaither, June 27, 1957" July 23, 1957, DDRSO, CK3100098421.

access to, some of the finest minds in the country, he also had the prestige and professional leverage to enlist their assistance. In less than a month, Gaither, had recruited former MIT faculty member, Robert C. Sprague, former Deputy Defense Secretary William C. Foster, and a large scientific, engineering and economic staff borrowed from MIT, the Institute for Defense Analysis and RAND. Paul Nitze, the former director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff and the author of NSC-68, and Colonel George A. Lincoln of West Point were added as advisors.[131]

Thus constituted, the Security Resources Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee (or the "Gaither Committee," as it was informally known), set about its work in the summer of 1957. The Panel's work, however, was almost immediately interrupted by a sudden illness that landed Gaither in the hospital. In the interim Nitze and Foster insisted to Sprague (who was serving as acting director) that the Panel broaden its inquiry to include almost every aspect of national security policy, despite Cutler's explicit injunction that "it should be clearly understood that the Panel's mission does not extend to a detailed examination of national security policies and programs for the purpose of recommending specific modifications in such policies or programs." Sprague agreed to broaden the Panel's research purview with the understanding that the final report would, however, be subject to Gaither's approval.

Upon his return, Gaither contacted Wohlstetter to ask him his opinion of broadening the study. Wohlstetter proposed that the committee consider the vulnerability of U.S.

[131] Morton H. Halperin, "The Gaither Committee and the Policy Process," World Politics 13, 3 (April 1961): 362.

strategic forces. Gaither not only accepted Wohlstetter's suggestion, but also asked him to consult on the study. Wohlstetter agreed and briefed members of the Panel extensively.[132]

The influence of Wohlstetter's thought was evident in the Gaither Committee's final report, which appeared in the fall of 1957 as "Deterrence and Survival in the Nuclear Age." The report did address its original task by considering civil defense as well as the capabilities of U.S. conventional forces, the structure of the Defense Department and the Soviet economy. But the main focus was on the vulnerability of U.S. strategic forces. SAC, the committee found, was "seriously vulnerable" to a surprise attack. Over the next two years, however, this vulnerability would only increase as the Soviet Union began to deploy "a significant ICBM delivery capability with megaton warheads." By late 1959, the Gaither Report concluded, "SAC would be completely vulnerable" to a Soviet attack.[133]

In order to prevent this "window of vulnerability" from opening, the Gaither Committee made several recommendations, some of which were not new, but had not previously been integrated into a comprehensive strategy. Gaither recommended, for instance, that the U.S. bomber force should be relocated to the United States. While this echoed Wohlstetter's basing study, Gaither integrated some of the recommendations that the Air Force had submitted prior to the basing study, such as deploying the bomber force in underground, steel-reinforced concrete hangars, and ringing the air bases with the Nike-Hercules surface-to-air missile system. The committee's report also recommended that the government take steps to enhance strategic intelligence and warning.

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[132] Ibid; Cutler, p. 3; Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1.

[133] Joint Committee on Defense Production, Security Resources Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee, "Deterrence and Survival in the Nuclear Age," November 7, 1957, pp. 6, 7, 12-14, Digital National Security Archive [online] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006) www.gateway.proquest.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.882004&res_dat=xri:dnsa&rft_dat=xri:dnsa:article:PD00531 [Hereafter DNSA].

Although the consideration of offensive capabilities had not been part of the Gaither committee's charter, the report also made recommendations for improving U.S. striking power. These recommendations, however, went beyond what seemed to sufficient for simple deterrence. While the CIA was estimating that the Soviet Union would have no more than a dozen intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) operational by 1961, Gaither advised that the Atlas and Titan missile programs be expanded from the approximately 60 missiles programmed, to something on the order of 800. The still-developmental Polaris and Minuteman programs, the report further advised, should be significantly accelerated. If there was to be a vulnerability problem in the next few years, the Gaither Committee seemed intent on ensuring that it was a Soviet vulnerability problem. The total cost for these and the Gaither Panel's other recommendations: an additional $60 billion over the next five years.[134]

Despite the enormous costs projected by the Gaither Report, the president was impressed by the sense of crisis that the report conveyed. According to Eisenhower's science advisor and close friend, Dr. James Killian, Ike now seemed "haunted" by the possibility of a Soviet surprise attack. Eisenhower, however, only authorized one significant new defensive measure: the acceleration of the enhanced over-the-horizon radar system known as the "Ballistic Missile Early Warning System" (BMEWS). The president's main response was the acceleration of the Titan, Atlas, Minuteman and Polaris missile programs, although not to the degree recommended by the Gaither Committee. Eisenhower also authorized the Defense Secretary McElroy to initiate planning for the development of a

[134] Ibid.

single, integrated targeting plan under the direction of SAC command in Omaha, and pressed forward with the development of the Nike anti-missile missile system.[135]

Eisenhower also sought to moderate the problem of surprise attack through diplomacy. In January 1958, Eisenhower—over the objections of the Joint Chiefs and the Defense Department—proposed that the United States, the Soviet Union and its Eastern bloc allies, as well as Britain, Canada, Italy and France, meet to discuss surprise attack. The talks, the president suggested, could take place at a special conference within the context of the nuclear test ban negotiations already scheduled for that summer in Geneva. The Soviet response was favorable, if characteristically slow, with the acceptance note arriving in Washington on September 15. With the conference slated to begin on November 10, Secretary of Defense McElroy, Secretary of State Dulles and Eisenhower's chief science advisor, James Killian, began to quickly assemble a team of nuclear "experts." William C. Foster, late of the Gaither Committee was selected to head the American delegation. Foster, in turn, prevailed upon Wohlstetter to serve as the deputy chief scientific advisor.[136]

As the U.S. delegation convened in Washington in the fall of 1958 to prepare hurriedly for the Geneva talks, two papers circulated among the delegates that would define American strategic thought for the next fifty years. The first of these, "Space

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[135] Dwight D. Eisenhower, Waging Peace p. 221; "Blow to U.S. Seen; Jackson says Soviet Satellite Hurts Nation's Prestige," New York Times (October 6, 1957): 42; "Senators Attack Missile Fund Cut," New York Times (October 6, 1957): 1; "Jackson Insists Eisenhower Act," New York Times (October 11, 1957): 8; "Congress Steps Up Missile Pressure," Washington Post (November 4, 1957): 10; "NATO Atom School Urged by Senator Jackson," New York Times (November 13, 1957): 1; Memorandum, Charles A. Haskins to Robert Cutler; FRUS, 1958-60, v. III: National Security Policy, pp. 2, 6, 18, 56, 82-83, 113, 125, 127; James R. Killian, Sputniks, Scientists and Eisenhower: A Memoir of the First Assistant to the President for Science and Technology (Cambridge: MIT University Press, 1967), p. 68.

[136] U.S. Department of State, Documents on Disarmament 1945-1959 v. 2 (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 58-61; Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1.

'Disarmament,' by the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) consultant Lewis C. Bohn, was a manifestation of an emerging school of thought—the "Charles River" school—that viewed stability as the key to avoiding surprise attack. Named for its association with Henry Kissinger of Harvard and Thomas Schelling of MIT (institutions along the banks of the Charles River), the Charles River school emphasized the ability to ride out an initial blow and inflict unacceptable damage on the enemy. Under the Charles River concept of stability, the threat of mutual destruction, or what would come to be called "mutual assured destruction" (MAD) by the popular press, would obtain as long as both sides maintained reasonably secure strategic forces (i.e., forces capable of surviving an attack and retaliating). The key to preventing surprise attack, therefore, would be to limit the number and types of arms. High numbers greatly increased the chance of accidents, Bohm argued. Similarly, Bohn maintained that counterforce weapons (i.e., weapons aimed at the other side's weapons) were destabilizing insofar as they placed a premium on striking first, lest one's weapons be destroyed on the ground.[137]

As a counterpoint to Bohn, Wohlstetter circulated a paper—later published as "The Delicate Balance of Terror"—that was to serve as the foundation for his evolving concept of nuclear war-fighting. Although it offered no explication as to precisely how a nuclear war might be fought to a politically significant victory, "The Delicate Balance" undercut the Charles River doctrine of stable deterrence through mutual assured destruction. Wohlstetter's thesis in this regard was that the strategic balance was not stable, but a precarious situation. The weapons did not, in and of themselves "automatically" create a state of mutual deterrence. Rather, deterrence emerged from the interplay of a range of complex

[137] Lewis C. Bohn, "Space 'Disarmament,'" March 18, 1958, quoted in Donald G. Brennan, "Mutual Deterrence and Arms Limitation in Soviet Policy," International Security 3, 3 (Winter 1978-1979): 196.

factors, such as force structure, dispersal, location, security, doctrine, etc. Insofar as it was unlikely arms control would ever be able to address all of these factors simultaneously, one might be actually be doing more harm than good by concluding agreements that night upset the delicate balance upon which deterrence rested.

Of the factors which upheld deterrence, the invulnerability of the strategic force was the most important in Wohlstetter's view. Vulnerable forces on both sides would create an extremely unstable situation "not unlike the old-fashioned Western gun duel" where striking first would be the only way to survive. According to Wohlstetter, the choices made by U.S. planners in the areas of weapon acquisition and strategic doctrine would be much more crucial to maintaining deterrence. In regard to weapon acquisition, Wohlstetter details six requirements that planners should meet before considering future weapon-systems.

Wohlstetter offered no discussion of strategic doctrine in his paper. He demurs, saying only that "a sufficient military policy cannot be discussed in detail here." This reticence to discuss doctrine appears a curious development in light of its obvious importance to his thinking about deterrence. Although Wohlstetter probably knew that his argument about the importance of vulnerability would inevitably lead to a debate over doctrine, he probably also realized that it was not a question likely to be taken up in Geneva for military and political reasons. It is possible, nevertheless, to discern what he considers to be the main flaw of existing doctrine and its remedy.[138]

Wohlstetter believed that any U.S. strategic doctrine dependent on assured destruction was illogical. He hints at this illogicality in a brief discussion of the likelihood of a general Soviet-American war. In this discussion, Wohlstetter concluded that the threat of a massive

[138] Albert Wohlstetter, P-1472: The Delicate Balance of Terror, (Santa Monica: RAND, 1958); "The Delicate Balance of Terror," Foreign Affairs, 37, 2 (Winter 1958/59): 211- 217, 218-220, 232.

attack on Russian cities would not deter the Soviets because of their disregard for human life. "Russian casualties in World War II," Wohlstetter observed, "were 20,000,000. Yet Russia recovered extremely well from this catastrophe." A much more logical choice, Wohlstetter would argue the next year, would be to re-orient U.S. strategic doctrine and force structure toward counterforce—and by implication, preemption—in order to target that which the Soviet leadership valued above all else, its "military power and the means of domination."[139]

Wohlstetter's argument about the insufficiency of U.S. strategic doctrine rested on a view of the Soviets that was distinctly at odds with that of most other strategists of the time. Almost every other American, British and French strategist predicated their thinking on the assumption that the Soviets were rational enemies. This concept of rationality extended, in most cases, beyond the precise meaning of the word to encompass the belief that the Soviet leadership valued, to some degree, the lives of the population. Even Kissinger, whose characterization of the Soviet leadership tended toward caricature, did not attribute to them sufficient callousness to sacrifice millions of Soviet citizens for political and military ends. Indeed, some of Wohlstetter's RAND colleagues perceived a degree of military imbalance in the Soviet leadership's preference for large-scale bomb shelter building programs.[140]

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[139] Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," p. 222; James Child, Nuclear War—The Moral Dimension (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1986), p. 166.

[140] Dean Acheson, Power and Diplomacy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); P.M.S. Blackett, Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Bernard Brodie, Strategy in the Missile Age (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Anthony Buzzard, John Slessor and Richard Lowenthal, "The H-Bomb: Massive Retaliation or Graduated Deterrence?," International Affairs 32, 2 (April, 1956): 148-165; Thomas K. Finletter, Power and Policy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Military Power in the Hydrogen Age (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954); Pierre Marie Gallois, Stratégie de l'âge nucléaire (Paris: Calman Levy, 1960); Raymond Garthoff, Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958); Malcolm W. Hoag, "Some Complexities in Military Planning," World Politics 11, 4 (July, 1959): 553-576; Herman Kahn, R-322-RC: Report on a Study of Non-Military Defense (Santa Monica: RAND, 1958); Military Policy and National Security, ed. William S. Kaufmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956); George Kennan, Russia, the Atom and the West: The BBC Reith Lectures, 1957 (London: Oxford University Press, 1958); Stephen King-Hall, Defence in the Nuclear Age (London: Gollancz, 1958); Henry A. Kissinger, Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957);

Wohlstetter's view of the Soviets is a vivid example of how anti-modernist philosophy informed his thought. As adherents of the most extreme form of modernity, Communism, the Soviets could be expected, in the anti-modernist view, to exhibit extreme relativism in their behavior. In this regard, a conscious decision to sacrifice millions of Russians in a nuclear war for a political end would constitute an almost complete inability to distinguish between good and evil. In terms of strategy, the Soviets' complete estrangement from the most basic of values meant that any deterrent scheme that rested on a countervalue threat was useless. The Soviets' total disregard for human life also meant that the Soviet leaders would not be constrained by any moral considerations in taking the decision to launch missiles against the United States.

Wohlstetter's motivation in making this claim is, of course, open to interpretation. It may have been that Wohlstetter saw the example of 20 million Russian dead as a device to undercut the main argument against a war-fighting strategy. After all, it is very likely that he was aware that the Soviets did not willingly sacrifice millions in World War II. It is also likely that Wohlstetter realized that the Soviet losses were incurred over time and the leadership had no idea as to the eventual total. At least one contemporary observer, however, did not perceive his example as a device. The British operations researcher, P.M.S. Blackett noted the pronounced "moral asymmetry" in Wohlstetter's view of the Soviets and believed it to be genuine.[141]

Thomas W. Milburn, "What Constitutes Effective Deterrence?," The Journal of Conflict Resolution 3,2 (June, 1959): 138-145; Robert E. Osgood, Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); Thomas C. Schelling, "Bargaining, communication and limited war," Conflict Resolution 1, 1 (March, 1957): 19-36; "The Strategy of Conflict Prospectus for Reorientation of Game Theory," Journal of Conflict Resolution 2, 3 (September, 1958: 203-264;T.W. Stanley, American Defense and National Security (Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 1956).

[141] P.M.S. Blackett, Studies of War—Nuclear and Conventional (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1962), p. 139.

Thus informed by these two competing views of the strategic environment, the American delegation prepared to leave for Geneva. On the eve of departure, however, Foster received instructions that the discussions in Geneva would be limited to "technical matters" of the sort proposed by Wohlstetter. National Security Advisor Gray informed Foster that he, General Twining (recently appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), Defense Secretary McElroy, and Secretary of State Dulles were in agreement that the delegation would not be authorized to discuss the limitation or cancellation of any U.S. weapons programs. Rather, the delegation's charter was limited to "identifying and defining the instruments of surprise attack and detection." More specifically, they were to explore what measures could be implemented to enhance the command and control of strategic bombers and missiles, communications, and the strategic implications of existing and planned offensive and defensive systems.[142]

Once in Geneva, "The Conference of Experts for the Study of Possible Measures Which Might Be Helpful in Preventing Surprise Attack" seemed that it might founder on the very first day. The Soviets insisted on discussing specific disarmament and limitation schemes, something the U.S. delegation had no authority to do. After some cajoling, however, the Soviets relented and agreed to actually discuss ways to prevent surprise attack. In the course of these discussions, Wohlstetter's ideas were at the fore. The Soviets concurred with his view that there could be instances in which a nuclear attack was not necessarily an insane act, but a rational, calculated military decision. They also came to

[142] Minshull, "Memorandum for Dr. Killian," September 23, 1958, White House Office of the Special Assistant for Science and Technology, "Disarmament-Surprise Attack , July 1958 - April 1959," William C. Foster, "Memorandum for the Secretary of State," October 31, 1958, General Records of the U.S. Department of State, file 59.4.5, RG 59, National Archives.

accept Wohlstetter's contention that the strategic balance was precarious, and made all the more so by advancing technology and the increasing complexity of command and control.

Other national delegations, however, did not so readily accept his contention that maintaining an invulnerable deterrent in the face of growing counterforce capabilities was the central strategic problem of the nuclear age. The French, in particular, were opposed. An invulnerable American missile force meant that cities—European cities—could become the primary Soviet targets. Cities, they feared could be "traded" in tit-for-tat exchanges in a "limited war" scenario. As a result, the French delegation termed Wohlstetter's ideas "pernicious." Unknown to the French, their opinion converged with that of the Eisenhower Administration itself. Dubious of the contention that any war with the Soviet Union could be limited in any fashion, the Eisenhower Administration remained committed to Massive Retaliation.[143]

The Strategic Guru: Wohlstetter and His Nuclear Family

By the time of the Geneva Conference, Wohlstetter had established a reputation within RAND as a first-rate strategic thinker and one of its most valuable assets in selling the corporation's services. Bright, forceful and well-connected within the defense community, Wohlstetter possessed many of the attributes of a successful salesman. As RAND's management undoubtedly realized, his work translated into millions of dollars in government contracts. According to RAND physicist Ernst Plessett, "as far as RAND's

[143] Drew Middleton, "US-Soviet Rift Mars First Day of Talks," New York Times (November 11, 1958): 1; Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 2; Henry Kissinger, "Memorandum of Conversation," February 9, 1962, DDRS [online] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006): http://eresources.lib.unc.edu/eid/list.php?letter=D,CK3100108821 p. 3; U.S. Congress, "Statement of Dr. Albert Wohlstetter," Senate Armed Services Committee, 91st Congress, 1st session, pt. 2, (April 23, 1969); Schelling, pp. 220-222.

management was concerned, Wohlstetter could walk on water." This high regard apparently was not, however, mutual. Wohlstetter's frequent briefings to the RAND board of trustees and the management committee were characterized, Plessett observed, by a "shocking arrogance."[144]

Understandably anxious to keep such a valuable employee happy, in 1956 RAND management created what was to be the main incubator of the legend of neoconservative strategic expertise and competence: the Strategic Air Power Research Group (SAPR). As director of the semi-autonomous group, Wohlstetter quickly built SAPR into a force to be reckoned with inside of RAND. Well-funded and staffed by some of the corporation's most gifted thinkers, such as Henry Rowen, Fred Iklé, Andrew Marshall, William Kaufmann, Daniel Ellsberg, Alain Enthoven and James Digby, Wohlstetter's group was responsible for developing several operational innovations. The group, for example, developed the famous "fail-safe" mission concept and the "Permissive Action Link" (PALS) control system. A command and control system, the "fail-safe" scheme required U.S. strategic bombers to abort any mission and return to base unless they received a specific coded message at a pre-designated point along their attack route. The PALS, meanwhile, was an actual device that employed encrypted signals to secure nuclear weapons against unauthorized launch and/or detonation.[145]

As Wohlstetter's star rose within RAND, he was perceived by some to be arrogant, abrasive, and something of an empire-builder. Although this perception may in part be

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[144] Collins and Tatarewicz, "Plessett," tape 1, side 1.

[145] Gustave Shubert, interview with Joseph Tatarewicz, Santa Monica, CA., August 10, 1988 (Washington DC: National Aerospace Museum RAND Oral History Series, 1989), tape 1, side 2 [Hereafter Taterwicz, "Shubert"]; Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1.

attributable to professional jealousy, Wohlstetter's working style probably did little to allay such views. Ensconced in a large office, painted and furnished in all white, he generally took little interest in the projects and opinions of others—unless they seemed to impinge on his intellectual or bureaucratic turf. Economist and RAND vice-president Gus Shubert maintained that Wohlstetter had little compunction about publicly disparaging his colleagues. Shubert has recalled, for instance, that Wohlstetter interrupted a meeting between the two to loudly accuse his friend and colleague, Herman Kahn, of "poaching" his ideas for a paper Kahn was writing.[146]

Wohlstetter also seems to have also had a quite low regard for his colleagues in the other disciplines. He seems to have been particularly averse to the physicists, engineers and other "hard" scientists that were working on strategic issues. The engineer and guidance expert, Edward Barlow felt that Wohlstetter regarded scientists to be "hardware people trying to work outside their specialty." Wohlstetter's view of his colleagues seems to have been reciprocated, as many of them held less-than-complimentary opinions of him. RAND physicists Ernst Plessett and Bruno Augenstein regarded Wohlstetter as "arrogant" and "a bullshitter," respectively, while Roman Kolkowicz characterized him as "ruthless and nasty."[147]

Within his inner circle of friends and associates, Wohlstetter appears to have been something of a benevolent autocrat. Renowned for their gourmet tastes, the Wohlstetters threw lavish parties, complete with the best in food and drink, at their glamorous, bamboo-

[146] Tatarewicz, "Shubert," tape 1, side 2.

[147] Ibid, p. 19; Dr. Bruno Augenstein, interview with Joseph Tatarewicz, and Martin Collins, Santa Monica, CA., July 28, 1986 (Washington DC: National Aerospace Museum RAND Oral History Series, 1989), tape 1, side 1 [Hereafter Taterwicz and Collins, "Augenstein"]; Edward J. Barlow, interview with Martin Collins and Joseph Taterwicz, Los Altos Hills, CA., February 10, 1988 (Washington DC: National Aerospace Museum RAND Oral History Series, 1989), tape 1, side 2; Wells, p. 135; Jervis.

surrounded Hollywood Hills home. The evening entertainment might consist of dancing or classical music or, as was once the case, an attempt to calculate Herman Kahn's considerable weight by estimating how much water his gigantic girth displaced in the swimming pool. At other times, the evenings were marred by Albert's long-winded assessments of "an interesting little wine" that he had encountered, or a particularly tasty dish that he had enjoyed in Washington. The guests, apparently, were also expected to compliment their hosts' exquisite tastes. Indeed, one guest recalled that, amid Wohlstetter's hospitality, the guests were always expected to "praise his bamboo."[148]

Wohlstetter's relationship with the younger associates within his research group, however, appears to have bordered on a cult of personality. Continuously seeking to enhance the intellectual firepower of the group, Wohlstetter would seek out bright young employees for potential recruitment. Usually, the young targets were swayed by Wohlstetter's considerable charisma and reputation within the strategic community. Wohlstetter protégés, Frank Trinkl, David McGarvey and Daniel Ellsberg (whom Wohlstetter hired in 1959), have conceded that they looked upon him as a father-figure. Ellsberg, in particular, has written that the group was like a family, with Henry Rowen (the deputy director of the group), "an older brother, and Albert, my father."[149]

The relationships between the analysts within the Strategic Airpower Group were so close and insular that they became something of a curiosity at RAND. Barlow, for instance, characterized the SAPR analysts as Wohlstetter's "followers," rather than his subordinates. Bernard Brodie, perhaps the only American strategic analyst whose influence within RAND

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[148] Wells, p. 134-135; On Not Confusing Ourselves: Essays in Honor of Albert and Roberta Wohlstetter, ed. Andrew Marshall, J.J. Martin and Henry S. Rowen (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), p. 90.

[149] Wells, p.135.

approached Wohlstetter's, also noted the group's extraordinary devotion to Wohlstetter. Brodie characterized the Wohlstetter group as "exhibiting a marked degree of personal and intellectual separation from most members of that organization [i.e., RAND]." Brodie and others at RAND was also astounded at the readiness of members of the group to give Wohlstetter credit for their work or ideas. Fred Iklé, for instance, had conceived of PALS as a way of preventing nuclear accidents, yet he and others of the group felt that Wohlstetter deserved the credit. Similarly, during the large multi-year, interdisciplinary Strategic Offensive Forces Study, Wohlstetter, according to Barlow, "completely divorced himself from the study," even though he was officially its deputy director. Barlow was thus astounded when Enthoven and Ellsberg, who had performed the lion's share of the work, credited Wohlstetter for the SAPR group's contribution.[150]

As the 1950s drew to a close, Wohlstetter had established a reputation within the U.S. defense community as one of the nation's preeminent nuclear strategists. Despite the fact that his literary output included almost no public materials, his ideas were widely disseminated through his service as a consultant to two presidential commissions (Killian and Gaither), a senatorial staff (Jackson), a delegate to an international arms control convention (the Surprise Attack Conference) and, as always, his ceaseless briefings to military planners, congressional staffers and academic seminars. His work had also become a sort of touchstone for the counterforce proponents of the Air Force as they sparred with the Army and Navy over the outlines of the defense budget, as well as for various critics of the

[150] Jervis; Tatarewicz and Collins, "Barlow," tape 1, side 2; Bernard Brodie, "The McNamara Phenomenon," World Politics 17, 4 (July 1965): 679.

Eisenhower Administration. Indeed, he seemed to relish the fight and he would later say that he was driven by an innate taste for "coming down at right angles to orthodoxy."[151]

Wohlstetter's main challenge to "orthodoxy" during this period involved warning of two crises: one strategic and one cultural. In regard to the strategic crisis, he had become convinced in the wake of the Geneva Conference that the Soviet Union would not tolerate a state of perpetual strategic inferiority. Whether out of a preference for Kennedy in the upcoming election, out a genuine sense of alarm or both, Wohlstetter began to warn of a sudden and substantial increase in Soviet strategic power and call for an alternative to Massive Retaliation. Wohlstetter's warning about growing Soviet power appeared most prominently in a revision of "The Delicate Balance," published in the journal, Foreign Affairs:

> We must expect a vast increase in the weight of attack the Soviets can deliver without warning, and the growth of a significant Russian capability for an essentially warningless attack. As a result, strategic deterrence, while feasible, will be extremely difficult to achieve, and at critical junctures in the 1960s we may not have the power to deter attack.

By 1960, a sense of crisis and urgency began to coalesce within RAND. There was, according to Ellsberg, a feeling that the United States was "on a collision course" with the Soviet Union. This feeling was reinforced by the SAPR Group's initiation of a study of war-fighting strategies.[152]

In addition to the crisis on the strategic plane, Wohlstetter began to perceive a crisis within American society and culture. There was, he believed, a generalized loss of moral

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[151] Collins and Tatarewicz, "Plessett," tape 1, side 1.

[152] Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," Foreign Affairs, 37, 2 (Winter 1958/59): 217; Wells, p. 146.

clarity afflicting the nation similar to that diagnosed by the anti-modernist scholars of the time. Also like the anti-modernists of academia, Wohlstetter attributed this loss of moral clarity to modernity. More specifically, he detected a deleterious influence amid the pressures and perceptions generated by consumerism, popular culture and a desire for comfort. On the political plane, this loss of moral clarity translated into a loss of national purpose and a willingness to abdicate international responsibilities. America, Wohlstetter asserted, had once believed that "negotiations with the Communists are futile, if not treasonable, and that liberation of the satellites should come first." Now, however, "many of us have staked enormous hopes on the possibility of concluding broad agreements with the Russians soon, and our resolution to defend parts of the free world against Communist aggression has become subject to doubt . . . the Ghost of Paris has displaced the Spirit of Camp David and the Spirit of Geneva."[153]

Although it is unclear what prompted Wohlstetter's foray into philosophy and the state of American culture, his new investigations coincided with the beginning of the end of his career at RAND. The Air Force's interest in and need for large-scale studies in strategy, physics and engineering had begun to wane as the service itself acquired the necessary expertise. As a result, in 1957 RAND's leadership began to make an effort to acquire a more varied clientele. This effort was accompanied by other internal changes instituted by RAND's long-time president, Frank Collbohm. Budgets for the various working groups, for example, were now to be drawn up on the basis of "pipelines," or projections of revenue. As a result, many of the older departments that had traditionally been used as in-

[153] Albert Wohlstetter, No Highway to High Purpose, (Santa Monica, RAND, 1960): 5. See also Albert Wohlstetter, "National Purpose: Appraisal of the Need to Examine Means as Well as Ends," New York Times, June 16, 1960, p. 30; "A Purpose Hammered Out of Reflection and Choice," Life, 48, 24 (June 20, 1960): 115, 126-134.

house resources, but had few projects of their own "in the pipeline," found their resources reduced or terminated altogether. The Mathematics Department, for example, was slated for disbandment in 1961. Accounting methods were also standardized across the various units and employee reporting requirements for billing purposes were tightened. These changes made it much more difficult for project managers to "borrow" human resources from other units, and for employees to initiate projects out of personal interest.

As a result of these changes, many of the older employees grew disgruntled. Wohlstetter and Kahn preferred working on projects that they themselves had conceived within their own autonomous groups. After the preliminary work had been done, they would then embark on a briefing tour to find clients willing to subsidize the project to completion. Now, however, with the internal changes at RAND, it was hardly possible to operate in this fashion. In February 1960, Wohlstetter sent Collbohm a sixty-nine page memorandum, signed by a number of other RAND employees, outlining his grievances. Collbohm did not respond, and Wohlstetter and many of the other signatories decided that the time had come to leave RAND. In March, Wohlstetter asked for and received a six-month leave of absence which he subsequently spent as a resident scholar at the Council on Foreign Relations. Although he did not officially resign until January 1, 1963, he was never to return to RAND. As for the SAPR Group, Wohlstetter, Dorothy Fosdick (the subject of the next chapter) and Gen. Maxwell Taylor arranged for the group to move en masse into government service.[154]

This move into government was a significant moment in the history of neoconservatism insofar as it marked the beginning of the legend of neoconservative

[154] Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 2; Sharon Ghamari-Tabrizi, The Worlds of Herman Kahn: The Intuitive Science of Thermonuclear War (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 308.

strategic expertise. Although not every member of SAPR could be characterized as a nascent or eventual neoconservative, the association with Wohlstetter and his thought proved to be a strong one. This association was reinforced (as we shall see in the next chapter) by their almost immediate impact on U.S. national security policy.

Chicago: Thucydides and Nuclear Strategy

The three main themes of Wohlstetter's career—strategy, politics and philosophy—seemed to converge during his brief, but eventful career as a professor of political science at the University of Chicago. During his time at Chicago, Wohlstetter continued to refine his strategic thought through his teaching and periodic work as a government consultant. He also continued to recruit new devotees and add to the cohort of neoconservatives that would eventually comprise the body of the movement within the national security establishment. As for his nascent interest in the national moral fabric, Wohlstetter would find philosophy very much a part of his academic career.

Philosophy, in fact, was a significant factor in his hiring. Although he had neither contemplated nor sought an academic position, Leonard Binder, the chairman of the Political Science Department believed Wohlstetter could be a valuable asset to the department's quantitative reputation. Since the end of World War II, quantitative methodologies had steadily displaced normative analysis in the field, but Chicago still lagged behind as a result of the influence of Leo Strauss within the department. Although Chicago's Political Science department was, to be sure, still one of the more prestigious in the nation—home to such august figures as Morton Kaplan, Hans Morgenthau and Binder

himself—even their presence had not been enough to displace Strauss's normative political philosophy.[155]

In early 1963, Kaplan learned that Wohlstetter had left RAND and began to lobby for his hiring. Kaplan believed that a man of Wohlstetter's talents and charisma could not only serve as a formidable counterbalance to the Straussian influence within the department, but also reinforce Kaplan in his in his bid to displace Morgenthau as head of the Committee on International Relations. Binder, for his part, agreed with Kaplan that Wohlstetter could help tilt the department away from the normative perspective. As a result, Binder made Wohlstetter an offer in the summer of 1963 for a tenure-track position. Wohlstetter accepted.[156]

Wohlstetter's career at the University of Chicago began in the fall of 1964, but Binder was soon disappointed. Wohlstetter's presence did little to offset Strauss's influence in the department. Indeed, as time went on, Wohlstetter and Strauss became closer. "Chicago was a place," Wohlstetter has maintained, "where, much more than in any other universities I've seen, it's easy for professors to get to see each other." Although their interests were quite different, Wohlstetter was quite conversant in political theory as a result of his early experiences with Cohen and the Fieldites, and he and Strauss spoke often. As the United States involvement in Vietnam expanded during the 1960s, Wohlstetter and Strauss drew closer. Along with Kaplan and Nathan Leites, a former RAND analyst who

[155] Leonard Binder, interview with the author, June 20, 2005; Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "Neorealism's Logic and Evidence: When is a Theory Falsified?," CIAO (June 1999): 1.

[156] Binder.

pioneered psycho-political analysis of the Soviet leadership, they formed the core of the pro-war bloc within the political science department.[157]

As if to cement his place in the normative faction within the Political Science Department, Wohlstetter became tangentially involved in the two-front conflict with the behavioralists and the New Left. While Strauss was engaged in his final intellectual campaign against the New Left political theorists Wolin and Schaar, Wohlstetter was engaged with the British scientists, C.P. Snow and P.M.S. Blackett. Angered by Blackett's criticism of U.S. strategic thought as militaristic and Snow's contention that nuclear strategy should be guided by natural scientists rather than "professional" strategists, Wohlstetter launched a broadside in the journal Foreign Affairs. There he castigated all empirical scientists for their pretensions to prescience and their "value-neutral" perspective. Examining various pronouncements that had emanated from the scientific community since the end of World War II, Wohlstetter characterized their dire warnings about nuclear war-fighting and arms control as a false choice between "annihilation on one hand, or a paradise on Earth."[158]

Wohlstetter also directed some of his fire toward those realists who argued that America was overextended in its political and military commitments. In two papers written in the late 1960s, Wohlstetter argues that the realist view which has held sway in the West since "Hobbes and Rousseau had defined the anarchy of sovereign independent states as a state of war," is no longer a sufficient conceptual framework for predicting and describing

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[157] Ibid; Collins, "Wohlstetter," tape 1, side 1; Norton, p. 9.

[158] C.P. Snow, Science and Government (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961); P.M.S. Blackett, "Critique of Some Contemporary Defence Thinking," Encounter (April 1961): 9-17; Albert Wohlstetter, "Scientists, Seers and Strategy," Foreign Affairs 41 (April 1963): 471. See also Albert Wohlstetter, "Strategy and the Natural Scientists," Scientists and National Policymaking, ed. Robert Gilpin and Christopher Wright (New York: Columbia, 1964).

the behavior of states. One reason for this insufficiency, he maintains, is that the traditional realist emphasis on national interests is almost always inextricably bound up with relativist assumptions about time, distance and costs. As a result, realist analyses often create false choices and/or fail to fully appreciate the impact (or potential impact) of new technologies. Strategic planning, in turn, suffers as reflexive assumptions are incorporated into strategy and policy.

In order to illustrate how reflexive relativism skews decision-making, Wohlstetter dissected two “intuitive” assumptions that he believed had led to misguided perceptions about the strategic environment. The first was the assumption (that he attributes to George Kennan) that "the effectiveness of the power radiated from any national center decreases in proportion to the distance involved." Wohlstetter demonstrated that new jet transports allowed America to airlift four times as much military equipment the 8500 miles from the U.S. to the Thai border as China could transport to the Laotian border from 450 miles away. Similarly, Wohlstetter pointed out that, despite the popular mythology of an “ever-accelerating spiral in arms budgets” and declining security, advances in guidance technology and manufacturing techniques had allowed the costs of strategic missiles to decline by 40 per cent over the last four years.

To gain a clearer picture of objective reality, Wohlstetter called for the development of analytical methodology that fused mathematical modeling and knowledge of the values and political preferences of various national actors. Although he does not claim that his new approach is a finished methodology, Wohlstetter suggests that his new approach would involve an understanding of the “structural certainties” (or national character) and objectives of states. Combined with some sense of the probable trajectories of

"transformative" technologies, it would be possible to formulate an effective predictive methodology.[159]

Wohlstetter further refined his strategic thought in the classroom. He developed a course entitled "Classical Strategy and Nuclear War." A course that began with a study of Thucydides and used the Greek's insights as a theme throughout, the course was often abandoned by Wohlstetter for consulting engagements in Washington. Despite his infrequent presence on campus, Wohlstetter still managed to attract a number of able students who went on to careers within the government bureaucracy. Among these students was the son of his old friend Jacob Wolfowitz, Paul Wolfowitz. He also recruited to Political Science a young Afghani, Zalmay Khalilzad. In addition to these young men, Wohlstetter supervised something on the order of fifteen Ph.D. students during his seven years at Chicago. In the history of neoconservatism, these students represent the main part of the generation that would man the bureaucratic ramparts of the Reagan Administration in the 1980s, and carry the movement through to the advent of the George W. Bush Administration. In 1968, however, they were reinforcements for the coming battle with Nixon Administration over détente and arms control.[160]

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[159] Albert Wohlstetter, "Strength, Interest and New Technologies" (paper presented at the 9th Annual Conference on Military Technologies in the 1970s of the Institute of Strategic Studies, Elsinore, CA., September 28, 1967); "Theory and Opposed Systems Design," Journal of Conflict Resolution 12, 3 (September 1968): 313-314. Somewhat belatedly, Wohlstetter also published a critique of New Left pretensions to a revolutionary ethos in Metaphors and Models: Inequalities and Disorder at Home and Abroad (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1968).

[160] Anne Norton, Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 184-184; Anne Norton, correspondence with the author, June 9, 2005.

Chapter 4

Neoconservatism as Policy: Dorothy Fosdick and the Transformation of U.S. National Security Policy

Maynard Robinson screamed as his shirt burst into flame. An experienced Maine lobsterman, Robinson had been working on his boat engine off Southport when an accidental spark ignited the gasoline and oil on his hands and quickly spread to his clothing. Robinson, however, was fortunate on this day. Twenty-three year old Dorothy Fosdick had been sailing in the area when Robinson's screams and the smoke from his burning boat attracted her attention. Pulling her small launch *Vagabond* alongside the lobster boat, she doused the fire, carried the injured man to her boat and raced toward shore to seek medical attention for Robinson.[161]

Dorothy Fosdick's rescue mission off Southport in the summer of 1937 foreshadowed a career that was, seemingly, a series of rescue missions. Over the course of her long career in government, Fosdick participated in almost every significant U.S. foreign and security policy development from 1945 until the 1980s. As the first woman to serve on the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, Fosdick participated in the shaping of the Marshall Plan and NSC-68. As chief of staff to Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson in the 1950s and 1960s, she helped rescue his career from political obscurity and helped him contend with five presidential administrations over the shape and direction of U.S. policy.

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[161] "Miss Fosdick Saves Man," New York Times, June 30, 1937, p. 25.

Fosdick's most historically significant and lasting influence, however, derives from her role as one of the founders of neoconservatism. More than any other single individual, Fosdick is responsible for introducing neoconservatism to official Washington, and interjecting a distinct neoconservative world-view into U.S. national security policy. In the course of her forty year career in government, she brought a perspective to various issues which drew on anti-modernism, Wilsonian idealism and the muscular Christianity associated with the thought of Reinhold Niebuhr. From her perspective, the Soviet Union appeared as a militant, irreconcilable foe, bent on world domination. In light of this threat, the task of U.S. foreign and security policy was the destruction and rollback of Soviet power, rather than containment or management.

Fosdick also interjected neoconservatism into U.S. policy through her recruitment of a succession of young, intelligent, highly motivated young men from Strauss's and Wohlstetter's seminars at the University of Chicago and the RAND Corporation to Washington. Installing these young neoconservatives as analysts or bureaucrats in various government agencies, or as staffers on Jackson's senatorial staff, Fosdick insured that neoconservatism would, for the foreseeable future, have a voice in the shaping of U.S. national security policy.

Fosdick is, however, not only responsible for introducing neoconservatism to the policymaking world, but also in introducing the policymaking world to neoconservatism. Her knowledge of and long experience in government, as well as her maneuvers on behalf of Jackson in the 1950s and 1960s imbued nascent neoconservatism with that granular understanding of how the policymaking process responds—and can be manipulated—that was to become so characteristic of the movement. Through her efforts, neoconservatism

began to evolve beyond the theoretical, abstract worlds of Strauss and Wohlstetter into a distinct political force that aimed to utterly transform U.S. national security policy by re-orienting it away from containment and deterrence and toward confrontation, rollback and war-fighting.

Beginnings: An Education in Theology, Politics and Anti-Modernism

Dorothy Emerson Fosdick was born on May 1, 1914 in Montclair, New Jersey. One of two daughters of the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick and Florence Whitney, Dorothy was nicknamed "Dickie" by her older sister, Elinor, who had trouble pronouncing her given name. Extremely small and frail as a child, Dickie made up for her stature with an "impressive fearlessness." Before she was a teenager, she had become quite an accomplished outdoorswoman. She particularly excelled at swimming and sailing.

Dickie also became quite familiar with politics at an early age. Her father, Harry, was the first pastor of Riverside Church in New York City and one of the most prominent liberal Baptists in the country. From the pulpit at Riverside, Harry E. Fosdick led the liberal forces against the fundamentalist Baptists in the internecine struggle that had erupted at the turn of the twentieth century. Rev. Fosdick also taught theology at nearby Union Theological Seminary. As a result of his positions, other distinguished theologians, Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich, as well as the socialist theologian Norman M. Thomas, were frequent visitors to the Fosdick home. During these visits it was not unusual for Dickie to engage them in intense discussion and debate, particularly Niebuhr or, as she called him, "Reinie."[162]

[162] Elinor Fosdick Downs, "Profile for the Establishment of the Dorothy Fosdick Memorial Internship," box 2, folder 1, Dorothy Emerson Fosdick Papers, Fosdick Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library, Northampton, MA (hereafter cited as Fosdick Papers).

She also enjoyed listening to the political tales of her uncle Raymond. Raymond B. Fosdick, a lawyer whose only client was John D. Rockefeller, was also a close friend of Woodrow Wilson and the only man to ever hold the title, Undersecretary of the League of Nations. On his visits to his brother's home, Raymond Fosdick frequently recounted Wilson's efforts to construct a stable, peaceful and just international order. He so influenced his niece's thinking that Elinor once remarked that Dorothy took the U.S. refusal to join the League as "a personal affront." Later, as a senior at Horace Mann High School she wrote an award-winning essay on the formation and goals of the League.[163]

In 1930, Fosdick began her academic career in earnest. In the fall of that year she entered the all-female, Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. Once at Smith, she declared herself a political science major in honor of her hero, Woodrow Wilson. Intending to concentrate in government, she became enamored of political theory and philosophy, and applied for summer study in Germany. She was accepted, and in the summer of 1931, she departed for the University of Marburg.

Arriving in Marburg in early June, Fosdick found it "rife with political intrigue." The erstwhile home of Heidegger and the cradle of anti-modernist political philosophy, Marburg at the time was maelstrom of ideas, politics and passions which she found "thrilling." She was also, for the first time, exposed to the power of ideas, as fascism, Communism, pan-Slavism and German nationalism competed with Husserl, Hegel and Plato for the students' attention and loyalty. It was less an education political philosophy than an ideological

[163] Ibid; Dorothy E. Fosdick, diary entry, November 9, 1933, box 1, folder 1, Fosdick Papers.; Raymond Fosdick, The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation (London: Oldham's Press, 1952); "Personal Recollections of Woodrow Wilson," Freedom for Man: A World Safe for Mankind, Quincy Wright, ed. (University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 6-36; Nona Brown, ed., Letters on the League of Nations: Letters from the Files of Raymond B. Fosdick (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); "Stateswoman," New York Times, May 22, 1949, p. 35.

immersion, and the experience left a deep impression on Fosdick. "I never knew," she wrote to her father, "what war or hate was, or what ideas mean to people until now."[164]

Her most memorable moment at Marburg was, however, a seminar on Plato given by an anonymous German professor. On the first day, seated in a hot crowded auditorium at the end of a day of long and uninteresting lectures, she was contemplating returning to her dormitory early when the last lecturer entered. Although "he appeared to be not quite middle-aged . . . he was a little, shrunken, wizened-faced, runty-legged, shovel-headed gentleman whose face was the exact image of a monkey." Over-burdened with books and papers, the professor kept the students waiting as he arranged his belongings and fumbled with his cigarettes and cigarette holder. Once situated, however, the professor proceeded to give and lecture entitled, "Die Seele" (The Soul), which was, in Fosdick's words, "the most brilliant exposition of the Platonic theory that the needs of the community should take precedence over the needs of the private citizen." "I do not think," she wrote in her diary, "that I should ever forget it."[165]

Upon returning to the United States, Fosdick threw herself into life at Smith. She took extra courses with an eye toward graduate school. She also became a star athlete. Even though she was only 5' 1", she excelled in basketball, field hockey and lacrosse, and was named to the All-Smith and All-State teams in all three sports. Continuing her studies in political philosophy, she applied for another summer sojourn in Europe, this time to the Alfred Zimmern School in Geneva. She was accepted, and spent part of the summer of 1933 in the League of Nations Library doing research for her senior thesis. She found Geneva, "a bit too Utopian," and returned to America early. The rest of the summer was spent at

[164] Dorothy Fosdick to Harry Fosdick, July 19, 1931, box 1, folder 2, Fosdick Papers.

[165] Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, July 9, 1931, box 1, folder 1, Fosdick Papers.

Harvard, where she took a course on Plato under the Russian Zionist scholar, Hans Kohn. The next year, on August 23, 1934, Fosdick graduated from Smith with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science. On the same day she learned that she had been accepted to graduate school at Columbia.[166]

Beginning at Columbia in the fall of 1934, Fosdick sought to specialize in international organization while continuing her investigations into political theory and philosophy. She found the faculty at Columbia, however, a "mixed bag." Fosdick found the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, Samuel Flagg "American Flag" Bemis and his triumphalist narrative of U.S. foreign relations particularly insufferable. Conversely, Fosdick was "enthralled" by her doctoral advisor, Max Horkheimer.[167]

Horkheimer was an anti-modernist scholar who, like Strauss, Arendt and Marcuse, had fled Germany as the Nazis rose to power. The son of a German factory owner, Horkheimer had been groomed in the years before World War I to take over the family business. After the First World War, he enrolled in the University of Munich to study philosophy. While a student, he became attracted to Marxism, but the violent conflicts between the Communists and Nazis during the 1920s left him disillusioned with politics. Horkheimer also became convinced that the violent hostility toward traditional values exhibited by both the radical Right and Left indicated some deeper philosophical and sociological affinity between ideologies. His search for the source of this affinity was to dominate and define his career.

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[166] Dorothy Fosdick to Harry E. Fosdick, July 8, 1933, box 1, folder 2, Fosdick Papers; James Roach, "News and Comments on Women in Sports," New York Times, March 27, 1932, p. S6; "All Star Teams Selected at Smith," New York Times, November 18, 1932.

[167] Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, December 1934, box 1, folder 1, Fosdick Papers.

Horkheimer distinguished himself early on with a novel approach in which he sought to develop a methodology—Critical Theory—that drew on sociology and history, as well as philosophy to understand ideological phenomena. In 1925, at the relatively young age of thirty-four, Horkheimer was named *Direktor* of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt am Main. He was forced to abandon teaching and research in 1933 when the Nazis forced him to "retire." Immigrating first to Switzerland, Horkheimer relocated the entire Institute—now renamed The International Institute for Social Research—to New York when Columbia University agreed to host it.

Like many of the other German scholars that comprised the "university in exile," Horkheimer was an anti-modernist. He was convinced that the Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes and the philosophers of the Enlightenment had introduced into Western consciousness the notion that Reason could and would conquer Nature. Reinforced by the Enlightenment, this idea had, in turn, set in motion a relentless quest for mastery over the secrets of Nature. The price of mankind's victory over Nature, however, was that universal ideals, such as Beauty and Excellence were replaced by a manufactured, philistine mass culture. Justice was supplanted by order and Philosophy by grim, violent ideologies. The timeless truths that had guided humanity since the time of Plato had, Horkheimer believed, disappeared before the onslaught of relativism and historicism. Nazism was, for Horkheimer, the logical culmination of modernity and the "fatal dialectic" of the Enlightenment.[168]

Strongly attracted to Horkheimer's thought, Fosdick's graduate work reflected his anti-modernism. Her dissertation, "Liberty as a Protean Concept in Contemporary Political

[168] Leonard S. Cottrell, review of Studien uber Autoritat und Familie by Max Horkheimer, Philosophical Review 46, 6 (November 1937): 671; On Max Horkheimer: New Perspectives ed. Seyla Benhabib and Wolfgang Bonss (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), pp. 62-65, 119.

Thought," argued that the rise of relativism and historicism since the Enlightenment had opened the door for modern ideologies to assign their own utilitarian meanings to timeless, universal Ideas. Focusing on the idea of Liberty, Fosdick maintained that the meaning of Liberty had, since the Enlightenment, been altered and redefined to suit the ends of monarchists, Bonapartists, the Roman Catholic Church, Communists, pragmatists, fascists and capitalists. These "counterfeit" conceptions—*der ganz Andere*, or "the entirely Other" in Horkheimer's phrase—could be discerned by a concern with ends over motives and means.[169]

Submitted in February 1939, Fosdick's dissertation was accepted and she was awarded a doctorate in Public Law. That same year she accepted an offer from her alma mater, Smith College, to teach political theory and government. Returning to Northampton in the fall of 1940, Fosdick busied herself with preparing her reading lists for her courses. Before returning to Massachusetts, however, she confided in her uncle Raymond that she would like to do something to further the American war effort. Somewhat taken aback, the elder Fosdick replied that she would at least have to wait until America was at war. She didn't, as it turned out, have long to wait.[170]

Going to Washington: Pacifism, the War Effort and the Post-War Order

As she began her teaching career at Smith in the fall of 1940, Fosdick was compelled to think deeply about the relationship between morality and international relations. The catalyst for this line of thought was a falling-out with her father over the war in Europe. In

[169] Ibid; E.S. Wengert, comp., "Dissertations," American Political Science Review, 31, 4 (August 1937): 772; Dorothy Fosdick, What Is Liberty? (New York: Harper & Row, 1939), pp. 2-15, 170-75.

[170] Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, June 5, 1940, box 1, folder 1, Fosdick Papers.

several sermons, Rev. Fosdick inveighed against the very concept of war, telling his parishioners that "Men cannot have Christ and war at the same time." He had come to this realization, he told his congregation, through the guilt that he felt for his service as a chaplain during the First World War. He particularly regretted that he had "stimulated raiding parties to their murderous tasks." As a result of his experiences on the Western front, Rev. Fosdick declared that that he could no longer conceive of any moral grounds to justify war.

Although she was not overly disturbed by her father's pacifism, Fosdick was quite unsettled by Rev. Fosdick's declaration that he perceived a degree of "moral equivalence" between the regimes in Italy and Germany and the Western democracies. The conflict between the fascist states and the Western democracies was at its core a clash of equally immoral imperialisms. "We see clearly," Rev. Fosdick asserted, "that a war for democracy is a contradiction in terms, that war itself is democracy's chief enemy. Pacifism as a national strategy would pursue a policy not of appeasement but of reconciliation." Although Fosdick did not reproach her father directly for his views, she authored two pro-war tracts, "Justice to the German People," "Socialist Christians," and an article, "Ethical Standards and Political Strategies," that echoed Niebuhr's emerging views of the Nazi regime as illegitimate and evil. She also confided in Niebuhr that she believed that Rev. Fosdick was wrong. "He is quite mistaken," she wrote, "to believe that any *rapprochement* is possible with the Hitler regime."[171]

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[171] "Churchmen on War," Time, (May 21, 1934): 23; Harry E. Fosdick, "An Interpretation of Pacifism," "The Unknown Soldier," Secrets of Victorious Living (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934), pp. 12, 34, "Don't Lose Faith in Human Possibilities," Living Under Tension (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), p. 19-20, "If America is Drawn into the War, Can You as a Christian, Participate in or Support it?," Christian Century 58 (January 22, 1941): 115-118; "Keeping Faith in Persuasion in a World of Coercion," A Great Time to be Alive (New York: Harper Brothers, 1944); The Living of These Days (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), p. 83, "A Christian Conscience About War," in Halford Ryan, Harry Emerson Fosdick (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989); *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Jun., 1942), pp. 214-228Dorothy Fosdick to Reinhold Niebuhr, December 17, 1940, box 1, folder 2, Fosdick Papers.

In addition to these articles, she also refined the ideas she had explored in her dissertation in a substantial introduction to John Stuart Mill's On Social Freedom. Discovered among Mill's papers in 1907, some 44 years after his death, On Social Freedom appeared to be a follow-on work to his earlier On Liberty. According to Fosdick, the newly discovered work represented a significant revision of Mill's conception of liberty as put forward in his earlier writings. Whereas Mill's earlier work had defined liberty "negatively" (i.e., as the absence of legal, economic and/or religious restrictions against one's actions), his revised conception extolled an extreme form of "positive" liberty (i.e., the freedom to take action in pursuit of self-actualization or a greater good) that could theoretically serve as a foundation for international relations.[172]

Fosdick's Mill edition garnered some attention from political theorists and legal scholars, including Dr. Leo Pasvolsky. Pasvolsky, a Russian émigré economist who was Special Assistant to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, wrote to Fosdick to compliment her on the work. During a brief exchange of letters, Pasvolsky and Fosdick discovered that they shared a mutual interest in international law and in the history of the League of Nations in particular. As a young man, Pasvolsky had worked as a journalist and had closely covered the formation of the League in Paris in 1919.

In July 1941, Pasvolsky contacted Fosdick again. This time, he asked if she would be interested in a position with the State Department. The position that he had in mind, Pasvolsky explained, was in a little-known organ of the State Department called the Division of Special Research (DSR). If she could arrange to come to Washington D.C. over the

[172] John Stuart Mill, On Social Freedom, ed. Dorothy Fosdick (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

summer, he would explain the job and they could iron out the details. Fosdick replied that she would arrive in Washington on August 12.[173]

Fosdick soon learned that the vaguely named Division of Special Research, which had been in operation since 1938, was tasked with conducting a "thorough-going, far-reaching study of what the problems would be in the postwar world." Fosdick, given her interests and academic background, would focus on postwar international organization. Given her affinity with the Wilsonian ideals that had given birth to the League, and the fact that she now had the opportunity to gain some practical experience in international relations, she accepted the position on the spot. She would begin her new job that very month as legal assistant to Alger Hiss.[174]

DSR's mission was to help shape and organize the supranational organization(s) that the Roosevelt Administration believed would be necessary to maintain postwar collective security and to mediate trade, financial and monetary issues. Secretary of State Cordell Hull was particularly concerned with avoiding the legal and organizational weaknesses that had plagued the League of Nations. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, however, believed that any new international organization would rise or fall on the strength of U.S. domestic support. Hull argued that it was not within the State Department's purview to become

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[173] Leo Pasvolsky to Dorothy Fosdick May 11, 1941, Dorothy Fosdick to Leo Pasvolsky, May 29, 1941, Leo Pasvolsky to Dorothy Fosdick, June 11, 1941; Leo Pasvolsky to Dorothy Fosdick, July 8, 1941, box 1, folder 3, Fosdick Papers.

[174] Durward V. Sandifer, interview by Richard McKenzie, Silver Spring, MD., March 15, 1973, p.3, 9, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, Independence, MO. [online] http//www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/sandifer.htm). Although DSR's staff included some Foreign Service officers, such as Alger and Donald Hiss, it was filled with academics. Other employees were: Margaret Ball (Wellesley), E.H. Buehrig (Indiana), Ralph Bunche (Howard), E.P. Chase (Lafayette), Ander Cordier (Manchester), E.M. Earle (Princeton), Clyde Eagleton (New York), B.H. Gerig (Haverford), Harry Howard (Berkeley), Grayson Kirk (Columbia), Walter Kotschnig (Smith), Norman Padelford (Fletcher), Llewellyn Pfankuchen (Wisconsin), Lawrence Preuss (Michigan), Henry Reiff (St. Lawrence), Durward Sandifer (Eureka), W.R. Sharpe (City College), Harold Sprout (Princeton), Ivan Stone (Beloit), B.H. Williams (Pittsburgh), Bryce Wood (Swarthmore), and Quincy Wright (Chicago).

involved in U.S. politics by "selling" the idea of the United Nations to Congress and the American people. [175]

Roosevelt, it seems, was not willing to discard any tool in his effort to promote the idea of the United Nations. While not explicitly siding with Welles, FDR ordered the formation of the Presidential Advisory Commission on Postwar Foreign Policy in February 1942. Chaired by Hull and Welles, with Pasvolsky as Executive Director and Alger Hiss as senior counsel, the Commission was directed to advise and inform Congress on the administration's efforts. The president's order also created a Subcommittee on International Organization within the Commission that was responsible for formulating and drafting the new organization's charter. Fosdick was assigned to both the Commission staff and the Subcommittee.[176]

The Subcommittee staff, drawn from DSR, moved quickly. By March 1943, they had formulated a proposal for a new international organization that the Advisory Commission could formally present to the Congressional leadership and the British and Soviet allies. Consultations with Congress and the allies continued through the summer and by August the outline of a charter had been hammered out. Fosdick and Durward Sandifer were assigned to draft the charter. Their deadline was a conference scheduled for August 1944 at a Washington estate called Dumbarton Oaks.

Fosdick also made significant headway in her alternate position as DSR's *ad hoc* public relations specialist. She organized informal "informational meetings" for members of

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[175] Sandifer, p. 9.; Clyde Eagleton, "The Charter Adopted at San Francisco" American Political Science Review 39, 5 (October 1945): 934; Cordell Hull, Memoirs, 2 (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1948), pp. 116-119, 1121-1124.

[176] U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941 – October 1945 (Washington DC: U.S. Department of State, 2005), p. 3-4.; Eagleton.

Congress, with DSR employees addressing various topics on a rotating basis at various fora around the country. From 1942-1945, over 500 of these meetings were held. Fosdick took a personal interest in converting the most recalcitrant members of Congress, particularly isolationist Republicans of the sort that she believed had foiled Woodrow Wilson's bid to bring America into the League in 1919. Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), renowned for his isolationism, was a frequent target of Fosdick's foreign policy evangelism. Vandenberg took a liking to Fosdick and they would often discuss international relations long into the evening.[177]

The public was also a target of Fosdick's public relations campaign. After the Dumbarton Oaks conference between the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Great Britain, Fosdick edited several guides to understanding the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the United Nations Charter and the U.S. proposal for the organizational structure of the United Nations. Over 200,000 of these pamphlets were printed and distributed and they generated a tremendous amount of mail from people all over the world. Hull gave orders that every letter should be perused and some yielded suggestions that the Office of International Organization and Security Affairs—as DSR was now known—incorporated into its planning.

Fosdick's experiences during the war were to prove invaluable in her later efforts to affect U.S. foreign and security policy. Her lobbying of members of Congress allowed to her to build an extensive database of contacts and taught her how valuable influential friends could be in official Washington. Her work with DSR also seems to have taught her the value of marketing and salesmanship in promoting policy. Public support for Dumbarton Oaks was, by the time of the conference, extraordinarily high and her personal rapport with

[177] Sandifer, p. 13; Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, September 17, 1945, box 1, folder 1, Fosdick Papers.

Vandenberg greatly eased the way for the administration's post-war planning. Fosdick, however, still lacked direct experience in making and implementing foreign policy.

The Truman Administration's preparations for the launch of the United Nations provided her with an opportunity for direct involvement in foreign policy. The public relations effort that she had led ended in February 1945, and she was assigned to relatively new Office of Special Political Affairs (OSPA) under Alger Hiss. The following month she learned that she would be traveling to San Francisco for the United Nations Conference on International Organization in April. Hiss was slated to serve as Secretary General of the conference, while Fosdick was to serve in the dual role of Special Assistant to the Secretary General and as Technical Legal Expert for the American delegation.[178]

Change was also afoot in her personal life. In March of 1945 she met the man who would be the great love of her life—a married, 45-year-old lawyer from Illinois named Adlai Stevenson. The former counsel to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Stevenson had been brought into the State Department in March 1945 by Undersecretary of State Archibald MacLeish. Although Stevenson's official title was Special Legal Assistant to the Secretary of State, Archibald MacLeish (who had replaced Welles), intended Stevenson to serve as the Truman Administration's political spokesman in San Francisco. Because the president was determined to include a number of Republicans in the American delegation, MacLeish feared that some of them, particularly John Foster Dulles, would feed the press corps an exclusively

[178] Ibid; Office of Special Political Affairs, "Pillars of Peace," U.S. Department of State Pamphlet 4, "The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals," U.S. Department of State publication 2192; "The Organizational Structure of the United Nations," U.S. Department of State publication 569, U.S. Department of State, RG 59, National Archives, Washington DC.; Robert E. Riggs, "Overselling the UN Charter—Fact and Myth," International Organization, 14, 2 (Spring 1960): 277-290.

Republican version of the proceedings. MacLeish, therefore, wanted someone who could hold his own with the press corps against Dulles and Stevenson was his choice.[179]

The bright, articulate and charismatic Stevenson did not disappoint. Before the delegation left Washington, Stevenson quickly and intentionally gained a reputation as a "talker;" or someone so eager for journalists' attention that he could be counted on to leak information. All that was needed to complete the planning for "Operation Leak" (as it became known within OSPA), was for Stevenson to be brought up to speed on the legal and political problems that were expected to be at issue in San Francisco. Fosdick was assigned to brief Stevenson. Before they left for San Francisco, they had become lovers.[180]

Arriving in San Francisco on April, the day before the conference officially opened, Stevenson and Fosdick set about their respective tasks separately. While Stevenson dashed from venue to venue, calling on various diplomats, attending luncheons and meeting with the press, Fosdick sat at Hiss's side as the general assembly argued interminably over various legal questions. To relieve her boredom, Fosdick collected the various "doodles" left on the note pads of Hiss and Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius during the mid-morning, lunch and afternoon breaks.

Not all of Fosdick's time in San Francisco, however, was spent on bureaucratic drudgery. She was able, during the course of several social events aboard the Soviet ocean liner, *Smolnii*, to meet several top Soviet officials and take their measure up close. Ostensibly meant to serve as a floating hotel for the Soviet delegation in crowded San

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[179] Jean H. Baker, The Stevensons: A Biography of an American Family (New York: Norton, 1996), pp. 112.

[180] Ibid; Sandifer, p. 89; J. William Theis, interview by Jerry N. Hess, February 8, 1971, Washington DC, p. 40; Joseph E. Johnson, interview by Richard D. McKinzie, June 29, 1973, Princeton, N.J., p. 45, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, Independence, MO. (online: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/sandifer.htm).

Francisco, the *Smolnii* also allowed the Soviet security detail to closely monitor their officials. Loaded with vodka, caviar, American and European cigarettes, French pastries and wines (and presumably, listening devices), the "Party ship" as it came to be called by the press, quickly become the after-hours social center of San Francisco. While most of the American and British delegates shunned the ship, Stevenson apparently had no such reservations, and his visits were memorable. On board the Soviet ship, Stevenson not only managed to hold his own in drinking with the Soviets—much to the horror of the Baptist minister's daughter—but in the process he also captivated the Soviets with a round of joke-telling at their expense. One particular joke had to do with the daily roll-call at the U.N. general assembly:

> *Sergeant-at-arms*: "Mexico!"
> *Mexican delegate*: "Present!"
> *Sergeant-at-arms*: "Belgium!"
> *Belgian delegate*: "Present!"
> *Sergeant-at-arms*: "USSR!"
> *Gromyko awakening suddenly*: "NYET!"[181]

Despite the good feelings that usually characterized evenings aboard the *Smolnii*, Fosdick's opinion of the Soviets was increasingly negative. She believed Molotov to be "Machiavellian," while Gromyko seemed to her to be "a scruple-less character." Fosdick's contact with Soviet diplomatic staffers and various U.S. military and Foreign Service officers also yielded grim details of life under Stalin and reinforced her growing dislike. Given these feelings, Fosdick was probably not overjoyed to learn that she would have to continue to deal with the Soviets. Upon her return to Washington she was ordered to travel to London for the

[181] Miscellaneous materials from box 2, Fosdick Papers.; Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, June 25, 1945, box 1, folder 1, Fosdick Papers.; "Party Ship is Sent to Parley by Soviet," New York Times, April 21, 1945, p. 6.

first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers (scheduled to begin on September 11, 1945), and the inaugural meeting of the U.N. General Assembly (scheduled for January 10, 1946). The ministerial conference was slated to address the peace treaties to be signed among the various European combatants. The new Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, however, also wanted to revisit a number of lingering issues with the Soviet Union that had been discussed at previous meetings. Vandenberg, now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was in ill health and asked John Foster Dulles to serve as his representative. On the way to the conference on the *Queen Elizabeth*, Fosdick began to doubt the delegation's prospects for success and developed an active dislike for Byrnes, whom she found "stodgily unimaginative . . . and likely no match for Molotoff," and for Dulles, whom she found "pompous" and "insufferable."[182]

Once the conference was underway, Fosdick's premonitions about the conference seemed to be accurate. The accommodations were limited, from the bomb damage to the city, and some of the delegates were housed in private homes. Moreover, the British—much to Stevenson's disappointment—made no effort to duplicate the social atmosphere that had prevailed in San Francisco. Indeed, Col. George Codington, the Foreign Office's dour organizer, warned all delegations not to expect "ostentatious entertaining." During the negotiations proper, Byrnes was so badly outmaneuvered by the Soviets that the British, whose diplomats were not given to public statements, complained publicly about the Americans not "standing their ground." Dulles's performance was such that Vandenberg ordered him to the Balkans on a rather vague fact-finding mission. For Fosdick herself, the

[182] Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, August 21, 1945, box 1, Fosdick Papers.

high point of the conference was an incident in which she kicked off her shoes to chase down a purse-snatcher.[183]

Although the Council of Foreign Ministers conference broke up on October 2, 1945, Fosdick was ordered to remain behind as head of the drafting committee of the Preparatory Commission to the United Nations. On October 22nd, she was joined in London by Stevenson who had been appointed Deputy Delegate of the Preparatory Commission to the United Nations. The president, however, seems to have expected Stevenson to follow up with the Soviets on some of the more pressing questions left over from the previous conference, such as how much Italy and Germany would pay in reparations to the Soviet Union. Stevenson had shown himself in San Francisco to be adept at handling the Soviets' maddening style of diplomacy. Plodding and mechanistic, Molotov, Gromyko and the other Soviet diplomats drove many of their negotiating partners to anger and despair. According to Fosdick, Stevenson was consistently firm with the Soviets, and would sometimes act as if he had not heard some particularly outlandish Soviet proposal.[184]

Leaving London for Washington in December 1945, Fosdick was not in good spirits. Although the initial meeting of the Preparatory Conference was deemed relatively successful in Washington, and she had enjoyed her reunion with Stevenson, she was "beset with pessimism about the future." Part of her pessimism may have been a result of Byrnes's dismissal or transference of many of friends and colleagues, such as Pasvolsky and

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[183] Herbert L. Matthews,"Post-war Concord Sags in First Test," New York Times, September 22, 1945, p. 1; Clark M. Clifford, " American Relations with the Soviet Union," Conway files, Harry S. Truman Library,; September 24, 1946, pp. 9, 28, 34-56, 59-64 ((online: http://www. trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study/ coldwar/documents/sectioned.php?documentid=4-1&pagenumber=1&groupid=1); Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, October 1, 1946, box 1, folder 1, Fosdick Papers.

[184] British Broadcasting Corporation, "U.N. Organisation is Born," October 24, 1945, On This Day, BBC, London, GB. [online] http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/24/newsid_4353000 /4353094.stm); Walter H.C. Laves and Francis O. Wilcox, "The First Meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations," American Journal of International Law, 40, 2 (April 1946): 373; Fosdick Papers.

MacLeish. She may have also been disturbed by certain "rumors about town," most likely about Stevenson and *Newsday* publisher, Alicia Patterson Guggenheim and/or the wealthy socialite, Pamela Harriman.

A great deal of Fosdick's malaise was also due to her pessimism about the U.N.'s prospects. She had ever been the Wilsonian idealist and seems to have invested a great deal of her professional identity in the idea of a new international order based on collective security. Soviet recalcitrance, however, now threatened to undermine the strength of the central constituent of the new order, the U.N. Indeed, by the time she left London, Fosdick seems to have concluded that the very nature of the Soviet state and its objectives precluded any meaningful degree of international cooperation. Soviet "aims diverge so sharply from the majority of states," she wrote to her uncle Raymond that "I doubt if cooperation with them will ever be possible."[185]

Upon her return to Washington, Fosdick's view of Soviet behavior was further colored by her new assignment. The head of the newly created Policy Planning Staff (S/P) detailed Fosdick to assist William Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, in his efforts to uncover and calculate the true costs of American relief operations. The harsh winter of 1946 had prompted a series of American "rescue operations," in which large amounts of fuel and foodstuffs were rushed to Europe through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA). Not all the aid, however, appeared to be reaching the assigned storage and distribution points. Clayton suspected that the Soviets were diverting some of the aid. Fosdick's task, therefore, was to compare what was turned over to UNRRA with what was actually being meted out to various European authorities.

[185] Dorothy Fosdick to Raymond B. Fosdick, March 11, 1946, Fosdick Papers.

In June, Fosdick personally presented her report to Clayton. It showed a significant portion of U.S. assistance was being diverted to various Soviet satellites, and recommended distributing American aid by some other mechanism than the UNRRA. Clayton and Kennan, in turn, recommended to the newly installed Secretary of State George C. Marshall that all aid flowing through UNRRA be discontinued. Marshall agreed, and over the six months, OSPA labored to construct the legal framework for the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) which would deliver American goods and services to Europe. [186]

In January 1948, with the organizational structure of ECA in place, Marshall disbanded OSPA. Many of the employees that had comprised the original Division of Special Research had retired, returned to civilian life after the war or transferred to other agencies or divisions of the State Department. Fosdick received a personal invitation from Kennan to join the S/P. On March 1, 1948, thirty-four year old Dorothy Fosdick became the fourth member, and the first woman—and the only woman for the next twenty years—to serve on the Policy Planning Staff.[187]

Fosdick's four years on the S/P were eventful, and her work reflected her growing interest in human rights and national security policy. In December 1948, for instance, she asked to be assigned to assist Ralph Bunche and Eleanor Roosevelt (whom she had met in San Francisco), in drafting United Nations Resolution 217, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. From 1949-50, Fosdick was assigned to the interdepartmental study group working on the planning document that would become National Security Council directive 68 (NSC-68). She enthusiastically embraced the document and reprised some of the

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[186] Laves and Wilcox; Charles P. Kindelberger "Marshall Plan Cemmorative: In the Halls of the Capitol, A Memoir," Foreign Affairs 76, 3 (May/June 1997): pp. 186.

[187] David Mayers, George Kennan and the Dilemmas of Foreign Policy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 58.

techniques that the old DSR had used to promote the United Nations to "sell" policy recommendations detailed in NSC-68 to key members Congress whose support would be crucial should the president approve. Fosdick and other members of the S/P submitted an article and held informal information sessions with journalists and members of Congress in order to prepare the ground for huge increases in defense spending.[188]

In the summer of 1952, Fosdick took a leave of absence in order to serve as foreign policy advisor to Adlai Stevenson's presidential campaign. As Deputy Campaign manager, she headed up a group of researchers and writers called "the Elks," after their office in the Elk's Club in Springfield, Illinois. Despite almost four years apart, they re-kindled their love affair. The renewed affair was to prove intense, but short-lived. During the campaign Republican campaign operatives began circulating rumors that Stevenson was a homosexual. Democratic operatives responded by leaking details of his relationship with Fosdick, as well as ones he had been carrying on simultaneously with the very wealthy and very married Boston socialite, Marietta Tree. Details also began to emerge about Stevenson's romantic involvements with Brooke Astor, the wife of real estate magnate Vincent Astor, the political activist Mary Lasker and Ruth Field, the widow of Chicago department store magnate, Marshall Field. Fosdick, undoubtedly embarrassed and hurt, left the campaign before election day.[189]

After the election, Fosdick did not return to the State Department. She joined a number of other State Department employees in the "great exodus of '52," and resigned. The

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[188] Eleanor Roosevelt, "The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers," ed. Allida May Black and Hillary Rodham Clinton (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), p. 193; "Nation is Cautioned Against a 'Maginot State of Mind,'" New York Herald Tribune (October 30, 1949): 12; U.S. Department of State,"Report of Efficiency Rating," June 15, 1948, July 31, 1949, July 1, 1950, Lot 64D 563, RG 59, National Archives, Washington, DC.

[189] Sandra McElwaine, review of Caroline Seebohm, No Regrets: The Life of Marietta Tree, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), Washington Monthly (January-February 1998): 1-2.

impetus for the wave of resignations was, of course, the uncertainty associated with any change in presidential administrations. For Fosdick, however, she was motivated by her personal dislike for Dulles, who was to become Secretary of State. She resigned rather than work in the "intellectual and moral slum that anything headed by John Foster Dulles would become." "I cannot bear the thought," she wrote in her diary, "of working for that man" [underscore in the original].[190]

By the time of Fosdick's resignation from the State Department, her views about the shape and direction of American foreign and security policy had hardened considerably. The Wilsonian idealism that had fueled her youthful enthusiasm for collective security had been replaced by a much more somber view of international affairs. She now seems to have come round to the view that the Soviet Union was the main obstacle to peace and justice in the world and that America should undertake vigorous and sustained American action to roll back the Soviet empire. "The world," she wrote, "has moved from a Greek period, in which we could afford to argue about our ideas, to a Roman period, in which we must fight to make them effective."[191]

Fosdick's metaphor allows us some insight into the philosophical currents beneath her increasingly militant political views. The Greek-Roman metaphorical dichotomy is a Heideggerian philosophical trope that refers to the search for the Good (Justice and Truth) through two methods, Reason (Greek) and practical experience (Roman). Although Fosdick probably encountered this trope via Horkheimer, her use of it is closer to Heidegger's in that

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[190] Willard L. Thorp, interview by Richard D. McKinzie and Theodore A. Wilson, Amherst, MA., July 10, 1971, p. 24. (online: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/thorpw.htm); Warner Schilling, Paul Y. Hammond and Glenn Snyder, Strategy, Politics and Defense Budgets (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), p. 267.; Holly Brubach, "Running Around in High Circles," New York Times Magazine, November 9, 1997, p. 11; Baker, p. 223.; Dorothy Fosdick, diary entry, May 4, 1952, Fosdick Papers.

[191] Dorothy Fosdick, address to the International Young Women's Conference, September 23, 1952, Heidelberg, West Germany, box 2, Fosdick Papers.

it implies that the intellectual pursuit of Good must be for the moment subjugated to the more practical concerns, i.e., the Cold War. Her reference, however, must also be considered in light of the anti-modernists' Aristotelian and Thucydidean innovations in which Good may be pursued and the regime transformed through concrete action at home or abroad.[192]

Introducing the Neoconservative View: Scoop Jackson

Casting about Washington for work in the spring of 1953, Fosdick was hired as a foreign policy consultant to the staff of Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA) by Jackson's chief of staff and boyhood friend, John Salter. Professionally, Fosdick's experience and contacts in the foreign policy community helped make up for a severe dearth of foreign policy expertise on Jackson's staff. A new senator in 1953, Jackson had gained almost no foreign policy experience during his career in the House from 1941-1952. His small staff, comprised of Salter, administrative assistant Sterling Munro and publicist Brian Corcoran, was equally unschooled in the intricacies of U.S. foreign relations. Jackson also harbored presidential ambitions and his lack of knowledge and experience in foreign relations represented a significant handicap to a presidential bid. It also seemed as if Jackson would have little opportunity to gain experience in foreign affairs during his first senatorial term. Part of the reason for this was his assignment to the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee. Rarely in open session and its proceedings dominated by its chairman, Senator Joseph McCarthy, (R-WI), the subcommittee offered little opportunity for a junior, minority-party senator to make

[192] Max Horkheimer, Eclipse of Reason (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 21, 169, Dawn and Decline, Notes, 1926-1931 and 1950-1969 (New York: Seabury, 1978). See also Gail Soffer, "Heidegger, Humanism, and the Destruction of History," Review of Metaphysics 49, 3 (March 1996): 547-576; Anson Rabinbach, "Heidegger's Letter on Humanism as Text and Event," New German Critique 62 (Spring-Summer 1994): 3-38.

headlines. Moreover, Jackson was to resign his seat in July in protest over an article by McCarthy executive staff director J.B. Matthews that called Protestant clergymen "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today." [193]

In addition to the foregoing difficulties, the Democratic leadership assigned Jackson to the party's senatorial campaign committee. While serving on the campaign committee, Jackson was almost guaranteed to be absent from Washington for long stretches while speaking on the Democratic "rubber chicken" circuit and fundraising for the mid-term elections in 1954. Although his tenure on the campaign committee was successful, with the Democrats winning control of Congress in 1954, and Jackson being rewarded with a seat on the Senate Armed Services and Joint Atomic Energy Committees, the avenues for establishing his credentials remained limited. The activities and statements of the members of the Armed Services Committee were tightly controlled by its powerful chairman, John C. Stennis of Mississippi. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was relatively more open, but met infrequently, dealt only marginally with foreign policy and was, by and large, unfamiliar to the public.[194]

Although little is known about Fosdick's work over the 1953-1955 period, she seems to have spent most of her time engaged in two tasks. The first of these tasks involved replying to constituents about foreign policy issues. Letters from wealthy donors to the Democratic Party, such as Frank Altschul (Wohlstetter's early mentor), Stanley Golub, and Jerry Hoeck seem to have been reserved for her exclusive review and response. The remainder of Fosdick's time seems to have been spent writing for articles and a book

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[193] J.B. Matthews "Reds and Our Churches," American Mercury Magazine (July, 1953): 1-10; "3 Democrats Quit McCarthy's Group in Fight on Powers," New York Times, July 11, 1953, p. 1.

[194] "Scoop Jackson: Running Hard Uphill," Time 105, 7 (February 17, 1975): pp. 3-5; "Democratic Senators Named to the Senatorial Campaign Committee," New York Times, April 22, 1953, p. 24.

4.1 Dorothy Fosdick

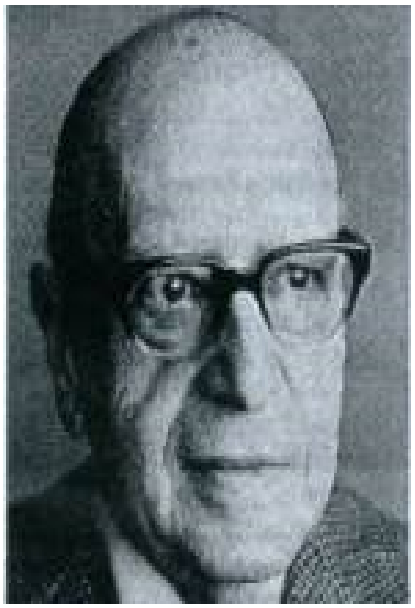
Fosdick at the San Francisco Conference as Alger Hiss's assistant, 1945.

Fosdick in retirement in the early 1990s.

4.2 Family, Friends and Mentors

Rev. Harry E. Fosdick
Dorothy's father and a dedicated pacifist, he fell out with Dorothy over U.S. involvement in WW II.

Reinhold Niebuhr
"Reinie's" Christian anti-Communism influenced Dorothy as a young woman.



Max Horkheimer
Dorothy's teacher at Columbia, his anti-modernist philosophy deeply influenced her view of politics.

Adlai Stevenson
Dorothy's lover, his campaign operatives exposed their long affair to counter Republican rumors that he was homosexual.

4.3 Career Moments

Fosdick, second from the left, with President and Mrs. Truman at the Women's Democratic Service Awards Banquet at the National Press Club, 1949.

Property of University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division

Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, an unidentified Chinese official and Fosdick, in Beijing, 1981

L-R: Fosdick, Richard Perle, Jackson and Adm. James Linder aboard the USS Forrestal, 1972

that reflected Jackson's foreign policy views. She also wrote several speeches and drafted a monograph for attribution to Jackson.[195]

In November, 1955 Jackson, wanting to step up his efforts to establish himself as an expert in foreign and security affairs, made Fosdick his full-time Chief Foreign Policy Aide. A notoriously dull and long-winded speaker, Jackson gave Fosdick responsibility for all of his speeches and articles on foreign policy. On New Year's Day, 1956, Jackson launched a writing and speaking campaign that criticized the Eisenhower Administration in a distinctly Fosdick-esque manner. Jackson, for instance, characterized Defense Secretary Charles Wilson's management ability as limited to an "ability to keep his foot in his mouth most of the time." Secretary of State Dulles, however, was the preferred target, with Jackson characterizing Dulles (in unmistakably Fosdick-esque language), as a "salesman rather than a statesman," and "the original misguided missile."[196]

In 1956 Fosdick also began to make a name for herself on Capitol Hill. As Jackson's alter ego on all matters pertaining to foreign and security policy, many senators and their

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[195] Henry M. Jackson, with Dorothy Fosdick, Role and Problems of Congress in Reference to Atomic War (Washington DC: Industrial College of the Armed Forces, 1954); Dorothy Fosdick "How a Global Policy is Evolved," New York Times Magazine, January 23, 1955, p. 15; "Plea for the Career Diplomat," New York Times Magazine, March 27, 1955, p. 7; "Legislative Watchdog of the Atom," New York Times Magazine, June 26, 1955, pp. 2-3; "Passport and the Right to Travel," New York Times Magazine, July 17, 1955, p. 3; "For the Foreign Service: Help Wanted," New York Times Magazine, November 20, 1955, pp. 4-5; "Living Heritage of Woodrow Wilson," New York Times Magazine, January 1, 1956, pp 7-15; Dorothy Fosdick, "Portrait of Senator Henry M. Jackson," Saturday Review, January 29, 1955, p. 11; "Fate of USE," Saturday Review, November 12, 1955, p. 7; Common Sense and World Affairs (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1955); Henry M. Jackson, "Foreign Policy," radio address, America's Town Meeting of the Air, January 30, 1955; "The Middle East," address to the Council on Foreign Relations, March 2, 1955; untitled address to Friends of Israel, Israel Anniversary Celebration, April 30, 1955, mimeographs, box 2, Fosdick Papers.

[196] Edward R. Murrow, "Years of Crisis: 1955," CBS, January 1, 1956; "Jackson Says Russians Plan 'Fantastic' Missiles," New York Times, January 5, 1956, p. 11; James Shepley, "How Dulles Averted War," Life, 40, 3 (January 16, 1956): 77; Henry M. Jackson, "The Race for Ballistic Missiles," address to the U.S. Senate, Washington, DC, February 1, 1956, Congressional Record, v. 102 (1956): 10814-10817; "Israeli Statement," press release, February 25, 1956; "The Price of Power," address to the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA, February 25, 1956; "Republican 'Foreign Policy,'" address to the Maine Democratic Party, Brewer, ME, March 24, 1956; mimeographs, box 2, Fosdick Papers; Henry M. Jackson, "Toward a Superior 'Force in Being,'" New York Times Magazine (May 20, 1956): 10; William S. White, "Wilson to Name Missiles 'Czar' to Rush Program," New York Times, February 2, 1956, p. 1.

staff employees variously described her as "brainy," "brilliant," and "peppery." Many also discovered that she seemed more of an uncompromising Cold Warrior than Jackson himself. Francis Valeo, a Foreign Relations Committee staffer who had known both Dorothy and her father Harry, recalled, "She had this absolute one-track mind on anything involving the Russians. She almost seemed to be apologizing for his [her father, the Rev. Fosdick's] pacifism by her vigorous embracing of a militaristic approach to containment." [197]

In addition to her duties as chief researcher and speechwriter, Fosdick began building a "brain bank" of individuals with expertise in foreign and security matters. RAND Corporation analyst Albert Wohlstetter and Harvard historian Richard Pipes, for instance, were added to Fosdick's list of experts that the senator could call on to advise him on nuclear strategy and Soviet affairs, respectively. Indeed, Jackson called on Pipes to brief him on Russian culture prior to an extensive tour of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1956. Upon returning to the United States in the fall of 1956, on the eve of the presidential election, Jackson and his staff resumed the rhetorical offensive against the Eisenhower Administration with a vengeance.[198]

After the election, however, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D-TX), and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn (D-TX), put Fosdick on notice that bipartisanship (at least in regard to foreign policy), would be the order of the day when the Congress reconvened in January 1957. The attacks on the Eisenhower Administration's foreign and

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[197] Francis R. Valeo, interview by Donald Ritchie, Washington, DC, December 18, 1985, U.S. Senate Historical Office Oral History Project, p. 788; Ruth Young Watt, interview by Donald Ritchie, November 30, 1979, Washington, DC, U.S. Senate Historical Office Oral History Project, p. 262.

[198] Leila Hudson, "The New Ivory Towers: Think Tanks, Strategic Studies and 'Counterealism,'" Middle East Policy 12, 4 (Winter 2005): 127; Henry M. Jackson, "The Communist Challenge and Education," address to the Professional Engineering Employees Association, Seattle, WA, September 24, 1956; "The Communist Challenge," address to the National Guard Association of the United States, Spokane, WA, October 9, 1956, mimeographs, Fosdick Papers; Henry M. Jackson, "My 10,000 Miles Through Soviet Russia," Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 26, 1956, p. 1B.

security policy prior to and during the election had been unrestrained, uncoordinated and wide-ranging, making it impossible for the public to perceive a Democratic alternative amidst the cacophony. Now, in the aftermath of the election, Johnson sought to limit criticism of the administration's foreign and security policies lest continued partisanship hurt Democrats in the 1958 and 1960. Indeed, aware that every significant poll in the country showed an overwhelming Republican advantage in foreign affairs and defense matters, the leadership favored moving the Democrats closer to the administration's positions.[199]

Fosdick was not amenable to the leadership's bipartisan approach and Jackson's tone became much harsher after October 4, 1957. On that day, the Soviet Union placed the world's first man-made satellite, *Sputnik,* into orbit. The implications of the *Sputnik* launch, of course, meant that the Soviet Union could reach the United States with similar missiles—missiles carrying nuclear warheads rather than satellites. Jackson was joined by Stuart Symington (D-MO), Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), John Flanders (D-VT), John Sherman Cooper (D-KY), and Joseph Clark (D-PA) in charging the administration with complacency and ineptitude. [200]

The Eisenhower Administration's initial response to *Sputnik* and the Democratic attack was to downplay the significance of the Soviet launch. On October 5, the day after the *Sputnik*, press secretary James Hagerty said that the satellite launch "did not come as any surprise" to the United States, while foreign affairs advisor Clarence Randall described the

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[199] Robert A. Divine, Foreign Policy and U.S. Presidential Elections, 1952-1960 (New York: New Viewpoints Press, 1974), pp. 98-99, 121-122, 136, 139.

[200] "Sputnik," address to the U.S. Senate, Washington, DC, October 5, 1957, Congressional Record, v. 103 (1957): 10988; "Senators Attack Missile Fund Cut," New York Times, October 6, 1957, p. 1; "Jackson Insists Eisenhower Act," New York Times, October 11, 1957, p. 8; "NATO Atom School Urged by Senator," New York Times, November 13, 1957, p. 1; "Defense Tax Rise Seen by Jackson," New York Times, November 19, 1957, p. 16; "Moves in Washington," New York Times, November 10, 1957, p. 205; "Orderly Formula," Time, 70, 18 (October 26, 1957): 5; "The Soviet Threat," Western World Magazine (December 1957): 1-7.

Soviet satellite as a "silly bauble." On the 8th, former Defense Secretary Charles Wilson, now retired, characterized *Sputnik* as "a nice technical trick." The same day, presidential assistant Sherman Adams ventured that the purpose of the American space program was to "serve science, not achieve high score in an outer space basketball game." The next day, on October 9, Eisenhower himself stated in a press conference that the main value of *Sputnik* lay in "what they [the Soviets] learn about "temperatures, radiation, ionization, pressures and so on." When pressed by a journalist about *Sputnik*'s military significance, the president allowed that it did demonstrate that the Soviets possessed some very powerful rockets, but "until you know something about their accuracy, it is militarily meaningless."[201]

For Fosdick, the Eisenhower Administration's dismissive response to *Sputnik* represented a political opportunity to paint the administration and the Republicans as soft on defense. Senate Majority Leader Johnson and Speaker of the House Russell, however, were not ready to forego all cooperation with the administration. In November, Johnson announced that his Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee would hold extensive hearings on the state of American military programs, and that he did not see any need for any parallel investigations. Johnson's subcommittee, in session from November 1957 through February 1958, generated very little substantive criticism of the administration other than that which emanated, unsurprisingly, from various defense contractors.[202]

Jackson and Fosdick, however, were prepared to take another tack. In the summer of 1958, Fosdick prevailed upon the chair of the Government Operations Committee, Senator

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[201] "The Race to Come," Time 70, 17 (October 21, 1957): 3; "Rocket's Red Glare," Time 70, 19 (November 4, 1957): 18.

[202] "Under Control," Time 71, 5 (February 3, 1958): 12-14.

John McClellan (D-AR), to authorize a new subcommittee, the Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery to study the Eisenhower Administration's policymaking processes, with a focus on the operations of the National Security Council. In the spring of 1959, in a speech at the National War College, Jackson proposed a study of "whether a free society can so organize its human and material resources as to outthink, outplan and outperform totalitarianism." He then introduced a resolution—S.R. 115—that proposed a study into the executive branch's ability to formulate and execute "national policy for survival in the world contest with Communism." Fosdick hoped that such an organizational study, conducted under the auspices of the Government Operations Committee (of which Jackson was a member), would appear relatively benign to Johnson. Similarly, she believed that an organizational study would not appear to impinge on the prerogatives of the Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees. Fosdick and Jackson, however, seem to have anticipated that the White House would react which, in turn, would generate publicity for their venture.[203]

For the most part, Fosdick's calculations proved correct. After quieting some initial objections from the Senate leadership and assuring the White House that Jackson intended to launch a "study" (rather than an investigation) that would be limited to "procedures and machinery and not substance," Jackson's "study" was approved. By June, the new subcommittee was formed with Jackson as chair and its staff headed by Fosdick. Fosdick installed two old friends from the NSC-68 study group, Helen Hill and Robert Tufts as senior

[203] Henry M. Jackson, "Memorandum for Senator McClellan," 27 June, 1958, Box 68, Foreign Policy and Defense Series, Henry M. Jackson Papers, Allen Library, University of Washington , Seattle, WA.; United States Senate, Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery of the Committee on Government Operations, Organizing for National Security, v. II, (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 266-277; "Senate to Study U.S. Policy Basis," New York Times, April 17, 1959, p. 1; U.S. Congress, Senate Resolution 115, 86th Congress, Report 302, May 5, 20, 1959; "Gap in Defense Seen," New York Times, July 18, 1959, p. 2; "A Look at National Policy," New York Times, July 20, 1959, p. 24.

researchers. Richard Neustadt, a political scientist from Columbia, was hired as a consultant to the subcommittee.[204]

The Jackson Subcommittee began operations in July. In a departure from most congressional investigations, the subcommittee did not immediately schedule a lengthy slate of hearings. Rather, J. K. Mansfield, Jackson's long-time chief of staff, went about Washington interviewing dozens of low-to-mid level bureaucrats. Although most of the interviewees cooperated, some of the subjects either refused to be interviewed or limited their responses. These recalcitrant subjects would be visited by Fosdick and/or Tufts and assured that unless they were more forthcoming, they would be subpoenaed and questioned by Jackson under oath in front of the subcommittee.

The subcommittee also departed from convention by conducting its discussions in fora outside of Congress. In the summer of 1959, the subcommittee sponsored an open forum at the Council of Foreign Relations and a seminar at the American Political Science Association's annual meeting. In both instances, the Eisenhower Administration's position was defended by National Security Advisor, Gordon Gray. Rather than addressing himself to Jackson's real charge that the administration lacked a coherent and credible national security strategy, Gray's defense consisted of a ponderous description of how the NSC system was *supposed* to operate. A rather more effective defense was mounted by the Yale political scientist, Paul Y. Hammond, who argued that the NSC had never operated as a policymaking

[204] Dwight Eisenhower to Lyndon Johnson, June 25, 959 in Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: The Presidency: Keeping the Peace, v. 20, Louis Galambos, ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 167; Martha J. Kumar, "Richard Elliot Neustadt, 1919-2003: A Tribute," Presidential Studies Quarterly, v. 34, n. 1 (March 2004): 3; John W. Finney, "President Backs Senators' Study of Policy Making," New York Times, July 19, 1959, p. 1.

body, but rather as a "coordinator." Gray's and Hammond's efforts, however, were incidental to the real purpose of the seminars—publicity.[205]

The debate and discussion over the Eisenhower Administration's security became much more substantive once the subcommittee began to hold formal hearings. Testimony and interviews were given by an A-list of experts ranging from George Kennan, Averell Harriman and General Matthew Ridgeway to Admiral Arthur Radford, Christian Herter, Thomas Gates, General Maxwell Taylor to Bernard Brodie, Henry Kissinger, Albert Wohlstetter, Henry Luce, Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk, and Herbert York. By and large the testimony did not favor the administration. Moreover, the officials dispatched to defend the administration's policies often did more harm than good, with Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates proving to be particularly inept.[206]

Chief of Staff: Fosdick and the Advent of Counterforce

The Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery officially concluded operations and submitted its final report in the fall of 1961. The final report, a massive distillation of several that had been produced during the investigations, was drafted by Fosdick. Although the report made dozens of recommendations as to how the national security "machinery" should be organized, its central theme was that foreign and security policy should be entrusted to a small permanent cadre of specialists in political, military and scientific planning. This policy

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[205] Hans J. Morgenthau, "Can We Entrust Defense to a Committee?," New York Times, June 7, 1959, p. 9; "The Defense Debate," Time 75, 5 (February 1, 1960): 2-6; "The VEEP Sweepstakes," Time 76, 1 (July 4, 1960): 26-29; James Reston, "Inquiry at its Best," New York Times, February 26, 1960, p. 1.

[206] Jack Raymond, "Democrats Say C.I.A. Missile Data Justify Concern," New York Times, January 30, 1960, p. 1; "The Pentagon Scored as Ill-Organized," New York Times, April 26, 1960, p. 13; United States Senate, Hearings before the National Policy Machinery Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, Organizing for National Security: The National Security Council and the Departments of State and Defense, June 2, 6, 10, 13, 14, 1960, 86th Congress, 2nd session (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 61-799.

elite—the "joint career staff"— would be carefully selected for their "dedication to the cause of liberty," as well as expertise in their particular field. These career bureaucrats would be organized in small, autonomous groups within the White House, Pentagon and State Department, "following the general model of the RAND Corporation." They would also be insulated from partisan politics as much as possible and, as a result, would be available to serve under presidents of either party.

Here, then, was the central objective to all the months of interviews, hearing and bureaucratic-political maneuvering: the creation of a small, ideologically committed band of "guardians" as the permanent overseers of American national security. Although there was no mention in the report as to who, precisely, would manage the selection process, the reference to RAND could be taken to imply that Wohlstetter and his followers were the prime candidates. In addition, there was no mention of any chain of command or any clear delineation of the decision-making process. This frightening lack of specificity did not, however, preclude the report from recommending that this group be formed "immediately."[207]

Politically, the subcommittee's investigations proved a mixed success. The publicity generated by the hearings had done much to establish Jackson as an expert on defense issues and to portray the Eisenhower Administration as moribund and over-bureaucratized. The hearings and testimony had also gone some way toward convincing many of Jackson's colleagues on both sides of the aisle that Massive Retaliation was neither credible nor strategically desirable. There was a widespread consensus that U.S. national security policy was on the verge of a significant re-orientation.

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[207] Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery, Organizing for National Security, pp. 1-3, 10, 13-19; Dorothy Fosdick, ed., "The Jackson Subcommittee," Staying the Course: Henry M. Jackson and National Security (Seattle: 1987), pp. 45-60.

On the debit side of the ledger, the Jackson camp, however, had been unable to capitalize directly on perceptions of Republican ineptitude. While Jackson's staff churned out a series voluminous and highly technical hearings and reports, the Kennedy forces adroitly distilled the steady drumbeat of criticism into the single, incendiary accusation of a "missile gap." Moreover, the ill-feelings that Fosdick and Jackson had engendered among fellow Democrats seem to have rebounded and prevented Jackson from securing even the Democratic vice-presidential nomination, even though he had been Kennedy's first choice.[208]

The blame for the political failure settled on Mansfield. In April, the senator re-organized his staff and Mansfield was let go. Salter and long-time administrative assistant Munro were asked to focus on domestic political affairs and constituent services in the senator's home state of Washington. Tufts and Hill were secured positions with the RAND Corporation and the CIA, respectively. Fosdick was appointed chief of staff, and given almost complete control over all matters except those pertaining to Washington electoral politics.

As chief of staff, Fosdick turned toward building influence within the new Kennedy Administration. Before his inauguration, President-Elect Kennedy said publicly that he had been "much impressed by the constructive criticism of the Jackson Subcommittee," and that he intended to move quickly to adopt a number of the subcommittee's organizational recommendations. Kennedy backed up this talk by appointing Richard Neustadt, late of the Jackson subcommittee, to manage the presidential transition and to make recommendations on planning for the first "hundred days," including staff and Cabinet appointments. These

[208] Thomas Foley, interview by Steve Roberts, May 30, 2005, Washington DC (online: http://www.americaabroadmedia.org/neocons.html), p. 6.

recommendations were presented to Kennedy in a series of memos, some of which Neustadt first sent to Fosdick for comment and approval.[209]

Once in office, Kennedy installed a number of Jackson allies in important bureaucratic positions. Kennedy did ignore a suggestion from Fosdick that Nitze and Tufts be appointed Secretary of Defense and Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, instead choosing Robert S. McNamara and McGeorge Bundy. Nitze, however, was appointed chairman of an *ad hoc* committee tasked with outlining a basic national security policy. Jackson staffer, Howard E. Haugerud, was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for International Security. General Maxwell Taylor, a long-time friend of both Kennedy and Fosdick was appointed personal military advisor to the president. His presence, though not due to Fosdick's influence, nevertheless served as yet another conduit of communication with the White House.

A number of men from Fosdick's "talent bank" were also given positions within the new administration. The analysts from Albert Wohlstetter's Strategic Air Power Research Group (SAPR) at the RAND Corporation were brought *en masse* into the administration. Henry S. Rowen was appointed Deputy Secretary for International Security Affairs, Alain C. Enthoven became Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Systems Analysis, and William Kaufmann was made Deputy Director of the Air Force Science Advisory Board. Wohlstetter and his protégés, Frank Trinkl, David McGarvey, Andrew Marshall, Fred Hoffman, Herbert

[209] Preparing to be President: The Memos of Richard E. Neustadt, Charles O. Jones, ed. (Washington DC: The American Enterprise Institute Press, 200), pp. 4, 5, 11, 21, 23, 29, 75, 144-145, 148.

Goldhammer, Fred Iklé and Daniel Ellsberg, became consultants to the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD).[210]

These appointments had a significant impact on the Kennedy Administration's national security policy. While Taylor set about building new, "unconventional" anti-guerilla capabilities designed to combat Communist-inspired insurgencies in the Third World, the SAPR Group examined nuclear strategy. The confluence of these efforts resulted in a strategy called "Flexible Response." Emerging from criticisms of Massive Retaliation as a an "all-or-nothing" strategy, Flexible Response was intended to allow the president to more easily and precisely calibrate military responses to various Communist incursions and "respond in each case with a use of force appropriate to the threat." On the level of strategic nuclear conflict, planning commenced for limited war scenarios to "improve the war's outcome by terminating it under favorable military conditions and by limiting damage to our allies and ourselves."[211]

In order to support this new strategic doctrine, McNamara recommended a substantial expansion of the U.S. strategic arsenal. Over the next five years, McNamara proposed increases in the B-52 bomber force, the KC-135 aerial fuel-tanker fleet, the Hound Dog and Skybolt air-launched missile programs, the Atlas and Minuteman ICBM programs, and the Polaris SLBM program. There was also an anti-vulnerability campaign that reflected Wohlstetter's influence. A force-wide hardening and dispersal program was slated for

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[210] Bernard Brodie, "The McNamara Phenomenon," World Politics 17, 4 (July 1965): 679; U.S. Department of State, "History of the National Security Council, 1947-1997," (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1997), pp. 81-83.

[211] Richard Smoke, National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma (New York: Random House, 1987), pp. 94-113, 117; Memorandum from Dean Rusk to Robert McNamara, "Foreign Policy Considerations Bearing on the U.S. Defense Posture," February 4, 1961, U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, v. VIII: National Security Policy (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office), pp. 14, 78-79, 91, 195, 390, 484-485, 534.

Minuteman underground silos and a development program begun for a mobile version of Minuteman. All told, the total U.S. nuclear megatonnage was expected to rise from 1,530 in 1961 to 7,620 by 1967.[212]

The new administration also adopted the Jackson Subcommittee's recommendations for overhauling the Pentagon's budget processes. Gen. Taylor had argued that there was an urgent need to control redundancies and "pet" programs pushed by the armed services. To overhaul the Pentagon's processes, McNamara appointed Wohlstetter's old patron from RAND, Charles Hitch, to the post of Assistant Secretary and Comptroller of the Department of Defense. Hitch subsequently developed a comprehensive forecasting and budgeting system called "Planning, Programming and Budgeting" (PPBS), in which funding requests were tightly linked to operational requirements.

Although this reform seemed rather innocuous, in practice the new system made it much easier to gain legislative approval for large funding requests. In response to a large request, for example, the Congress only had to authorize and appropriate "down payments," or annual outlays, in any given year, not total cost. As a result, it also became much more difficult to forecast and determine the total cost of weapons systems. Total costs, from development, through deployment, were calculated as part a "moving" grand total called "total obligational authority." Over the next two years, the Kennedy Administration was to exploit this characteristic of the new budgeting system to launch one of the largest military buildups in American history.[213]

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[212] Smoke, p. 118.

[213] United States Senate, "Missiles, Space and Other Major Defense Matters," Hearings before the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services in Conjunction with the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, 86th Congress, 2nd session (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 199; United States Senate, Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery of the Committee on

Yet another effect of the Jackson Subcommittee report on the Kennedy Administration was the increased power of the Special Assistant for National Security, or National Security Advisor. Upon assuming office, Kennedy abolished the National Security Planning Board (NSPB), and the Operations Coordinating Board (OCB). Functioning much like Ike's wartime staff sections for logistics and intelligence, the two boards coordinated the activities of approximately fifty inter-agency and inter-departmental working groups, which disappeared also. In place of this tangled bureaucratic morass, Kennedy installed six inter-agency groups overseen by the staff of the Special Assistant for National Security. The office of the Special Assistant was also physically moved from the old Executive Office Building to the White House. The increased power of this single adviser, served by a large staff and not subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, greatly enhanced the ability of Kennedy and his successors to translate their ideological and political preferences into policy.[214]

Fosdick's part in setting these changes in American strategy and capabilities in motion further enhanced her reputation in official Washington. Indeed, in the course of barely five years, Fosdick had become one of the most influential figures in Washington. Experienced, informed, well-connected to both the Old Guard of the Democratic Party, as well as the Kennedy Administration, Fosdick was a force to be reckoned with. National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, in particular, seems to have been eager to count her as an ally. In the early days of the administration, for instance, Bundy took care to keep her

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Government Operations, Organizing for National Security: The Budget and Policy Process, Part 8 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 1789-1969.

[214] The National Security Council: Jackson Subcommittee Papers on Policy-Making at the Presidential Level, Henry M. Jackson, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1965), pp. 302-303; Andrew Preston, "The Little State Department: McGeorge Bundy and the National Security Council Staff, 1961-1965," Presidential Studies Quarterly, 31, 4 (December 2001): pp. 638-645; Thomas J. Saxon Jr., The Evolution of the National Security Council Under President Nixon (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1971), p. 94.

informed as to how closely the new administration was following the subcommittee recommendations. Later, during the Cuban Crisis, she was one of a handful of advisors called in by Bundy from outside of the administration. Raymond Garthoff, at the time a member of the CIA's Office of National Estimates (ONE), recalls that at one advisory meeting, Fosdick calmly made an exceptionally strong case for the "eradication" of the Castro regime.[215]

Fosdick did not hesitate to oppose the president when she thought his decisions misguided. In 1961, she and Jackson strongly opposed the creation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). The ACDA, as well as the Peace Corps, the Agency for International Development, the International Agricultural Development Service and other subsequent Kennedy and Johnson Administration initiatives, appeared to Fosdick as distasteful manifestations of the behavioralist "peace studies" sub-field that had begun to proliferate in academia.[216]

There were also some conflict between Fosdick and the Johnson Administration. Partly personal, partly professional, the rivalry between Jackson and Johnson was longstanding and did not improve with age. Although Jackson's staff and the administration generally made common cause over the war in Vietnam, even here there was friction. Increasingly frustrated over the conduct of the war, Jackson and Fosdick were particularly concerned with the decision to spare the northern port of Haiphong from intensive bombing. Despite repeated inquiries about the operational rationale behind the U.S. bombing

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[215] Jackson, pp. 275-280; Raymond Garthoff, Journey Through the Cold War: A Memoir of Containment and Coexistence (Washington DC: Brookings, 2001), p. 177.

[216] Warren G. Peter, III, "Focus: Henry M. Jackson," BioScience, 21, 20 (October 15, 1971): 1047-1049; Charles F. Howlett, "Studying America's Struggle Against War: An Historical Perspective," The History Teacher, 36, 3 (May, 2003): 297-330.

campaign, Jackson and Fosdick were stonewalled by the Johnson Administration. Although Jackson generally refrained from criticizing the president in public, he privately informed McNamara and Walt Rostow that he would raise his concerns publicly in the Armed Services Committee if the administration was not more forthcoming.

Aside from what they tell us about the politics of the time, these conflicts with the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations illustrate the degree to which nascent neoconservatism was beginning to coalesce into a discrete point of view. Although still confined to the Senate and the national security bureaucracy, this view was most recognizable by its view of the Soviet Union as a force for evil and disorder in the world. Politically, the neoconservatives' dark view of the Soviets translated into an unremitting advocacy for the re-orientation of foreign and security policy away from containment and coexistence and toward roll back and a strategic war-fighting capability. Indeed, their advocacy for a more confrontational stance vis-à-vis the Soviet Union was such that, by 1968, the neoconservatives were at odds with pro-war Democrats, such as Acheson and Symington, just as often as with anti-war Democrats. This "maverick" quality, along with their growing reputation for expertise and competence in military and foreign policy matters also made them appear as potential allies to the incoming Nixon Administration.[217]

[217] Staying the Course, p. 190; "Senate Unit to Hold Hearings on Vietnam," New York Times, January 17, 1966, p. 12; Neil Sheehan, "Senate Bloc Asks Bombing Step-Up," New York Times, August 10, 1967, p. 1; "Negative War Foes Scored by Jackson," New York Times, October 20, 1967, p. 12; E.W. Kenworthy, "Senate Unit Asks Johnson to Widen Bombing in North," New York Times, September 1, 1967, p. 1; Albert Wohlstetter, D-17276-1-ISI/ARPA: On Vietnam and Bureaucracy (Santa Monica: RAND, 1968).

Chapter 5

Coalescence: Neoconservatism, Détente, and the Soviet Strategic Buildup

When Richard Nixon assumed the presidency in 1968, he expected that some of his strongest allies in the Congress would be Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson and his staff. On a personal level, Nixon appears to have genuinely respected Jackson and, if he did not actually *like* the senator, he did not speak of Jackson in the tone and terms he reserved for the other Democrats or fellow Republicans like Nelson Rockefeller. Indeed, Nixon said on more than one occasion that Jackson was his "favorite Democrat," and had gone so far as to offer Jackson the position of Secretary of Defense. Kissinger also admired Jackson and had sought to hire Jackson staffer Richard Perle for his own NSC staff.[218]

A mere four years later, however, the White House's relationship with Jackson and his staff had changed drastically. The Nixon Administration was at war with Jackson and his staff over the arms control agreements concluded with the Soviets in May 1972. Jackson's name now appeared on the president's "enemies list," while Kissinger now held Perle to be "a ruthless little bastard," and "a son of Mensheviks who believes all Bolsheviks are evil." Why and how did such enmity arise in such a short span of time? What was the source of their conflict? What is its significance in the history of neoconservatism?

The answer to the first two questions is détente. The Nixon Administration's policy of engagement and negotiation with the Soviet Union, détente was seen by the

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[218] William Hyland, Mortal Rivals: Superpower Relations from Nixon to Reagan (New York: Random House, 1987), p. 100.

neoconservatives as morally and strategically dangerous. From a moral perspective, the neoconservatives believed that negotiating with the Soviet Union was a tacit of admission that it was a state like any other state and, as such, the moral equivalent of the United States. The danger in this morally relativist view, they held, was that it would degrade and delegitimize the values and ideas upon which much of Western civilization rested. Moral equivalence could also help create a false image of the Soviet Union that would enhance its standing abroad, while undermining America's claim to the Cold War moral high ground.

Strategically, the neoconservatives feared that in the rush to staunch the arms race the Nixon Administration would leave America vulnerable to a Soviet nuclear strike. The focus on quantitative limits, in particular, seemed to imply that the administration was planning to rely on mutual assured destruction to maintain deterrence. As Wohlstetter had purportedly demonstrated, this was an extremely undesirable state of affairs. Not only was the threat of mutual suicide not credible, but it also left the door open for the appearance of new technologies that might suddenly disrupt the strategic "balance" and allow the Soviets a first-strike capability.

These considerations appeared all the more dire against the backdrop of the Soviet strategic buildup. For Fosdick, Wohlstetter and many other neoconservatives, the fact that the Soviet Union was now engaged in the largest strategic buildup in the history of the world seemed to confirm everything that they believed about Soviet aims. Viewed through the prism of the regime, the unprecedented effort appeared as the outward manifestation of the militant, irreconcilable nature of the Soviet Union and its desire for world domination. Reinforcing this view was the almost complete paucity of any defensive justification for the buildup.

In regard to neoconservatism, the initiation of the campaign against détente and arms control marks the beginning of the coalescence of neoconservatism as a discrete political movement. While Wohlstetter and his RAND men had made common cause with Fosdick and Jackson against the Eisenhower Administration, this effort had been but one aspect of the general Democratic opposition. Now, however, as the nascent neoconservatives mobilized and maneuvered against détente and arms control, they came to be defined by their opposition to it. Already estranged from their Democratic brethren on the Left over Vietnam, the neoconservatives found that their anti-détente position also divided them from more centrist elements in the Congress. Many of Jackson's colleagues, such as William F. Fulbright (D-AK), Hubert H. Humphrey (D-MN), Jacob Javits (R-NY) and John Sherman Cooper (R-KY), not only had serious reservations about many of his positions, but also moved to actively oppose him. Indeed, the neoconservatives' sense of isolation became so pronounced that by 1972 they began to refer half-jokingly to Jackson's office as "the Bunker," reflecting the siege mentality that had developed as they waged bureaucratic-political war against the administration. Despite their isolation, they neither wavered nor became demoralized. Rather, the shared sense of battling against the odds in a crusade against the forces of Darkness seems to have instilled a sense of purpose and *espirit de corps*, which was critical to the coalescence of the neoconservatism.

The Soviet Strategic Buildup, 1965-1967

When the new Soviet missiles began to appear in 1965, there was a rather pronounced lack of urgency among American officials. "I can assure you, and I can assure the American people," said Defense Secretary Robert McNamara confidently at a news conference in April

1965, "that the USSR has no—I repeat, no—long-range, solid-fuel missiles comparable to our Minuteman missile system." Less than one month later, however, the Soviet Rocket Forces unveiled the RT-2 (or SS-13 "Savage," as the weapon was codenamed by the CIA and NATO), intercontinental ballistic missile at the annual May Day Victory Parade in Moscow. Comparable in size to the American Minuteman ICBM, the SS-13 was also a solid-fuel weapon, which made it faster, safer (as ground crews do not have to contend with dangerous leaks of highly volatile liquid fuel), and launched quickly. In addition, the Soviets exhibited a naval missile that bore a striking resemblance to the American Polaris submarine-launched missile and another weapon that was referred to as an "anti-missile missile." Even more ominous, the Soviets exhibited an example of what appeared to be the largest and most powerful intercontinental missile in the world, the SS-9.[219]

The appearance of the giant SS-9 missile was particularly ominous. Under development since 1962 by the Yangel Design Bureau in Dnepropetrovsk, and first test-flown on January 14, 1965, the SS-9 was 113 feet long and capable of carrying a payload of approximately 10,000 lbs. By way of comparison, the U.S. Minuteman II, just entering service at the time, was 59.9 feet long and had a payload capacity of approximately 1,000 lbs. This enormous payload capacity of the SS-9 meant, the CIA estimated, that it could deliver a 20-25 megaton nuclear warhead (Minuteman carried the 1 megaton W-67 warhead). The SS-9's size also made it a likely platform for the future development of multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs). In either configuration, a single SS-9 appeared capable

[219] J.S. Butz, "The New Soviet Missiles: Technological Storm Warning or False Alarm?," Air Force Magazine (July 1965), p. 32; Henry Tanner, "Moscow Parades 110-foot Missiles," New York Times, May 10, 1965, p. 1; U.S. Air Force, A History of Strategic Arms Competition, 1945-1972, Volume 3: A Handbook of Selected Soviet Weapon and Space Systems (Washington DC: U.S. Air Force Supporting Studies, 1976), p. 116. The definitive account of the Soviet strategic buildup is Lawrence Freedman, U.S. Intelligence and the Soviet Strategic Threat (London: The Macmillan Press, 1977).

of destroying a large American city or, with slight improvements to its accuracy, underground Minuteman silos.[220]

Wohlstetter watched the development of the SS-9 with alarm. Able to destroy American ICBMs while still in their silos, the SS-9 represented just the sort of counterforce weapon that he had warned against in his 1958 article, "The Delicate Balance of Terror." According to Wohlstetter, the possession of such a powerful counterforce capability by either side could, in a crisis situation, push the opponent into an attack before his weapons were destroyed in the ground. This "use it or lose it" problem was compounded by other political and moral considerations. In the wake of a surprise counterforce attack, for instance, an American president would have few options other than to sue for peace or order the destruction of millions of Soviet citizens by U.S. submarine-launched missiles and bombers. A U.S. attack on Soviet cities (or countervalue strike) would, of course, be followed by a retaliatory Soviet strike on American cities.[221]

The SS-9 was not the only worry for the U.S. defense establishment. In late 1965 another new missile appeared quite suddenly: the SS-11. Similar in its dimensions to Minuteman, the Korolev-designed SS-11 was also associated with some rather unorthodox testing programs at the Tyuratam Space complex. The nature of these tests led some U.S. intelligence analysts to speculate that the Soviets had launched a MIRV-development program. By mid-1966, however, the new the U.S. KH-4A and Argos satellites revealed that the SS-11 was a rather crude, liquid-fueled missile and that it was probably armed, like Minuteman, with a single 1 megaton (MT) warhead. Extrapolating from the number and

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[220] Office of National Estimates [hereafter, ONE], National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-65: Soviet Capabilities for Strategic Attack (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), pp. 1-15.

[221] Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," Foreign Affairs 37, 2 (January 1959): 211-234.

type of missile silos under construction, the CIA also forecast that the Soviets would deploy approximately 112 ICBMs per year in over the next three years. The majority of these deployments, it appeared, would be SS-11s. By the end of 1966, the Soviet silo starts (for missiles to be deployed in 1967), were almost exactly on pace with the CIA estimate at 111.

Between December and February 1967, however, the number of new silo construction starts suddenly skyrocketed. This development prompted the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) Richard Helms to inform President Johnson and McNamara that a major strategic buildup appeared to be under way and that the Agency was revising the force projections for 1967 and 1968 sharply upward. The Soviets, according to the CIA, would deploy something on the order of 160-200 ICBMs per year over the next two years. At the CIA's projected rate, the Soviet strategic force would stand at between 423-484 ICBMs in 1967. By 1968, the CIA expected the Soviet missile force to number between 670-765 ICBMs, roughly three-quarters of which would be the smaller, less-threatening SS-11.[222]

The revised projections not only proved to be too low, but the Soviets also appeared to have made some significant advances in the SS-9's performance. By the fall of 1967 the Soviet strategic force numbered no less than 700 deployed missiles, 101 of which were SS-9s. The CIA also determined that the Soviets had, incredibly, been able to increase the SS-9's payload capacity from 10,000 to 13,500 lbs. Moreover, there was solid evidence that the SS-9 was so accurate that it could strike within could 0.5-0.75 nautical miles (n.m.) of its intended target—its "Circular Error Probable," or CEP. This degree of accuracy, together

[222] ONE, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-66: Soviet Capabilities for Strategic Attack (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), pp. 2-3, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-67: Soviet Capabilities for Strategic Attack (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), p. 5, 7-8; Albert D. Wheelon, "Technology and Intelligence," The Intelligencer 14, 2 (Winter/Spring 2005): 51-56; Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms, "Memorandum for the President," October 1966, RG 263, folder 40, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

with the SS-9's huge payload capacity gave the giant missile an even greater counterforce potential than first projected against Minuteman.[223]

The picture was further complicated by Soviet efforts in other areas. The SS-13 that the Soviets had exhibited in 1965 was finally flight tested, and the Agency determined that it was indeed a solid-fueled missile. Construction of the *Galosh* anti-ballistic missile system that had begun in 1961 around Moscow had been stepped up, and testing began on a mobile missile, the SSX-15 (RT-20P). The tests at the Tyuratam Space Complex that the Agency had been so concerned about in 1966 turned out to be tests of two new and innovative warhead systems. The first, termed a "fractional orbital bombardment system," (FOBS), was similar to the American MIRV system then under development. Like the MIRV system, the FOBS consisted of a single missile and a container (or "bus") that held several warheads. Unlike the U.S. system, however, the warheads did not immediately re-enter the atmosphere to strike individual targets. Rather, the FOBS warheads would orbit the Earth until given a command to re-enter the atmosphere. Incapable of hitting a pre-programmed target like the U.S. MIRV, the FOBS warheads would simply bombard the area over which they were passing when the re-entry command was received. The second system was a "depressed trajectory" ICBM which could potentially re-enter the Earth's atmosphere over central Mexico. The primary advantage to both systems over convention ICBMs was that either could avoid the U.S.'s northward-facing Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS) radars.

Despite these developments, the CIA and the Johnson Administration did not perceive an imminent threat to Minuteman. Part of the reason was that there was no evidence that the Soviets were very far along in the development of a MIRVed warhead.

[223] ONE, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-67, pp. 1-2, 9-10.

Indeed, the Soviets' efforts to develop a depressed-trajectory ICBM and FOBS seemed to be stop-gap measures designed to overcome an inability to develop a reliable on-board targeting mechanism. Moreover, neither system appeared to be accurate enough to destroy "hard" targets such as a Minuteman silo.

There also seems to have been an expectation that the Soviet force structure was developing along lines similar to that of the U.S. strategic force. This meant that the smaller, cheaper SS-11 would be the mainstay of the Soviet force and that Soviet targeting would, like the U.S., emphasize cities, or "countervalue," rather than the opponent's weapons, or "counterforce." The evidence for this development was strong. Total silo starts for the SS-9 in the first part of 1968 were down to 30, bringing the total deployments to 131. If the missile programs were being developed and deployed under the typical Soviet five year plan, they could be expected to conclude by 1970 with a total of 600-900 missiles. This would give the Soviet Union "rough numerical parity" with the United States, but 300 SS-9s would not be nearly enough to knock out the 1,000-missile strong Minuteman force.[224]

There were, however, informed observers that viewed the Soviet programs with much more alarm than the CIA and the Johnson Administration. Wohlstetter, in particular, felt that the sheer size and scope of the Soviet programs presaged an effort that could only result in a major shift in the strategic balance. Among the U.S. military services, the Army's view of the Soviet threat was closest to Wohlstetter's, and lobbied the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) and Congress heavily for approval of its ABM system, Sentinel, to protect U.S. cities against a Soviet attack. Senator Henry M. Jackson, now chairman of the Military

[224] Ibid, p. 8; ONE, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-68: Soviet Capabilities for Strategic Attack (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), p. 5.

Appropriations subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, urged the Johnson Administration to approve the ABM as part of a substantial response to the Soviet buildup.[225]

For its part, the Pentagon was not anxious to approve the ABM system. Aside from its massive expense—approximately $40 billion—neither McNamara nor his successor, Clark Clifford, was convinced that it would work as advertised. Although it had been in development since the early 1960s, McNamara had become convinced as early as 1966 that Soviet capabilities had grown beyond Sentinel's capacity to protect U.S. population centers. The Army and some powerful congressional Democrats were, however, not prepared to simply discard Sentinel. As a result, McNamara approved a scaled-down version, ostensibly to protect the U.S. homeland against an emerging Chinese nuclear threat.[226]

Closing the Window of Vulnerability Together: The Partnership for Safeguard

The hawkish view held by Wohlstetter and Jackson was shared by the Republican presidential candidate, Richard Nixon. Campaigning on a "security gap" plank, Nixon charged that the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations had allowed American military might to deteriorate in a vain hope for "peace in our time." "This 'parity' concept," Nixon charged, referring to the 1967 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE), "means superiority for potential enemies." He expressed his doubts about the anti-Chinese rationale and derided the Johnson Administration's proposal for a scaled-down version of Sentinel as "penny-pinching."

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[225] Albert Wohlstetter, "D(L)-16624-PR: Strength, Interest and New Technologies," [online] http://www.rand.org/about/history/wohlstetter/ [June 24, 2006]; U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, "Statement of General Earle Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff," 90th Cong., 1st sess., March 2, 1967, 143; John W. Finney, "'Thin' Missile Net Backed by Inquiry," New York Times, November 7, 1967, p. 17.

[226] U.S. House Armed Services Committee, "Statement of Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford on the 1970 Defense Budget and Defense Program for Fiscal Year 1970-1974," 91st Cong., 1st sess., 15 January 1969, 79.

5.1 Comparison of U.S. and Soviet ICBMs

L-R: Minuteman II, SS-11, SS-9, Minuteman III

5.2 The Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System

The Spartan interceptor missile was the heart of the Safeguard ABM system

Safeguard radar at Grand Forks, N.D.

The ABM, Nixon must be capable of protecting Americans against Soviet missiles. If elected, he promised to restore U.S. strategic superiority and "root out the whiz kid approach" that he said had "taken hold at the Pentagon."[227]

Once the election was over, Nixon found the ABM system decision literally waiting on his desk. He also seems to have found it much more difficult than he had anticipated to abandon the number-crunching, "whiz kid approach" he had railed against during the election. Like McNamara and Johnson before him, Nixon discovered that the cost for a full-scale system capable of protecting one large American city to be prohibitive: $9 billion initially, and some $40 billion over ten years. Unlike McNamara and Johnson, however, he did not have the option to cancel the ABM system or choose a limited deployment.[228]

Thus entangled by his own rhetoric, Nixon ordered Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird in February to halt all work on the ABM until he could review the program. In the interim, Nixon avoided mentioning "strategic superiority." Rather, the new president began to talk of maintaining "strategic sufficiency." When asked what "strategic sufficiency" meant in operational terms, the new Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard (a close friend of Wohlstetter's) responded: "It means that it's a good word to use in a speech. Beyond that, it doesn't mean a goddamned thing."[229]

On March 14, 1969, the Nixon Administration announced its decision: it would deploy the ABM—now re-named Safeguard. It was also announced that the system would be deployed as a force protection system for the Minuteman sites at Malmstrom Air Force

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[227] R.W. Apple, Jr., "Nixon Promises Arms Superiority Over the Soviets," New York Times, October 25, 1968, pp. 1, 31; William Beecher, "Clifford Rebuts Nixon on Missiles," New York Times Oct 26, 1968, p. 1.

[228] U.S. House, "Clifford Defense Budget Statement," 79.

[229] William Beecher, "Sentinel Project Halted by Laird Pending Review," New York Times, February 6, 1969, pp. 1, 2; "The Useless Safeguard," New York Times, March 15, 1969, p. 32.

Base in Montana and Grand Forks Air Force Base in North Dakota. This new rationale was much more consistent with Wohlstetter's thesis that protection of the U.S. retaliatory force should have priority over all other targets, even American population centers. The plan to deploy the ABM in a so-called "hard-point" defense mode also made much more sense in terms of the ABM's actual capabilities. As a defensive system for Minuteman against the SS-9, the ABM now had only to defend several square miles, rather several hundred square miles around an American city.[230]

Packard was dispatched to Capitol Hill to explain the shift in strategy to the Senate Armed Services Committee. The former electronics industry executive, however, seems to have been over-anxious to make the sale and overstated his case. Packard also cited the growing Soviet capability in submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and the on-going Soviet FOBS testing, even though the latest NIE discounted both as a threat to Minuteman. For good measure, Packard also threw in the old (and hitherto discarded), Johnson Administration rationale that some sort of ABM system was needed to protect against an eventual Chinese missile threat.[231]

Packard's overdone testimony set the tone for what would prove to be a series of inept moves by administration officials. Hard on the heels of Packard's appearance in the Senate, Secretary of State William P. Rogers publicly questioned the need for Safeguard. The administration's case was further compromised by Laird's curious insistence on periodically repeating the by-now-rather-transparent argument that Safeguard was needed as a shield against Chinese missiles. There were also leaks from "informed sources" within the

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[230] Murray Illson, "Disappointment and Delight Greet Missile Decision," New York Times, March 15, 1969.

[231] "Excerpts from Testimony on Antimissile System before Senate Panel," New York Times, March 21, 1969, p. 20.

administration that claimed Safeguard was to serve primarily as a bargaining chip in the upcoming arms talks with the Soviets. The confusion became so great that AFL-CIO President George Meany, a key ally in the administration's public relations effort for Safeguard, told National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger that he would support the ABM only if the president could prevent his Cabinet members from publicly contradicting him. Exasperated, Nixon fired a memo to Laird and Rogers stating that he would "cannot tolerate any further undercutting of the Administration's policy."[232]

The administration also found that many members of Congress—including several prominent Republicans—had serious doubts about the ABM. Most were concerned that Safeguard would endanger the upcoming arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. Others harbored concerns about the system's costs and efficacy. At the end of April, 1969, a group of congressional Republicans led by Republican Sen. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky proposed a moratorium on further debate on Safeguard until after the first round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviets had begun in November.[233]

Also at the end of April, Sen. William Fulbright (D-AR), the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had invited Helms to conduct a briefing behind closed doors. Between May 1-10, Helms, accompanied by CIA analysts, told senators that while the Soviets had conducted two test firings of SS-9s (August 23 and September 11, 1968) that

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[232]"The Useless Safeguard," pp. 32-33; John W. Finney, "'CBS Reports' Looks at the Pros and Cons of the National Debate," New York Times, April 30, 1968, p. 95, "Pentagon Charged with Changing Data to Help Antimissile Plan," New York Times, May 15, 1969, p. 6; Henry Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President-My Meeting with George Meany – President, AFL-CIO," April 2, 1969, Declassified Documents Reference System [online] http://galenet.galegroup.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/servlet/DDRS?locID=unc_Davis&ste=2:CK3100517672 [June 4, 2006], [Hereafter DDRS]; Charles B. Wilkinson, "Memorandum for the President," April 10, 1969, DDRS, CK3100517413 [June 6, 2006]; Richard Nixon, "Memorandum for the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and Henry Kissinger," April 14, 1969, DDRS, CK3100517793 [June 6, 2006].

[233] John W. Finny, "Moratorium on Strategic Arms Suggested by G.O.P Foes of ABM," New York Times, April 25, 1969, p. 1; "Mansfield Urges ABM Compromise," New York Times, May 14, 1969, p. 15.

were not completely inconsistent with a MIRV development program, the RVs were multiple re-entry vehicle warheads (MRVs), and were not independently-guided. This conclusion was apparently based on the large, ungainly design of the RVs, as well as the relatively small "footprint" of the RVs' impact. Indeed, the Soviet RVs' aerodynamic performance was such that the CIA concluded that the use of these multiple warheads "would degrade the accuracy and reliability of the SS-9 system." The general consensus within the intelligence community, Helms explained, was that the MRV system tests were part of a Soviet effort to enhance the effectiveness of a countervalue strike.[234]

In the face of these mounting troubles, the administration turned to Jackson. Jackson was, in many ways, the administration's natural ally. A defense "hawk," Jackson was also an acknowledged expert on strategic issues. His opinions therefore carried significant weight in the Congress. He also possessed a loyal, knowledgeable, disciplined staff who could be trusted to stay "on message" without volunteering information. Moreover, a partnership with Jackson would lend administration policy the luster of bipartisanship. In a country and congress already deeply divided over Vietnam, the appearance—if not the substance—of bipartisanship could be an important political asset.

Taking up the administration's banner, Jackson's staff sprang into action. Fosdick asked DCI Helms to review the data gathered by the CIA about a series of re-entry vehicle (RV) tests that the Soviets were conducting. The CIA had concluded that the Soviets were testing multiple re-entry vehicles (MRVs), or warheads which fanned out across a general area as a result of the aerodynamic properties, rather than MIRVs, which could strike widely separated targets. Although the CIA's main analytical section, the Office of National

[234] ONE, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-68, pp. 11-12; John Newhouse, Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT (New York: Holt Reinhart & Winston, 1973), p. 161; Finney, "Pentagon Charged with Changing Data to Help Antimissile Plan."

Estimates (ONE) felt that the request was "a subtle and indirect effort to alter the national intelligence judgment," Helms agreed to revisit the data.[235]

Simultaneously the Jackson staff enlisted Wohlstetter to rebut an anti-ABM report being prepared by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA). The report catalogued where various administration statements about Soviet capabilities differed with the NIEs, giving particularly close scrutiny to Packard's statements to the Senate in March, and subsequent statements by Laird. It also offered a separate analysis of Soviet capabilities by two MIT professors, George Rathjens and Ralph Lapp, both of whom had formerly served with the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). In this effort, Wohlstetter was assisted by a young protégé, Paul D. Wolfowitz, a recent Political Science Ph.D. who had studied under Leo Strauss and Wohlstetter at the University of Chicago.

There was also an effort to lobby undecided members of Congress with a letter-writing and fund-raising campaign by a group called the "Committee to Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy." This group, headed by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, sought to promote a "balanced . . . carefully reasoned debate" over Safeguard. It boasted a bi-partisan membership that included Wohlstetter, Paul Nitze (former head of the Policy Planning Staff and chairman of the Advisory Board of the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies), Frederick Eaton and Arthur Dean (successive heads of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1958-1961), Robert Lovett (Secretary of Defense under Eisenhower), Eugene Wigner (Nobel-winning physicist) and Charles Herzfeld (first chief of the Advanced Research Projects Agency and a Wohlstetter colleague at RAND). Richard Perle, who had attended Hollywood High School with Wohlstetter's daughter Joan, and was

[235] U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, "Final Report," 94th Cong., 2nd sess., 1976, S. Rept. 755/bk. 1, 76 [Hereafter Church Committee Report].

now studying international relations at Princeton, was hired as the group's chief researcher. In its mailings, the Committee supplied congressmen with copies of Wohlstetter's writings, as well as analyses from RAND alum Herman Kahn's Hudson Institute and the American Security Council.[236]

The Jackson efforts were generally successful. Wohlstetter sharply and convincingly rebutted the book-length Kennedy Report testimony in front of the Senate Armed Services Committee with a twenty-one page analysis prepared by Wolfowitz. The lobbying effort by the Acheson group effort also managed to raise $15,000 (half of which was put up by Nitze personally) and to gain some support for Safeguard. As the summer of 1969 wore on, most of the "undecideds" seem to have lined up with the pro-ABM forces, bringing the balance in the Congress to roughly 50 percent for the ABM, and 50 percent against.[237]

The main problem for Safeguard's proponents was the 1969 NIE. The CIA's review of the data from the Soviet RV tests had not produced any evidence that a MIRVed SS-9 was imminent. Indeed, the only new insight was that the SS-9 was much less accurate with the new RV system, than with its original single warhead. The 1969 NIE, however, was not to be issued until November and both sides sought to exploit this "intelligence gap' by disseminating their own interpretation of Soviet missile capabilities. On July 17, Sen. Stuart Symington managed to gain a closed session of the entire Senate to present summaries of

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[236] William Beecher, "Acheson Group Seeks 'Balanced' Defense Debate," New York Times, May 27, 1969, p. 14; John W. Finny, "Kennedy-sponsored Study of ABM Upsets Pentagon," New York Times, May 7, 1969, pp. 1-2; Finney, "Pentagon Charged with Changing Data to Help Antimissile Plan," New York Times, May 15, 1969, "Administration Critics Say 'Intelligence Gap' Clouds ABM Issue," New York Times, June 1, 1969; David Abshire, "Twenty Years in the Strategic Labryinth," Washington Quarterly, 5, 4 (Winter 1982): 83.

[237] ABM: An Evaluation of the Decision to Deploy an Anti-Ballistic Missile System, ed. Jerome Wiesner and Abram Chayes (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 17; William Beecher, "Scientist Rebuts Criticism of ABM," New York Times, May 26, 1969, p. 13; "Excerpts from Majority and Minority Reports by Senate Committee on the ABM," New York Times, special ed., July 8, 1969, p. 12; Sidney Blumenthal, "Richard Perle's Nuclear Legacy," Washington Post, November 24, 1987, p. 4.

third-party analyses conducted for the Pentagon on Safeguard. These analyses, prepared by the quasi-governmental Institute for Defense Analyses and the Aerospace Corporation, had both relied heavily on draft sections of the 1969 NIE—a point Symington repeatedly emphasized in his presentation.[238]

Fosdick was not to be outmaneuvered the anti-ABM forces. During the closed session, Jackson dramatically announced that he had obtained "last minute intelligence" about Soviet capabilities. Drawing (in all probability) from the same sources as Symington, Jackson produced overlays to Symington's charts, prepared by Wolfowitz, which produced opposite results. In addition, Jackson claimed that there had been an unexpected and rapid increase in the number and capabilities of Soviet ballistic missile-launching submarines, and that they were planning to introduce yet another new intercontinental bomber was imminent.

The two sides appeared to have arrived at a stalemate. Fulbright, after observing as much, asked Jackson: "Has my good friend had a chance, yet, to digest the remarks of the Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, in Warsaw last week, in which the Soviet Foreign Minister said that the Soviet Union wanted to reach a new era of détente—of cordiality with the United States? And doesn't my friend from Washington think that before we rush pell mell into this unproven missile system, we should give just some little credence to the words of the Russian Foreign Minister?" Drawing himself up from his desk, Jackson related a story about how President Kennedy in October 1962 had asked Gromyko, if there were any Russian missiles in Cuba. When Gromyko replied that there were not, the president asked if any missiles been transported on Russian ships to Cuba? "No," Gromyko had replied. Kennedy then asked: "Are there any Russian troops in Cuba assembling

[238] ONE, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-69: Soviet Capabilities for Strategic Attack (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), pp. 11-12; Peter Grose, "U.S. Intelligence Doubts Soviet First-Strike Goal," Washington Post, June 17, 1969, pp. 1, 10; Church Committee Report, bk. 1, p. 76.

missiles?" After Gromyko replied negatively a third time, the president opened the drawer of his desk, took out a folder full of photographs taken by U.S. U-2 spy planes, and threw them in front of Mr. Gromyko. The photos, according to Jackson:

> . . . showed the missiles, showed the ships—the pictures were so good that you could see the chevrons on the sleeves of the Russian troops in Cuba assembling the missiles. Andrei Gromyko left that room an acknowledged liar. If my friend from Arkansas wants to rest the security of this country on the truthfulness and credibility of Andrei Gromyko, that's his business. I would not ask a single American to sleep safely tonight based upon the credibility of Andrei Gromyko.

Later that afternoon, the Senate approved Safeguard, 51 – 50, with Vice President Spiro T. Agnew casting the deciding vote. Fulbright voted aye. [239]

The Partnership Strained: Realistic Deterrence

The Nixon Administration's victory in the ABM debate was, in some ways, to prove a Pyrrhic one insofar as it drew new attention to Minuteman's increasing vulnerability. The loud and dramatic first-strike warnings had dragged the issue of Minuteman's vulnerability out of the shadowy esoterica of nuclear strategy and into the political light and lent it an urgency that had not heretofore existed. As a result, various hardliners within the administration, such as Nitze, Seymour Weiss (the State Department's Deputy Director of Policy Planning) and Defense Secretary Laird, began to press for a major U.S. strategic arms buildup and a review of U.S. strategic doctrine. In the Congress the effort was led by

[239] John W. Finney, "Secret ABM Data Heard by Senate in Closed Session," New York Times, July 18, 1969, "A Senate Dispute Blocks ABM Vote," New York Times, July 29, 1969; Warren Weaver, Jr., "Nixon Missile Plan Wins in Senate by a 51 – 50 Vote; House Approval Likely," Washington Post, August 7, 1969, p. 1; U.S. Senate, "Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution: Statement of Senator Packwood," 104th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record (February 10, 1995): S2441.

Fosdick and Jackson, while outside of government Wohlstetter, the American Security Council, and the Hudson Institute were the most prominent voices.[240]

The issue of Minuteman's vulnerability first re-surfaced during Laird's annual posture statement to the Congress in February and March 1970. In appearances before the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, Laird resurrected the hoary Chinese missile threat, and described the ongoing Soviet ICBM and SLBM programs with data culled from NIE 11-8-69. The Secretary's shocking *piece de resistance*, however, did not come from the 1969 NIE. Drawing on an analysis prepared by Wohlstetter in his capacity as a consultant to the Pentagon, Laird warned that the Soviets could be "expected to have their first MIRVs by 1971, and a very formidable hard target kill capability by the mid-1970s."[241]

As the campaign gathered steam in the wake of Laird's testimony, a fuller picture of what the neoconservatives were proposing began to emerge when Wohlstetter, in Senate testimony, outlined a new strategic doctrine called Realistic Deterrence. Designed by William W. Kaufman (a former member of Wohlstetter's SAPR Group, now at the Pentagon), Realistic Deterrence would replace Assured Destruction as the doctrinal criterion for the adequacy of U.S. retaliatory power. McNamara's decision to freeze the American strategic force at 1,054 ICBMs, for instance, was based on the requirements of the Assured Destruction doctrine. Given the increase in Soviet strategic power over the past few years, however, it was no longer reasonable to assume that the U.S. missile force would deter the

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[240] American Security Council, ABM and the Changed Strategic Military Balance (Washington DC: Acropolis Books, 1969); Walter Sullivan, "Physicists Enter Debate Over ABM," New York Times, April 30, 1969, p. 13; "A Bearer of Bad News: Herman Kahn," New York Times, July 7, 1969, p. 43; Johan JU. Holst and William Schenider, Jr., eds., Why ABM? Policy Issues in the Missile Defense Controversy (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969).

[241] U.S. House of Representatives, Armed Services Committee, "Statement of Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird On the Fiscal Year 1971 Defense Program and Budget," 91st Cong., 2nd sess., 2 March 1970, A-8, [hereafter Laird, HASC statement]; U.S. Senate, Armed Services Committee, "Fiscal Year 1971 Defense Program and Budget," 91st Cong., 2nd sess., 20 February 1970, A-8.

Soviet Union in all instances. Just as had been the case with Massive Retaliation, the threat of the complete, apocalyptic assured destruction of Soviet society had lost credibility once the Soviet Union obtained strategic parity with the United States. What was needed, according to Wohlstetter, was a new strategic doctrine—Realistic Deterrence—that planned for deterrence across an entire "spectrum of conflict."[242]

It is, of course, not difficult to see a similarity between the new concept of Realistic Deterrence and the Flexible Response of the Kennedy era. At the core of both strategies, for instance, was the idea that strategic conflict was not "unthinkable," as many Charles River theorists presumed. In addition, both strategies envisioned "limited" strategic conflict, with both sides would, of course, initiate a "relative increase" in the U.S. "baseline of capabilities." As outlined by the Pentagon, the new doctrine would require a massive arms buildup heavily weighted toward strategic systems: 41 new nuclear submarines; a new naval missile system; accelerated development of a MIRV system for Minuteman; a new ICBM guidance system (the Draper Labs-developed NS-20); a program to improve the "hardening" all Minuteman silos; a mobile-basing system for Minuteman; two new strategic bombers, (B-1 and F-111); a new nuclear aircraft carrier (DVAN-70); a naval "floating command post" system; an airborne warning and control system (AWACS); an entirely new over-the-horizon radar system (OTHR); a cruise missile development program, and an expansion of Safeguard from two to twelve sites. All told, the first year price tag of the buildup represented an $8-10 billion increase in the defense budget over the previous year.[243]

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[242] U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Statement of Dr. Albert Wohlstetter," 15 May 1970, 2225-2240.

[243] Laird, HASC statement; Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Strategy for Peace: A National Security Strategy of Realistic Deterrence," November 6, 1970, DDRS, CK3100511778 [June 8, 2006].

Even more significant than the massive buildup prescribed by the new doctrine was the inclusion of contingencies for what were called, "new offensive concepts." This phrase was a euphemism for a "generated alert options" or pre-emptive nuclear strikes of varying sizes. These options were, understandably, not advertised widely by the Pentagon. Indeed, the Pentagon was so close-lipped about the details of the new doctrine that NSC staffer Laurence Lynn warned Kissinger that Laird and his assistant William Baroody, Jr. (the son of Goldwater campaign manager and American Enterprise Institute founder, William Baroody), were being "misleading to the point of being dishonest" in their representations of the new doctrine.

From Kissinger's perspective, Realistic Deterrence represented a significant danger to the arms control process. As NSC staffer Larry Lynn warned, the "veiled threats and crude and misleading use of intelligence data" emanating from Jackson's office and the Pentagon were creating the impression that the administration had "virtually suspended our strategic programs" in the interests of concluding a SALT agreement. This perception could, as Kissinger knew, could dampen enthusiasm for arms control and lend support the hardliners' arguments. Conversely, asking Congress for funding to accelerate the MIRV and ABM programs—let alone monies for a major American arms buildup—would involve the administration in another bruising, Safeguard-type fight with the Congress. Moreover, the administration would be "handing the Soviets additional excuses for engaging in their own propagandizing and/or abandoning SALT altogether." [244]

Kissinger reacted to this quandary by attempting to undermine the rationale for a U.S. buildup. Taking a page from Fosdick's book, he enlisted the CIA's help. In May he

[244] Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., "Memorandum for Dr. Kissinger," April 15, 1970, DDRS, CK3100517673 [June 8, 2006].

arranged with Helms for CIA analysts to brief a select group of congressional staffers. In a preview of the 1970 NIE, the CIA analysts refuted the claim that a Soviet MIRV was imminent. They also delivered a rather sunny assessment of the likely directions of Soviet security policy in the context of SALT, maintaining that the negotiations would most likely have a restraining effect on future arms programs.

The White House also pressed Laird to scale back the Pentagon budget request by $20 billion. After much back and forth, the budget was submitted at $71 billion, some $17 billion less than originally requested. It was also agreed that the administration would seek funding to expand Safeguard (from two sites to four), under a supplemental request shepherded through the Senate by Jackson. Even with the pared down budget, however, the Senate Armed Services Committee—chaired by the hawkish Sen. Stennis—took the extraordinary step of cutting an additional $1.3 billion, while the House Armed Services Committee removed a further $1.9 billion, and the Senate Appropriations Committee cut $300 million. Realistic Deterrence, it seemed, was a *non sequitur*. [245]

At Odds: The Bunker Versus the White House

The demise of Realistic Deterrence signaled the beginning of the end of the Jackson camp's tacit partnership with the Nixon Administration and the beginning of a new adversarial relationship. Although Jackson, Wohlstetter and Fosdick had made common cause with the administration in the interests of enhancing the U.S. strategic position, the dissembling over Safeguard, coupled with Nixon's unwillingness to re-orient American

[245] ONE, NIE 11-8-70: Soviet Forces for Intercontinental Attack (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), pp. 3-4; John W. Finney, "Expansion of ABM Backed By Senate By 52-47 Vote," New York Times, August 13, 1970, p. 1; Robert M. Smith, "Pentagon Budget Cutting," New York Times, September 4, 1970, p. 4.

strategic doctrine away from minimal deterrence and toward war-fighting through Realistic Deterrence was simply too much for the neoconservatives' patience. By the summer of 1970, the alliance between the neoconservatives and the White House had collapsed.

Indeed, as détente gathered steam, the ideological differences between Jackson's office—"the Bunker," as its denizens referred to it—and the White House began to manifest themselves ever more clearly. Believing the Soviet Union to be a incorrigibly evil regime, bent on the destruction of America, Jackson and Fosdick became increasingly alarmed at the administration's "apparent readiness to assume Soviet good will," even as the Soviet buildup continued apace. Rather than the "era of negotiation" anticipated by Nixon and Kissinger, Jackson and Fosdick believed that the United States should be formulating strategies to roll back Soviet power.[246]

Conversely, from Nixon and Kissinger's realist perspective, the Soviet Union appeared similar to many of the Great Powers of the past. While Communist ideology might tactically and rhetorically inform Soviet policy, Nixon and Kissinger were convinced that Soviet leaders were motivated by desires for prestige, economic gain and national security. As a result of this realist view, there was almost no mutual foreign policy ground to be shared by the neoconservatives and the Nixon Administration. Only arms control remained as a possible area of cooperation.

In the summer of 1970, that possibility disappeared. The precipitating event in the struggle between the Bunker and the White House was the appearance in the summer of 1970 of a SALT negotiating proposal called "Option E." An attempt to meet the Soviet position to limit ABMs, Option E proposed that Soviet missiles would be limited to a total of 1,900

[246] Henry M. Jackson, "The Strategic Balance: The Future of Freedom," Vital Speeches of the Day, 37, 16 (June 1, 1971), pp. 482-485.

strategic missiles and bombers, with a to-be-determined sub-limit on the SS-9s. It also called for a ban on silo enlargement and a provision that allowed less threatening SLBMs to be substituted for decommissioned ICBMs, but not the reverse. In regard to defensive capabilities, Option E would ban or severely limit ABM systems. No limitations were included on MIRVs, although it is unclear why.[247]

As Kissinger was undoubtedly aware, Option E could be more difficult to sell to Safeguard supporters in the United States than to the Soviets. Jackson, Stennis and a number of other powerful Democrats who had supported the administration through the Safeguard fight on the grounds that it was essential to U.S. security would now be asked to support a treaty that curtailed or eliminated ABMs altogether on the same grounds. Such a request would imply that the administration's entire ABM effort had been aimed a securing a "bargaining chip" for use in the negotiations.

There were also more serious military considerations. Kissinger's own staff members warned him in January 1971 that Option E would "leave Minuteman vulnerable." The remaining SS-9 force would pose the main threat. Even if the Soviets could be induced to reduce the number of SS-9s deployed, the NSC staff concluded that remaining "Soviet forces, without cheating or abrogation, can be improved qualitatively enough to seriously threaten Minuteman." While this vulnerability, the NSC staff conjectured, could possibly be mitigated practically and politically in several ways, no agreement likely to be signed would

[247] Henry Kissinger, White House Years (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1979), p. 540; Raymond L. Garthoff, Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1994), p. 154.

completely foreclose the possibility of Soviet cheating or the attainment of a counterforce capability.[248]

The NSC staff's grim assessment of Option E was corroborated by Wohlstetter. Asked to comment by Fosdick, he concluded that Option E's focus on limiting defensive measures and numbers of bombers and launchers was misguided. The qualitative aspects of the weapons—accuracy, MIRV capability, and the lifting capacity of missiles, or "throw-weight"—should be the central focus of the negotiations, rather than the sheer numbers. Failure to consider throw-weight, for instance, would leave the Soviets with an enormous advantage insofar as the SS-9 could potentially carry up to ten warheads. Over time as the Soviets increased the accuracy of their missiles and developed MIRV technology, even the 275-350 SS-9s that Kissinger was willing to allow under Option E would represent a significant counterforce threat to Minuteman. Summing up his assessment of Option E, Wohlstetter judged it "a complete disaster and worse than no agreement at all."

Unsurprisingly, Jackson and Fosdick shared Wohlstetter's view of Option E. They were not, however, irrevocably opposed as long as an allowance for a hard-point defense could be negotiated in conjunction with a freeze on offensive weapons. Along these lines Wohlstetter asked the NSC working group in charge of formulating the U.S. position, the Defense Programs Review Committee (DPRC), to consider an alternative, the so-called, "Option F." Option F would allow unlimited ABM deployments west of the Mississippi and in Siberia and an immediate freeze on all offensive missile deployments. Wohlstetter's

[248] K.Wayne Smith, "Memorandum for Dr. Kissinger," January 12, 1971, Nixon Presidential Materials, National Security Council files, Box 880, SALT Talks (Helsinki) v. XIV, Jan 71-Apr 71, National Archives, Washington D.C.

alternative was rejected by the DPRC on the grounds that the Soviets could covertly transfer their ABM systems west in a crisis.[249]

As for Kissinger, he was hesitant to consider allowing any ABMs at all. His dialogue with the Soviets through the back channel indicated that a complete ABM ban might be the only agreement that could be had. Nixon, however, was growing increasingly concerned about the domestic political fallout that would ensue if Safeguard were to be traded away too blithely. As a result of the president's concerns, Kissinger proposed in March a plan whereby the Soviets would keep their Galosh ABM system deployed around Moscow, and the U.S. would be allowed four Safeguard installations around selected Minuteman missile fields. This so-called "4 to 1 solution" was rejected by the Soviets, who wondered why a new proposal was appearing after there had already been "substantial agreement" on a plan to only allow ABMs around Moscow and Washington.[250]

Aware of these deliberations through leaks from the NSC staff, Jackson and Fosdick decided to fire a shot across the Nixon Administration's bow. Seeking to press the administration to insist on the linkage of offensive and defensive weapons, the Jackson forces stated their case in series of public appearances. During the first of these, an appearance on the CBS news program "Face the Nation," Jackson grimly announced that U.S. intelligence satellites had detected some newly-constructed ICBM silos capable of containing missiles even larger than the gigantic SS-9. The silos, Jackson warned, were for "huge new missiles . . . as big or bigger than the SS-9." He also revealed that the silos had been discovered in

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[249] Ibid.

[250] "Memorandum of Conversation between Henry A. Kissinger and Anatoly F. Dobrynin," January 28, 1971, Henry A. Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President: National Security Council Meeting on SALT," March 25, 1970, U.S. SALT Delegation, "Memorandum of Conversation between Ambassador J. Graham Parson and Deputy Minister Pleshakov," March 26, 1971, [online] National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book 60, William Burr, ed., http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB60/index.html [June 15, 2006].

early February, prior to the president's foreign policy report to the Congress on February 25. The presidential report had not, needless, to say, mentioned the new silos.[251]

The reaction to Jackson's announcement was swift from all quarters. Senator Symington, a leader of the senate faction that favored a freeze or moratorium on both Soviet and American arms, accused Jackson of revealing classified information. An unidentified "intelligence source" at the Pentagon echoed Jackson and speculated that the silos presaged "the deployment of an altogether new missile system." The administration's reaction was to dispatch Admiral Thomas Moorer, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to calm the congressional waters by appearances in front of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees. Aside from a vague comment by Nixon that Jackson was "very close to right" about the size of the new holes, the White House was silent.[252]

The silence was broken on May 20, 1971. In a surprise radio address in the middle of the afternoon Nixon announced that, in order to break the almost year-long stalemate at SALT, the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to "concentrate on curbing anti-ballistic missiles" in 1971. As for Soviet and American ICBMs, both sides would "seek to agree on certain measures" to limit offensive capabilities. A diplomatic communiqué, issued simultaneously was only slightly more encouraging. The United States, it stated, would not be satisfied with an "ABM-only" agreement, but would seek an "ABM-plus" agreement. At

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[251] Hedrick Smith, "Missile Activity in Soviet Found," New York Times, March 8, 1971, p. 1.

[252] John W. Finney, "Symington Suggests Jackson Disclosed Classified Material on Soviet," New York Times, March 11, 1971, p. 13; "Things Old, Things New," Time, 97, 12 (March 22, 1971): 22; William Beecher, "Soviet Proposes a 5-Year Treaty for Curb on ABMs," New York Times, April 29, 1971, p. 1.

this point, the Jackson faction seems to have taken the decision to go into all-out opposition to SALT.[253]

The point-man of the anti-SALT effort was the youngest member of the senator's staff, twenty-nine year old Richard Perle. A protégé of Wohlstetter, Perle had initially come to Washington to pursue a job with Kissinger in 1968, but took the job of executive director of the pro-Safeguard lobbying group, The Committee for a Prudent Defense Policy. After the ABM vote, Perle had accepted a job in the market research department of the Westinghouse Corporation in Waltham, Massachusetts. Fosdick, however, was hesitant to let the young man leave Washington. Impressed with his intelligence and drive, she introduced him to Jackson. Greatly impressed with the senator, Perle was convinced by Fosdick to remain in Washington. Almost immediately she was forced to defend him when, in April 1970, an FBI wiretap intercepted a conversation between Perle and an unidentified person at the Israeli Embassy in Washington. Although the journalist Seymour Hersh later maintained that Perle's conversation included mention of classified information, Perle was never indicted or prosecuted.[254]

Aside from this inauspicious beginning, Perle proved to be a valuable addition to Jackson's staff. Like Jackson and Fosdick, he was well-versed in national security issues through his long apprenticeship to Wohlstetter which stretched back to his high school days. He was also a staunch anti-Communist, and well-connected within the business community. Like Jackson and Fosdick, Perle also regarded Kissinger's realist approach to foreign affairs as amoral. Perhaps Perle's greatest asset, however, was his talent for gathering confidential

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[253] Ralph E. Lapp, "Arms: A Step Toward Solving the 'Mad Math' of Missiles," New York Times, May 23, 1971, p. E1.

[254] Seymour Hersh, The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House (New York: Summit Books, 1983), p. 322; David S. Hilzenrath, "The Ultimate Insider," Washington Post, May 24, 2004, p. E01.

information. He had, for instance, established close relationships with prominent members of Kissinger's staff, such as Hal Sonnenfeldt, John Lehman and Peter Rodman. Even General Alexander Haig, whom Perle described as "quite easy to talk to," was on his Rolodex. Indeed, these relationships were in all likelihood the means whereby Jackson learned of the NSC's internal deliberations regarding the SALT negotiations.

Perle's generalship of the effort to de-rail SALT was subtle and imaginative. In dealings with the White House, Jackson and Fosdick maintained relatively cordial relations. Behind the scenes, however, Perle led the effort to de-rail the arms control process. Working his way through the Senate offices, Perle harangued staffers and senators alike on the dangers of any Soviet-American treaty that banned or limited the ABMs. He also served as something of a "speech broker," collaborating with the staffs of 20-25 senators to get anti-SALT speeches and statements written. Many of these speeches relied on facts, analyses and information gathered by Perle from Fosdick's "database" of experts, such as Wohlstetter, University of Chicago alums Bernard Lewis (Princeton) and Michael Ledeen (University of Washington), China expert Charles Horner (University of Chicago), international relations specialist William Van Cleave (University of Southern California), and the historian of imperial Russia, Richard Pipes (Harvard University). Perle also became quite adept at "leaking" or "planting" stories in the press. "He is unquestionably one of our town's greatest leakers," one journalist ventured. Perle's usual partners in this endeavor were the conservative journalists, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, authors of the syndicated column, "Inside Report." Indeed, "Inside Report's" stories became such a thorn in the side

of the Nixon Administration that Evans's and Novak's names were, they were to learn later, added to the president's infamous "enemies list."[255]

On May 26, 1972, Nixon and General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev signed the two basic SALT instruments in Moscow: the Interim Agreement and the ABM Treaty. The Interim Agreement, which dealt with offensive weapons and was to be valid for five years, limited the United States to its existing 1,054 ICBMs already deployed and the Soviets to 1,618 ICBMs, not all of which were deployed as of the signing of the agreement. The Soviet figure encompassed 209 older SS-7s and SS-8s (most of which were believed to be targeted on China), 970 SS-11s (the missile most comparable to Minuteman), 60 SS-13s (the follow-on to the SS-11 that the Soviets intended to deploy in the smaller of the new silos constructed in 1970-71), 66 missiles for the larger of the new silos, and a sub-ceiling of 313 SS-9s (288 of which were deployed at the time). There were also protocols to the agreement in which the U.S. parties would be allowed an additional 710 SLBMs on 42 submarines and the Soviet Union by 950 missiles on 66 submarines. On the defensive side, both the United States and the Soviet Union were limited to two 100-missile ABM sites, one of which could be deployed around the respective national capitals, and one around any other city or military installation.[256]

The Jackson forces' public reaction to these agreements was muted disappointment. "Our people caved in, let's face it," Jackson told Kissinger. Behind the scenes, however, there was incredulity at the administration for signing such an agreement. There was, for instance, much concern over the advantage the agreements gave the Soviets in ICBM throw-

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[255] Blumenthal, p. 5; Robert G. Kaiser, "Behind the Scenes Power Over Arms Policy," Washington Post, June 26, 1977, p. B1-B5.

[256] Richard Smoke, National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma (New York: Random House, 1987), pp. 160-161.

weight versus that of the United States: 6,845,500 lbs. vs. 1,855,675 lbs. Although the Soviet's almost 4:1 advantage was partly offset by a higher number of U.S. warheads (5,700 vs. 2,500), with greater accuracy, a decided U.S. advantage in manned bombers and a slight advantage in SLBM throw-weight (848,000 lbs. to 624,000 lbs.), the total disparity was expected to increase still further in the Soviet's favor as the SS-9 sub-ceiling was met, older ICBMs were replaced with newer models and the Soviet submarine force increased and technological advancements increased the weight-to-yield ration of individual warheads. All told, the numbers were, in Perle's words, "esthetically displeasing."[257]

As the Senate prepared to take up the matter of ratifying the arms control agreements, the focus shifted from the asymmetry of the number of launchers to those aspects of the agreement governing the modernization provisions, particularly the limitations on missile silo volume. Silo volume, as measured by satellite photos, was the most—if not the only—reliable way to assure which types of missiles were deployed where. Silo volume had, in fact, been a quite thorny issue throughout the entire SALT round, at every level. Indeed, Nixon, Kissinger, Brezhnev, Gromyko and Dobrynin had quarreled, bargained and counter-proposed over the definitions and silo-size limits up until the very day the Interim Agreement was signed on May 26. They had settled upon a complex set of interlocking provisions (Article 2 of the agreement, Agreed Statement C, Common Understanding A, and Unilateral Statement D) which banned converting "light" missile silos to accommodate "heavy"

[257] Blumenthal, p. 5; John James Tritten, "Throw Weight and Arms Control," Air University Review 34, 1 (November-December 1982): 54-59.

missiles by limiting any increase in silo size to no more than 15 percent of its present dimensions.[258]

Jackson, in particular, was uneasy at the potential implications of the thicket of protocols that accompanied the Interim Agreement. While it was clear that the restrictions on silo size increases had been enacted to restrain Soviet deployment of the follow-on to the SS-9, the SS-19, Jackson was disturbed that Unilateral Statement D expressed the U.S. delegation's "regret" that "the Soviet Delegation has not been willing to agree on a common definition of a heavy missile." The Soviet refusal to agree to a simple definition of terms was, of course, just the sort of maneuver likely to arouse the senator's suspicions. Pressing the issue during a briefing by Kissinger in June, Jackson received Kissinger's assurance that the silo size modification limit of 15 percent was an "adequate safeguard against a substantial substitution of heavy missiles for light missiles."[259]

Jackson, however, was not reassured. He was even less so when Perle learned from the columnist Jack Anderson that, during the Moscow summit, U.S. intelligence had intercepted a radio-telephone between Brezhnev and a senior Soviet military official confirming that the 15 percent silo size limit would not prevent the deployment of the SS-19. Although it was not clear at the time how the Soviets would accomplish this, or even that Kissinger had been made aware of the intercept while in Moscow, it seemed highly unlikely to Jackson that he would not have known. Given the nature of the information and the way

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[258] National Security Council, "Minutes of the Verification Panel Meeting," December 29, 1971, Digital National Security Archive, [online] http://nsarchive.chadwyck.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/home.do: KT00415 [June 18, 2006]; "Memorandum of Conversation between Leonid Brezhnev, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger," May 23, 1972, DDRS, CK3100565780 [June 15, 2006]; "Memorandum of Conversation between Leonid Smirnov, Andrei Gromyko, Anatoli Dobrynin, Georgi Korniyenko, Henry Kissinger, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, William Hyland and Peter Rodman," May 26, 1972, Nixon Presidential materials, National Security Council Files, box 487, the President's Trip Files, Conversations in Salzburg, Moscow, Tehran and Warsaw, pt. 2, National Archives, Washington D.C.

[259] "Question and Answer Session after a Briefing by Dr. Henry Kissinger," p. 10, quoted in Garthoff, p. 196.

in which it had been obtained, Jackson could not readily employ it against the administration. Fosdick, of course, did let Kissinger know in her own inimitable way that she and the senator knew about the intercept and what she thought about Kissinger's failure to act on the information.[260]

Hard on the heels of this development, Jackson also learned that Nixon and Brezhnev had concluded a secret agreement at the Moscow summit in May. Although it was unclear as to what the precise terms of the agreement was, it was known that it had to do with the provision that allowed each side to build more SLBMs as they retired older ICBMs. Jackson, apparently feeling no more confident about the veracity of this information than he had about the radio intercept, did nothing with it.[261]

Jackson, of course, recognized that the administration held the upper hand at the moment. The arms control agreements were very politically popular with the American people, and subsequently, their representatives in Congress. The White House also did its utmost to reinforce the general public perception of arms control as a "good thing," with some very adept public relations work. In his public briefings or congressional testimony Kissinger would, for instance, invariably present the numbers arrived at in Moscow alongside some very creative projections of Soviet force levels without an arms control agreement. This technique also proved to be effective against waverers in the House and Senate, insofar as it indirectly supplied them with talking points to defend their vote for SALT. "The

[260] Hersh, p. 547.

[261] Hyland.

question to ask in assessing the freeze," Kissinger told the Senate Armed Services Committee in July, "is not what situation it perpetuates but what situation it prevents."[262]

The SALT accords had also, somewhat surprisingly, suddenly become quite popular with Laird and the military. As late as June, Laird could be found telling the Senate Armed Services Committee that he could not support the just-concluded Interim Agreement unless Congress agreed to a ten year strategic modernization program. The same month, the Defense Secretary reiterated his position to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and added that he believed that the Soviets "have tested a MIRV," and were only "twelve to fourteen months away" from deploying a MIRVed warhead. Unless the United States could "bargain from a strong position," Laird maintained, he would recommend "scrapping" the Interim Agreement. By July, however, Laird and the military service chiefs were effusive in their praise for SALT. At one point the cognitive dissonance engendered by this abrupt *volte-face* caused Jackson to snap at General John D. Ryan, the Air Force Chief of Staff:

> You can't come up here when you are demanding a weapons system with one line and then when you are trying to justify a treaty take an opposite line . . . I am fed up with getting one kind of answer under one set of circumstances and exactly the reverse under another.[263]

The explanation for Laird's sudden reversal was that the White House had "struck a deal" with the Pentagon and the JCS, although neither the White House nor the Pentagon would immediately confirm an arrangement. Jackson, however, managed to get General

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[262] U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee, "Military Implications of the Treaty on Limitations of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms," 92nd Congress, 2nd session, 6, 20, 22, 28 June and 18, 19, 21, 24, 25 July 1972, 98.

[263] Ibid, p. 413; Bernard Gwertzman, "Laird Would Kill Pacts If Congress Barred Arms Fund," New York Times, June 21, 1972, p. 1; "Nixon Sees Peril But Refuses to Echo Laird," New York Times, June 23, 1972, p. 1.

Bruce Palmer, the Army Chief of Staff, to admit that there was a *quid pro quo*. To add insult to injury, Palmer also reluctantly admitted that the service chiefs had only considered the implications of the SALT agreements for "a few hours" before they were signed in Moscow. Whatever the circumstances, the defection of the Pentagon weakened the anti-SALT forces considerably.[264]

The Bunker was also hamstrung by a procedural issue. Specifically, the administration had submitted the Interim Agreement as an "executive agreement," rather than as a treaty. This meant that the agreement required only a simple majority vote within the House and Senate. While a single senator could still bring the chamber's business to a standstill, it was much less easy to do in this instance. The agreement did not, for instance, have to pass through any committees as would a bill of law. Furthermore, because the agreement was expected to be first submitted to the House, where support for it was strong, any delay within the Senate would be that much more glaring. There was, however, no delay. Both accords were recommended for approval on September 30, 1972.[265]

Outcomes

In the immediate aftermath of the conclusion of SALT, the Jackson forces did, however, manage to extract a single concession from the White House: the so-called Jackson Amendment (Public Law 92-448). The only modification made to the SALT accords before ratification, the Jackson Amendment required that all future arms control agreements result in "essential equivalence" between the United States and Soviet Union. Left undefined in the

[264] "General Assesses Soviet Missiles," New York Times, July 20, 1972, p. 6.

[265] Matthew Murray, "A Procedural Alternative for Arms Control," Arms Control, 6, 3 (December 1985), pp. 222-228.

text of the amendment, "essential equivalence" was to prove a significant obstacle (or a safeguard, depending on one's point of view), to future negotiations. Ironically, the amorphous phrase was inserted by NSC staffer John Lehman whom Kissinger had delegated to assist Perle and Fosdick in drafting the amendment. Ostensibly inserted as a means of forcing consideration of qualitative factors (such as throw-weight), Kissinger had left the phrase in, intending to use the ambiguity against the Soviets in the next stage of arms control talks. Only "gradually and very reluctantly" did he come to realize that the purpose of the amendment was not to provide him with leverage over the Soviets but to restrain U.S. negotiators from making any concessions that did not meet with Jackson's approval.[266]

From a wider perspective, there were other significant outcomes of the struggles over Safeguard, Realistic Deterrence and SALT I that had to do with the future direction of the strategic debate within the United States. First and most importantly, the series of controversies—particularly the one surrounding the Interim Agreement—had served to drive home the fact that, despite all the benefits that Kissinger claimed would accrue from SALT, Minuteman was becoming increasingly vulnerable. As Wohlstetter had predicted in 1970, the focus on the number of launchers would leave the Soviets with significant advantages in throw-weight. This development, in turn, highlighted the Nixon Administration's apparent failure to respond in kind to the Soviet buildup. Although this was not entirely true, the deep secretiveness and long lead-times involved in most strategic development programs made it a charge that the administration found difficult to refute.

The issue of Minuteman's vulnerability also all but guaranteed that future debates would include arcane and complex discussions of strategy and the performance characteristics of individual weapons systems. From Kissinger's perspective, the "technical

[266] Hyland; Henry Kissinger, Years of Renewal (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), p. 115.

controversies" that would hereafter accompany arms control negotiations were exasperating insofar as they "submerged the arms control process in minutiae." Although this was undoubtedly true to a certain extent, it was also true that Kissinger at his inability to continue to "blind with science." After almost three years of unremitting debate over strategic issues, the Congress and the public were becoming educated about strategic matters. In the wake of the arguments over ABM and SALT, technical issues that had formerly seemed hopelessly esoteric began to be discussed and debated as a matter of course in the Congress and among the educated public.[267]

Kissinger's disdain of the details also prepared the ground for neoconservative charges of Soviet cheating. In 1974, for instance, U.S. intelligence learned precisely how the Soviets intended to fit their heavy SS-17 missiles in SS-11 silos governed by the Interim Agreement's size restrictions. The Soviets, it turned out, had developed a "cold-launch" technique where the missile was "popped" out of its silo with compressed air before the engines ignited. Although this so-called "cold-launch" technique required some modification of the existing silo diameters, the modifications remained within the 15 percent limit established by the Interim Agreement. Extra space, however, was secured by removal of the heat shielding that was normally necessary to protect the silo against hot exhaust gases. While the Soviets could claim that technically they were not in violation of the SALT agreement, many on the U.S. side felt betrayed by their failure to adhere to the spirit if not the letter of the agreement.[268]

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[267] Kissinger, White House Years, pp. 540, 550; Years of Renewal, p. 114.

[268] Robin Ranger, Arms & Politics 1958-1978: Arms Control in a Changing Political Context (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1979), p. 175.

For Jackson and his staff and followers, the most significant development was the *hubris* that success engendered in their opponents. Impressed with their own unprecedented accomplishments in foreign and security policy, Nixon and Kissinger refused to believe that the neoconservatives would break definitively with the White House over SALT. When Jackson began to openly oppose the president in 1972, Nixon ascribed their differences to "tactical differences," believing that the relationship could and would revert to what it had been during the halcyon days of 1969. After all, Jackson was becoming increasingly unwelcome within his own party and, proceeding from their cynical view of human nature, Nixon and Kissinger fully expected the senator to want to be associated with the next phase of their innovative and successful foreign policy. They were, of course, quite mistaken, and their failure to understand that they were dealing with more than an irascible and ambitious senator led them to underestimate the neoconservative challenge to détente.

Nixon and Kissinger were, in fact, dealing with a political and philosophical movement for whom opposition to détente had become a rallying cry. Years later Kissinger admitted that he had not fathomed the implications of the coalescence of neoconservatism and confessed that, "it took me over a decade to understand it." By then, of course, it was too late. Indeed, by the end of 1972, the ground had been prepared for its institutionalization.[269]

[269] Kissinger, Years of Renewal, pp. 111, 115.

Chapter 6

The Attack: The Neoconservative Assault on Détente and Arms Control

On the morning of November 5, 1976 fifty of America's senior intelligence officials gathered in the main conference room at CIA headquarters, an igloo-shaped building nicknamed "the Bubble," for a presentation by two analytical teams. These two teams, designated Team A and Team B, were the principals in an unprecedented "experiment in competitive intelligence analysis." Approved nine months earlier by President Ford, the "experiment" consisted of bringing in a team of outside experts, all known for their hawkish views on the Soviet Union, giving them access to the same raw data as the intelligence community's professional analysts, and allowing them to construct a counterpart to the CIA's annual assessment of Soviet intentions and behavior for 1977. Now, with the competing analyses complete, the two teams had assembled to present their findings in front of the Director of Central Intelligence, George H.W. Bush.

At 9:00 a.m. sharp, the leader of Team A, Howard Stoertz, a career CIA analyst and the National Intelligence Officer in charge of Soviet intelligence estimates, rose to begin his presentation. After a brief recap of some of the current year's developments and a summary of the Agency's forecast for 1977-1978 by Stoertz, members of Team B were given the floor. Nitze, Pipes and the other members of Team B began peppering the Team A analysts—many

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of whom were not long out of graduate school—with questions. Unable to respond forcefully to men with decades of experience in strategic military issues, the Team A analysts were soon reduced to shocked silence.[270]

While certainly one of the more bizarre and little-known events in American history, the Team B episode was a prominent manifestation of a neoconservative effort to re-orient U.S. strategic doctrine away from deterrence and towards nuclear war-fighting. This effort was driven by the neoconservatives' belief that the executors and supporters of détente did not understand the true nature of Soviet intentions. Rejecting the realist view of international relations, the neoconservatives maintained that the Soviet Union had neither mellowed nor abandoned its ultimate goal of world domination. Rather, the Soviets were using détente as a "breathing space" to improve their economy, acquire advanced Western technology and build a strategic arsenal capable of prevailing in a nuclear war. In order to meet this threat, the neoconservatives believed, the United States would also need to plan to fight and win a nuclear war.

The target of the neoconservative project to re-orient U.S. security policy and strategic doctrine was the CIA. As the prime broker of strategic intelligence on the Soviet Union, the CIA was a significant voice within the national security bureaucracy. The CIA was also one of Kissinger's most powerful bureaucratic allies. If the CIA could be marginalized or discredited and Kissinger weakened, the neoconservatives could more easily promote their views and policy formulations within the national security establishment.

Although the neoconservatives were only partially successful in their attempts to alter U.S. security policy, their project is not without significance in the history of neoconservatism. An examination of the efforts to interject and institutionalize the concept

[270]Howard Stoertz, interview by Robert Richardson (Herndon, VA: 19 October, 1996).

of nuclear war-fighting into U.S. strategic doctrine allows us some insight into state of neoconservatism in the mid-1970s. In one sense, the events studied here illustrate the extreme rigidity of neoconservative thought. Even as neoconservatism moved forward in its mission to re-orient U.S. policy, even as the arguments became more sophisticated and the attacks more focused, the underlying philosophical tenets that gave rise to neoconservatism seem to have remained intact and relatively unchanged. The sense of crisis, the veneration for and reliance on the esoteric text, and the faith in transformation through moral clarity are all in evidence.

In another sense, the events under examination here demonstrate that after 1972, neoconservatism was increasingly a force with which to be reckoned. The sophisticated bureaucratic-political strategies, the new lines of attack against détente and arms control, and the sheer relentless dedication to influencing policy and shaping perceptions are all characteristic of a determined and vigorous political and intellectual movement—a movement that would help bring down détente and form the intellectual foundation of the first Reagan Administration

Purge: The Neoconservative Assault on Intelligence and Arms Control

In the wake of the 1972 election Richard Nixon ordered every administration employee to submit a resignation to the president. Although such a gesture was not entirely unheard of, or completely out of character for Nixon, it was somewhat unexpected. The president had, after all, just won re-election in the biggest landslide in American history and most of his policies—with the notable exception of his handling of Vietnam—were widely

popular. As a result, there seems to have been an expectation within official Washington that the president would "keep a winning team together."[271]

The presidential axe fell heaviest at the CIA and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The principal target at the CIA was the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) Richard Helms, who was simultaneously fired as DCI and nominated as Ambassador to Iran.[272] At ACDA, the entire senior staff, including the director, Gerard C. Smith, the assistant director Spurgeon Keeny, the head of the analysis section, Raymond Garthoff, and fifteen others was forced to resign, retire, or take other positions within the bureaucracy. The chief military representative to the SALT delegation, Air Force General Royal B. Allison, was also fired and forced into retirement. All told, one-third of ACDA's budget was also cut, and 50 of its 250 employees fired or transferred.[273]

As was generally well-known in Washington, Nixon had a long-standing grudge against the CIA. He blamed CIA assessments of Soviet behavior, the National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs) for his defeat in the 1960 presidential contest. The "goddamn estimates" had been the source of one of the main issues used against him by John F. Kennedy in the election: the non-existent "missile gap." Now, as president, Nixon was convinced that the "Ivy League liberals" at the CIA would never be "on board" with his policy agenda. Helms, in particular, irritated the president with his unwavering dedication to the Agency and his chronic pessimism about Vietnam. Although it was not common knowledge at the time,

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[271] Harold P. Ford, interview with Robert Richardson (Washington DC: November 9, 1996); Raymond Garthoff, A Journey Through the Cold War: A Memoir of Containment and Coexistence (Washington: Brookings, 2001), p. 273.

[272] Peter J. Ognibene, Scoop: The Life and Politics of Henry M. Jackson (New York: Stein & Day, 1975), p. 214; David Frost, "An Interview with Richard Helms," Studies in Intelligence, 25 (Fall 1981), pp. 5-6.

[273] The Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland and the Brookings Institution, "Arms Control Policy and the National Security Council," The National Security Council Project Oral History Roundtables (Washington: Brookings, 2003), p. 6; Ognibene, pp. 200-214.

Helms had also refused to assist the administration in blunting the FBI investigation into the burgeoning Watergate scandal.

While the president may have harbored ill-will toward Helms and the CIA, the targeting of the ACDA is much more difficult to explain. The agency's position on détente and arms control was almost identical to that of the administration. Smith and his colleagues represented no bureaucratic-political threat to Kissinger. Moreover, the arms control agency had given Kissinger invaluable support during the SALT negotiations. Allison, for his part, had been personally selected for the job by Kissinger. [274]

There is, of course, no dearth of theories. The most likely reason for the purge is that Jackson and Fosdick wished to rid the bureaucracy of officials with a favorable view of the SALT process in order to clear the way for a more militant views. There is certainly little doubt that that the neoconservatives perceived the arms control bureaucracy, Allison and the CIA as holding a more optimistic view of Soviet intentions than they preferred. The CIA, in particular, had long been regarded by the neoconservatives as the most "liberal" of the intelligence agencies (with the exception of the State Department's intelligence arm, INR). The CIA, they believed, had an institutional bias for arms control. This bias, according to Pipes, stemmed from the relativism that the American academia instilled in analysts during their graduate careers:

> The analytic staff [of the CIA], filled with American Ph.D.s in the natural and social sciences, along with engineers, inevitably share the outlook of U.S.

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[274] George Carver; Office of National Estimates, Special National Intelligence Estimate 14.3-1-70: North Vietnamese Intentions in Indochina, (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, June 26, 1970), pp. 5, 8; David S. Robarge, "Richard Helms: The Intelligence Professional Personified," Studies in Intelligence 46 (Spring 2003): 8; David Frost, "An Interview with Richard Helms," Studies in Intelligence, 25 (Fall 1981), pp. 5-6.

> academe, with its penchant for philosophical positivism, cultural agnosticism and political liberalism.[275]

One theory holds that Fosdick threatened to reveal two secret understandings between the Kissinger and the Soviets to the Congress and the press. The first of these agreements had to do with the SALT allowance for trading ICBMs for newer, SLBMs. Although the treaty gave both sides the right to do so, Kissinger signed a secret note assuring the Soviets that the U.S. would not exercise its trade-in rights. The second was a vague understanding between Kissinger and the Soviets that the United States would not protest the replacement of the SS-11 with larger SS-17s and SS-19s, despite holding an official position that it "would consider any ICBM having a volume significantly greater than that of the largest light ICBM now operational on either side to be a heavy ICBM."[276]

Although there is at present no documentary evidence for blackmail, there is testimony. John J. McCloy, a long-time public servant who had served as advisor to Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson and Nixon, testified that “a certain senator” “conspired” to orchestrate an ideological “purge” of the U.S. foreign policy and defense establishment of bureaucrats that favored détente and arms control. This unnamed senator had threatened to reveal that Kissinger had in fact made secret “commitments beyond SALT” to the Soviets. McCloy’s claims were corroborated by his deputy director, Adrian Fisher, who maintained that Fosdick had referred to the blackmail campaign as “Operation Compliance.” Further

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[275] Richard Pipes, “Team B: The Reality Behind the Myth,” Commentary v. 82, n. 4 (October 1986): 29.
[276] Jake Garn, "The Suppression of Information Concerning Soviet SALT Violations by the US Government," Policy Review (Summer 1979): 12; Walter Isaacson, Kissinger: A Biography (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), p. 432; Howard Stoertz, interview with Robert Richardson (Herndon, VA: October 19, 1996).

corroboration exists in the recollections of Robert Hopkins Miller, a Foreign Service officer assigned to ACDA after the alleged purge. [277]

Whatever Nixon's motivation, the purged officials were replaced with men with views much closer to those of the neoconservatives. Smith's replacement at ACDA, for instance, was Fred C. Iklé. A former member of Wohlstetter's working group at RAND, Iklé's views on nuclear conflict reflected those of his mentor. He was, for example, a staunch opponent of the assured destruction doctrine, and based his opposition on the contention that assured destruction was immoral. Assured destruction, Iklé maintained, "rests on a form of warfare universally condemned since the dark ages—the mass killing of hostages." This, of course, was a quite curious opinion for an ACDA director to hold, particularly considering that the arms control process rested on the proposition that as long as the U.S. and the Soviet Union could maintain an assured destruction capability, they could make do with fewer nuclear weapons.

Iklé was a curious choice for other reasons. More specifically, he had no prior management experience and no experience in arms control or foreign relations. Despite these professional shortcomings, almost all of the remaining appointments at ACDA were left to Iklé, who went out of his way to recruit staff members from outside of the bureaucracy. Iklé drew heavily from his former RAND colleagues, as well as Acheson's Committee to Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy. From this group, Iklé recruited Paul

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[277] Garthoff, p. 274; U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, Hearings to Review the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's Past Performance and Present Capabilities, 93rd Congress, 2nd session, September 24, 1974 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office): 1, 9-10, 32, 54, 56; Robert Hopkins Miller, Vietnam and Beyond: A Diplomat's Cold War Education (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2002), p. 139; Gerard C. Smith, Doubletalk: The Story of the First Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (New York: Doubleday, 1980), p. 44.

Wolfowitz, a Wohlstetter protégé and a recent consultant to Jackson's staff who specialized in nuclear non-proliferation issues.[278]

As CIA director, Nixon, at Jackson's urging, nominated James R. Schlesinger. The nomination appeared to have much to recommend it. Schlesinger had a reputation as creative, insightful thinker and was acceptable to most of the congressional committee chairmen. Recruited and brought to Washington by Fosdick in 1969, Schlesinger first distinguished himself as the author of a major study of the intelligence community's management and organization conducted under the auspices of the Office of Management and the Budget. Schlesinger's study had greatly impressed Nixon, particularly his suggestion that the president create a Director of National Intelligence. Summoning Schlesinger to the White House to discuss his recommendations, Nixon was treated to a long-winded and somewhat condescending lecture that prompted him to tell Haldeman: "I don't want that guy in my office ever again." Despite Nixon's personal dislike of Schlesinger, on February 2, 1973, the 43-year old Schlesinger arrived at Langley as the youngest DCI to ever serve.

From Kissinger's perspective, Schlesinger's main asset was that he was not Melvin Laird or Richard Helms. A Harvard-trained economist whose favorite pastime was bird-watching, Schlesinger appeared to lack any talent for bureaucratic-political warfare. He was open and direct, and shunned the Washington social circuit where a great deal of the bureaucratic-political infighting took place. Schlesinger was also not given to the sort of rhetorical *Sturm und Drang* favored by Laird, but preferred calm and meticulous argument.

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[278] Transcript of telephone conversation between Henry M. Jackson and Henry Kissinger, December 23, 1973, Digital National Security Archive [online] http://nsarchive.chadwyck.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/quick/displayMultiItemImages.do?Multi=yes&ResultsID=11EA983329F&queryType=quick&QueryName=cat&ItemID=CKA11736&ItemNumber=3 [June 5, 2006]; John W. Finney, "Nominee for Arms Agency Chief: Fred Charles Iklé," New York Times, April 7, 1973, p. 12; Lewis D. Solomon, Paul D. Wolfowitz (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing, 2007), pp. 16-17.

Indeed, Schlesinger's penchant for detail led NSC staffer Larry Lynn to quip that he "appeared to have a real instinct for the capillaries." All told, Kissinger probably did not expect much to change at the Agency.[279]

Schlesinger did, however, have a deep interest in foreign policy—both ancient and modern that he had acquired from the master of his Harvard house (Eliot House), John Houston Finley, Jr. Finley, a professor of philology and classical literature, echoed many of the same anti-modern themes as Strauss, particularly in his studies of the Athenian general, Thucydides. In his book, Thucydides, Finley argued that ancient Athens's imperialism was a natural human reaction against the debilitating effects of democracy and "consumerism" (which he regarded as an ancient forerunner of modernity), and a manifestation of the human impulse to seek power for its own sake. Because the imperial impulse flowed naturally from the Athenian "national character," and because Natural Law decrees that the strong have a natural right to rule the weak Finley argued, Athenian policy should not be subject to moral condemnation.

For his part, Schlesinger appears to have internalized a great deal of Finley's teachings. Indeed, he identified so strongly with Finley personally that he renounced Judaism and converted to Finley's familial Presbyterianism. His absorption of Finley's ideas was so complete that during his time at Harvard, Schlesinger began to describe himself as a "Thucydidean historian." Schlesinger's retention of this singular self-characterization presumably raised more than a few eyebrows in official Washington.[280]

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[279] Office of the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and the Budget, "A Review of the Intelligence Community," (Washington DC: OMB, 1971); CIA History Staff, "Taking Stock: Fifteen DCIs First 100 Days," Studies in Intelligence (Washington DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence), pp. 23-25.

[280] Leslie Gelb, "In a World of Peanuts and MAD: Schlesinger for Defense," New York Times (August 4, 1974): 199; John H. Finley, Jr., Thucydides (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947): pp. 104, 292, Three Essays on Thucydides (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 143

Schlesinger was also quite familiar with modern strategic affairs. Accepting a position at the RAND Corp. in 1963, he worked with Wohlstetter and the missile guidance expert, Hyman Shulman, in the Strategic Studies office, the cradle of the war-fighting thesis. Rising rapidly through the ranks, Schlesinger had become Director of Strategic Studies after Wohlstetter's departure in 1967. As a Wohlstetter protégé, Schlesinger came to subscribe to Wohlstetter's thesis that deterrence based on the threat of mutual suicide was immoral. When newly arrived in Washington in 1968, he had been highly critical of the administration's decision to seek funding for the B-1 bomber. The bomber, Schlesinger argued, was weapon suitable only for destroying cities.

Schlesinger also shared Wohlstetter's belief that the U.S. focus on retaliation was a strategically unreliable stance. The U.S. military, he believed, held a number of unfounded and illogical assumptions about how a nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union might actually unfold. A massive, all-out strike, he maintained, was highly unlikely. Soviet nuclear doctrine, he believed, was oriented toward nuclear war-fighting. As a result, Schlesinger believed that a limited Soviet strike, against what he considered to be a vulnerable U.S. strategic force, was a much more likely occurrence. Moreover, in the wake of such a strike, the U.S. military would find it much more difficult to retaliate than they believed. Soviet strategic weapons were much more accurate, powerful and numerous, Schlesinger held, than the CIA estimated. Thus, a Soviet first-strike would be much more devastating than the Air Force assumed.[281]

In Schlesinger's view, the main reason for this misperception of Soviet intentions and capabilities was the realist view that pervaded the U.S. intelligence community and the

[281] Gelb, p. 200; Donald MacKenzie, Inventing Accuracy: A Historical Sociology of Nuclear Missile Guidance (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1990), pp. 360-361.

National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs). Comprehensive assessments of Soviet intentions and capabilities, the NIEs were the responsibility of the CIA's Office of National Estimates (ONE). That a realist view prevailed within ONE is not surprising given the professional training of ONE's founding members. All were historians, steeped in the traditions of European *Realpolitik:* William Langer (Ph.D., Duke, European diplomatic history), Sherman Kent (Ph.D., Yale, European diplomatic history), Raymond Sontag (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, German diplomatic history), DeForest Van Slyck (Ph.D., Yale, European diplomatic history and political economy), and Ludwell Montague (Ph.D., Duke, European diplomatic history).

As an organization, ONE tended to believe that Soviet intentions, policy, capabilities and objectives were not too dissimilar from those of the United States. Like the United States, the Soviet Union was primarily interested in maintaining and expanding its economic and political power and prestige. Also like the United States, the Soviet Union maintained a large and powerful strategic arsenal as a deterrent against attack. While it did not deny that Communist ideology informed Soviet policy, ONE tended to consider ideology as primarily a political tool; a rationale for the legitimacy of the Soviet state, and a vehicle for Soviet appeals to the dispossessed of the Third World and Marxist groups in the West. Ideology did not, in ONE's view, appear to play a major role in determining the goals of Soviet policy.[282]

In the view of the neoconservatives, this realist perception of the Soviets was extremely dangerous. To regard the Soviet Union as a state like other states, with interests and intentions similar to that of the United States, led to a phenomenon called "mirror-imaging," in which intelligence analysts ascribe their own nation's intentions and objectives

[282] Ludwell Montague, General Walter Bedell Smith as Director of Central Intelligence, October 1950-February 1953 (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1992), p. 69; Stoertz; Ford interview.

to an adversary. As a result, the authors of the NIEs were unable to discern the true nature of Soviet intentions and policy. Animated by a militant and irreconcilable ideology, the Soviet Union did not seek to maintain peace. Rather, its national objectives involved the destruction of the United States and the conquest of the world.

The realist perspective that pervaded ONE, Schlesinger realized, was also the basis of the Agency's alliance with Kissinger. A Harvard professor of diplomatic history, Kissinger shared ONE's realist view of international politics. Kissinger also appreciated the estimating process for his own bureaucratic-political reasons. Unlike Nixon, Kissinger was an avid and close reader of intelligence reports. As a result, all CIA intelligence products—including the President's Daily Brief—were submitted to him rather than the president. If they did meet his expectations or the opinions expressed in them did not coincide with his, Kissinger would return them to the CIA with questions, comments and criticisms scrawled in the margins. This give-and-take not only afforded Kissinger an opportunity to act as the president's chief intelligence officer, but also reinforced the marriage of convenience between the CIA and the National Security Advisor's office against their mutual foes in the Defense Department.[283]

Together, the pervasive realist perspective within the intelligence community, as well as the Kissinger-CIA alliance, represented the bureaucratic-political foundation of détente and arms control. The commonality of outlook and interests between the most powerful man in the foreign policy establishment and the most powerful member of the intelligence community constituted a formidable barrier within the defense establishment to any alternate view of the Soviets. The interjection of another view—much less its institutionalization—would require the breaching of this barrier. While Jackson, Fosdick and Perle attacked Kissinger, Schlesinger opened another front within the intelligence community.

[283] Stoertz

In order to disrupt the realist perspective, as well as the Kissinger-CIA alliance, Schlesinger set about reorganizing the intelligence community with a vengeance. Cutting manpower and altering management processes in almost every agency of the U.S. intelligence community, particularly in those offices that he felt were too supportive of détente and arms control. The ax, however, fell hardest on CIA. Telling his new CIA subordinates that, "This place has been run like a gentleman's club, but I'm no gentleman." Schlesinger fired or forced into retirement almost 10 percent of the Agency's total staff. Schlesinger next turned his attention to the Agency's actual spying capabilities. Believing that the value of human intelligence collection and covert operations was overrated and overly expensive, Schlesinger targeted the clandestine section, the Directorate of Plans, for most of the work-force reductions. Re-named the Directorate of Operations, the clandestine section saw its budget slashed and the monies diverted to projects intended to enhance the Agency's technical intelligence collection capabilities. To oversee the new, down-sized clandestine service, Schlesinger appointed veteran field officer, William E. Colby, as the Director of the Directorate of Operations.[284]

Schlesinger's overhaul of the CIA's analytical capability was even more extensive. He disbanded ONE and its board of senior advisors and completely re-worked the estimating process. Previously, the process began with the collection of raw intelligence from various CIA departments or other agencies within the intelligence community by the working staff of the ONE and distributed to the various working groups that produced NIEs in specific areas of concern. After drafting, the NIEs were reviewed by the senior analysts that comprised the governing board of ONE, the Board of National Estimates. After approval by the Board, the estimates were sent to the U.S. Intelligence Board and the President's Foreign Intelligence

[284] CIA History Staff, pp. 17-33.

Advisory Board (PFIAB) for a final—and often political—review. While the Intelligence Board was comprised of experts from all of the intelligence agencies, the PFIAB was a semi-official largely ceremonial body. There were members who were large political contributors like Clare Booth Luce, but some experts like the physicists Edward Teller and John Foster, and the satellite photography expert, Edward Land. The main voice was the chairman, Adm. George Anderson, who was closely connected with Jackson's staff.

At any point along this process, disputes over the NIE's conclusions could send the estimate back to ONE for editing or to a particular agency or department for further research. If the dispute remained unresolved, the dissents would be noted in lengthy footnotes in the text of the NIE. The footnote convention, also instituted by Kent, had been adopted to not only allow the intelligence consumer to see the areas of disagreement, but also to force dissenters to dissent within the context of a generally agreed-upon discussion rather than in *ex parte* papers circulated separately.[285]

Schlesinger discarded this process and moved the distribution of raw intelligence into the purview of the Director. The main support apparatus for the Director, the Intelligence Community staff was, however, staffed almost exclusively with CIA men. Seeking to reduce the CIA's influence on the community staff, Schlesinger fired the chief of staff, Bronson Tweedy, and a number of other long-time employees. Their replacements consisted largely of men from the RAND Corp. that Schlesinger knew personally. The replacements raised eyebrows within the intelligence community because of the appointees' general lack of experience in intelligence work. Schlesinger then revised the review process for the NIEs. Now, before the estimates were sent to the Intelligence Board for review and discussion, they

[285] Ford; Montague; Sherman Kent, "Words of Estimative Probability," Sherman Kent and the Board of National Estimates: Collected Essays, ed. Donald P. Steury (Washington: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1994), pp. 53-57.

6.1 The Neoconservatives of the Defense Establishment

Fred C. Iklé
A former member of Wohlstetter's SAPR Group, he replaced Gerard C. Smith as Director of ACDA.

James R. Schlesinger
Wohlstetter colleague and self-described "Thucydidean scholar" Schlesinger served as DCI and Secretary of Defense.

Andrew Marshall
Another SAPR Group member, Marshall was appointed as head of the new Office of Net Assessments by Schlesinger.

were reviewed by a new body, the Intelligence Resource Advisory Committee. To oversee the Committee, Schlesinger hired the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Gen. Daniel O. Graham, and Gen. Lew Allen, head of Air Force satellite programs. Over the course of his career, Allen had usually been in the fore of the chronic CIA-Air Force battle over funding and responsibility for various airborne spy systems. The appointment of Graham was even more alarming for CIA veterans. Deemed by the journalist Joseph Alsop as the "most pungent and persistent critic of the CIA's estimating-analyzing hierarchy," Graham was known throughout the intelligence community for his consistent, vehement objections to CIA assessments of National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese Army troop strength, which he regarded as too high.[286]

As for the actual production of the NIEs, Schlesinger proposed creating twelve National Intelligence Officers (NIOs), each of whom would be experts in a particular functional or geographic field, and would report directly to the DCI. The NIOs were to have no permanent staff, but were expected to recruit individual analysts from various agencies and departments on a temporary basis to assist in the preparation of NIEs. These changes were intended to "liberate" the NIEs from the cultural influence of the CIA, and reflect a wider variety of views. The NIOs were also expected to leave Langley and "mix it up" with policymakers in official Washington order to better gauge their intelligence needs.[287]

Although Schlesinger's reforms were now almost complete, he had only partially succeeded in undercutting the CIA's influence and severing the alliance with Kissinger. While he had succeeded in reducing the CIA's institutional power vis-à-vis the other

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[286] Seymour M. Hersh, "CIA Names Espionage Chief," New York Times, March 1, 1973, p. 19.

[287] Harold P. Ford, Estimative Intelligence: The Purposes and Problems of National Intelligence Estimating (Washington DC: Defense Intelligence College, 1989), pp. 19-28; Ford.

agencies through the disbandment of ONE and the installment of his own loyalists, the realist view was still very much in evidence. Schlesinger's decision to re-assign rather than fire many former ONE staffers ensured that the Kent-Langer realism would continue to inform the NIEs. In addition, while the de-centralization of the estimating process created many new points of access for the interjection of alternate views, it also made it easier for Kissinger and his NSC staff to influence the NIEs' conclusions.

Whether or not Schlesinger realized this, he did not get the opportunity to fine-tune his reforms. On April 30, the burgeoning Watergate scandal forced the resignation of Attorney General Richard Kleindienst. On May 1, 1973, Nixon announced that he was nominating Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson for Attorney General and Schlesinger for Secretary of Defense. The White House did not name a successor for Schlesinger at CIA until May 11, when it was announced that William Colby would be the next Director.[288]

Schlesinger and the Institutionalization of Nuclear War-Fighting Doctrine

Although he was not sworn in as DCI until September 4, 1973, Colby, CIA veteran, immediately set about trying to mitigate the damage done to the CIA's institutional power. Although he technically had no authority to alter any of the changes instituted by Schlesinger until confirmed by the Senate, between Schlesinger's departure in July and Colby's swearing-in on September 4, the Deputy DCI, Vernon Walters, allowed him to issue a set of pending directives through his office. In one of the more notable of these directives, Colby named George A. Carver, Helms's former Special Assistant for Vietnam Affairs, to oversee the NIOs. A smooth, diplomatic, career CIA officer, Carver was experienced in field work

[288] "Texts of Statement by Nixon and Letters of Resignation by Three Aides," New York Times, May 1, 1973, p. 1.

as well as intelligence analysis. Even more importantly from Colby's standpoint, Carver was known as quite an effective bureaucratic-political fighter.

For the post of National Intelligence Officer for Strategic Programs, Colby appointed Howard Stoertz, Jr. The son of first-generation German Jewish immigrants, Stoertz had completed his undergraduate work in political science at Swarthmore College. Later, as a graduate student in history, Stoertz had studied under Sherman Kent at Yale. Before completing the requirements for his Master's degree, however, Kent brought him to the newly formed ONE in 1950, where he served as its executive secretary from 1951- 1972. In 1972, Stoertz had assumed the hastily-constructed position as head of the SALT support staff. Like Carver, Stoertz was a veteran of dozens of bureaucratic-political battles with the Pentagon. Outspoken and blunt, Stoertz had, somewhat surprisingly, established an exceedingly smooth relationship with Kissinger. This relationship was, undoubtedly, an asset that Colby apparently hoped to leverage to the Agency's advantage.[289]

Schlesinger, too, took advantage of the long period between Colby's nomination and confirmation to introduce the war-fighting thesis into the NIEs and into U.S. strategic doctrine. He saw an opening in a study commissioned earlier in the year by Kissinger to explore ways to increase the "flexibility" of the U.S. strategic force. Flexibility had long been used by national security officials to refer to an ongoing and heretofore fruitless effort to re-design U.S. strategic doctrine in such a way as to limit nuclear warfare to a small exchange. Kissinger, however, was not really interested in flexibility. Knowing that the search for flexibility amounted to an intellectual wild goose chase, he had ordered the study,

[289] CIA History Staff, p. 69; Stoertz; CIA Press Release, "Trailblazers, and Years of CIA Service" (Washington DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence 1997), p. 9.

National Security Study Memorandum 169 to forestall the promulgation of any new doctrine that could be used to justify the retention or acquisition of any specific weapons systems.[290]

Schlesinger now resolved to take advantage of this study. He discovered that the State Department had requested "an exposition of Soviet nuclear doctrine as deduced from Soviet literature, statements and actions over the past few years." In response, the CIA's Office of Strategic Research had prepared a report which was completed in June. After reviewing the document, Soviet Nuclear Doctrine: Concepts of Intercontinental and Theater War, Schlesinger, who did not agree with its conclusions, insisted with Walters that his RAND protégé (and Pipes's student), Fritz Ermarth, be allowed to revise the estimate before submission to the White House. Although the post of DCI was still technically vacant, Walters did not wish to run afoul of Schlesinger and complied. The re-worked report was also given a new designation as Special National Intelligence Estimate 11-4-73 to imply that it superseded the regular Series 8 NIE, NIE 11-8-73.

Released to the White House in September, the re-worked special estimate, Soviet Strategic Arms Programs and Détente: What Are They Up To?, was notable for its promotion of strategic war-fighting. The estimate maintained that Soviet military writings of the preceding ten years "reflect a clear concern with for warfighting capabilities." Also, unlike most American theorists, Soviet strategists seemed to "reject the notion that the destructiveness of nuclear weapons renders strategic war 'unwinnable.'" Rather, the estimate asserted, a significant number seemed to believe that it was possible to develop "the ability to actually to wage strategic war to the point of some form of victory."

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[290] National Security Council, National Security Study Memorandum 169: U.S. Nuclear Policy, February 13, 1973, National Security Council Institutional Files, box 108, folder 3, National Archives, College Park, MD.; National Security Council, NSSM 169: A Work Plan, March 5, 1973, Digital National Security Archive [online] http://nsarchive.chadwyck.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/nsa/documents/PR/01163/all.pdf [June 5, 2006].

While there was some evidence (according to the special estimate) that some Soviet political and military leaders did not believe that strategic victory was possible and advocated parity with the United States, it was unlikely that their voices would be heeded. The incorrigible and implacable nature of Soviet ideology meant that the majority of the political and military leadership would never settle for parity with the United States. Parity would mean setting aside "power aspirations" deeply ingrained in Communist ideology, and embracing an "explicit and indefinite condition of vulnerability for their society." Indeed, the internal ideological pressures for strategic superiority were so strong that the Soviets appeared ready to push the limits of the Interim Agreement to the fullest, if not beyond.[291]

Simultaneously with the release of the special estimate, Schlesinger took another action that was to go some way toward institutionalizing the war-fighting thesis. This was the creation of the Office of Net Assessment. Net assessment, or the comparison of U.S. capabilities to those of adversaries, had traditionally been performed by the military services. There had also been a brief effort to create a central office for net assessment in the 1950s, but had been rejected by Eisenhower. Now, however, Schlesinger not only resolved to re-create that net assessment capability, but also widened its purview to include potential threats, rather than existing capabilities. Recruiting Andrew Marshall, who was at the time working as a consultant to the NSC, Schlesinger formed an Office of Net Assessment within the Pentagon. Once ensconced in the new department, Marshall wasted no time in producing

[291] Office of Strategic Research, SR RP 73-1: Soviet Nuclear Doctrine: Concepts of Intercontinental and Theater War, June, 1973 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), p. 1; Director of Central Intelligence, Special National Intelligence Estimate 11-4-73: Soviet Strategic Arms Programs and Détente: What Are They Up To?, September, 1973 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), pp. 9,-10, 19; The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, "Profile: Fritz Ermarth," [online] http://www.ecssr.ac.ae/CDA/en/ProfileBank/ViewProfile/0,2061,1141,00.html?null [June 30, 2006].

a series of reports that purported to demonstrate that Soviet strategic doctrine was oriented toward war-fighting.[292]

Schlesinger now moved to interject war-fighting into American strategic doctrine with the drafting of National Security Decision Memorandum 242 (NSDM-242). This singular document outlined how U.S. operational planning for a nuclear war should proceed. American forces and doctrine, the memo argued, should be structured in such a way as to allow options for the "limited employment" of strategic forces. These options should, the document continued, "hold some vital enemy targets hostage" and "permit control over the timing and pace of attack execution in order to provide the enemy opportunities to reconsider his actions." The aim of these options was to allow the United States the capability to win a nuclear war, or in the words of the memo, "to seek war termination on terms acceptable to the United States."[293]

The appearance of NSDM-242 was the first significant manifestation of the war-fighting doctrine designed by Wohlstetter almost two decades earlier. At its core was the conviction that the incorrigible and militant nature of the Soviet Union would one day cause them to attack the United States. In order to blunt this attack, the memorandum declared that the U.S. should prepare a list of targets to attack and counterattack and provide for the "destruction of the political, economic and military resources critical to the enemy's postwar power, influence and ability to recover at an early time as a major power."[294]

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[292] Ken Silverstein, "The Man from ONA," The Nation, 2, 25 (October 1999): 2; Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., The Military-Technical Revolution: A Preliminary Assessment (Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2002), pp. i-ii.

[293] National Security Council, National Security Decision Memorandum 242: Planning Employment of Nuclear Weapons, p.2, Digital National Security Archive [online] http://gateway.proquest.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/openurl?url_ver=Z39.882004&res_dat=xri:dnsa&rft_dat=xri:dnsa:article:CPR00198 [June 30, 2006].

[294] NSC, NSDM-242, p. 2.

Schlesinger was now faced with the task of explaining the implications of this new strategy to the Congress. Rather than focus on the transformative nature of the NSDM, Schlesinger cast the new doctrine in terms of the search for "flexibility" and assigned the new doctrine the vague name of "Selective Options." In taking advantage of the administration's avowed search for flexibility, Schlesinger would not only effectively camouflage Selective Options, but would also gain a measure of protection against Kissinger. Kissinger could not now, after four years, argue that flexibility was not needed. To do so would require explaining what had changed. Similarly, Kissinger was unable to denounce Selective Options as a war-fighting doctrine without alarming the Soviets and undermining arms control. Opposing Selective Options also risked drawing congressional attention to the fact that the Soviets now had no less than four separate ICBM development programs underway, including the most powerful ICBM ever built, the SS-18 Warlord (*Voivode*).[295]

Faced with these considerations, Kissinger tried to keep NSDM-242 and any discussion of it confined to the NSC. Received in the NSC in September, he allowed the memo to languish until January. When it was sent to the president on January 7, it was sent under a cover that instructed all concerned agencies that they would regard the new doctrine "as an evolution and refinement of U.S. policy and not as a sharp new departure in strategy." Simultaneously, he initiated a series of follow-on studies to be conducted by the State Department and the CIA.[296]

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[295] NIO S/P, National Intelligence Estimate 11-8-73: Soviet Forces for Intercontinental Attack (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), p. 5; U.S. Department of Defense, Annual Report of Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger (Washington DC: G.P.O, 1975), p. 38.

[296] Henry Kissinger, "Memorandum for the President," January 7, 1974, Nixon Presidential Materials, National Security Council Institutional Files, Box H-243, National Archives, College Park, MD.

Kissinger's efforts, however, were in vain. On January 10, Schlesinger gave an impromptu news conference in which he announced that, as part of a new strategic doctrine, the U.S. would begin re-targeting part of the ICBM force on Soviet missiles. Although Schlesinger denied that these changes portended a U.S. first-strike capability, he undercut his reassurances by also warning the Soviets that the new doctrine would require new weapons systems, such as improved guidance systems and more powerful warheads, and that he intended to request them in the new defense budget.[297]

Nixon's signing of NSDM-242 on January 17, 1974 represented the institutionalization of the neoconservative view of the Soviet Union in U.S. national security policy. NSDM-242 also addressed the need for the counterforce-heavy strategy recommended by Wohlstetter in the 1950s. Counterforce targeting and employment planning did not, however, fully allow for war-fighting. America still lacked the capabilities to fight and prevail in a nuclear war. The Nixon Administration was unlikely to approve any major weapons programs in the context of arms control. Moreover, approval would not guarantee deployment. Any new systems risked becoming bargaining chips in the next round of SALT negotiations. This state of affairs was unacceptable to the neoconservatives and Wohlstetter set out to alter it.

Into the Attack: Wohlstetter and the Myth of the Arms Race

The murmur of conversation in the Beverly Hills Hotel Conference Center began to fade as the chairman of the California Arms Control, William Bader of the Ford Foundation, arose and introduced the keynote speaker of the conference, Albert Wohlstetter. As Wohlstetter rose from his seat and began making his way to the speaker's podium, some in

[297] Michael Getler, "U.S. Studies Re-Targeting of Missiles," New York Times, January 11, 1974, pp. A1, A16.

the crowd were impressed by his bearing; tall, impeccably dressed and confident. Others noticed that he carried no notes. Almost everyone assembled, however, looked forward to hearing the thoughts of one of the architects of American nuclear strategy. Taking his place behind the podium, Wohlstetter wore a serious expression as he began to speak: "Ladies and gentlemen, the arms race is a myth!" Pausing to survey the perplexed faces of the audience, Wohlstetter continued: "There are weapons—both the U.S. and the USSR have nuclear weapons aplenty—but there is no arms race! There can be no race between parties moving in different directions!"[298]

Over the next three and one-half hours, Wohlstetter—oblivious to all subtle and not-so-subtle signals from the chair to conclude his marathon presentation—built a detailed and wide-ranging case to support the thesis that, since the 1960s, the United States and the Soviet Union had not been engaged in a strategic arms race. The popular conception of the arms race (which according to Wohlstetter was also shared by most of official Washington), was of the two superpowers locked in an endless cycle of action and reaction, forever responding to the other side's deployment of multi-million dollar weapons systems by building more multi-million dollar weapons systems. Objective analysis, however, showed quite a different picture. According to Wohlstetter, U.S. strategic forces (and the attendant costs) been on the decline since the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. All of the various strategic metrics; megatonnage, number of warheads, number of launchers and warhead yields he maintained, had followed a downward trend since 1960-64.

The myth of the arms race, Wohlstetter claimed, was fueled by another myth—"the myth of invariable overestimation." Whereas the conventional wisdom held that the U.S.

[298] Albert Wohlstetter, "Legends of the Strategic Arms Race," paper presented at the California Seminar on Arms Control and Foreign Policy, June, 1974; Harold P. Ford, interview by Robert Richardson (October 19, 1996, Bethesda, MD.),

defense establishment consistently overestimated Soviet weapons deployments, Wohlstetter argued that analysis did not bear this out. Instead of overestimating, Wohlstetter's analysis purportedly showed that, between 1962 and 1972, the U.S. intelligence community persistently underestimated Soviet strategic weapons deployments. Moreover, the underestimation seems to have gotten worse after 1966, despite significant advances in American spy satellite technology.[299]

Although he never uttered the word "détente" during his grand soliloquy, Wohlstetter had fired the opening salvo of a new line of attack. More specifically, Wohlstetter was attempting to undercut the argument that the only alternative to détente was a dangerous and fabulously expensive arms race. Since the conclusion of the first SALT agreements in the spring of 1972, this argument had been made frequently by Kissinger in briefings, news conferences and congressional testimony. It had been a quite effective argument as polls consistently showed that support for détente depended heavily on the carefully fostered perception that there was no good alternative to détente. After 1972, as the bloom began to go off détente, Kissinger seemed to make the argument more frequently and vehemently:

> We cannot expect to relax international tensions or achieve a more stable international system should the two strongest nuclear powers conduct an unrestrained arms race. Thus, perhaps the single most important component of our policy toward the Soviet Union is the effort to limit strategic weapons . . . The American people can be asked to bear the cost of a race which is doomed to stalemate only if its is clear that every effort has been made to prevent it.[300]

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[299] Albert Wohlstetter, "Is There a Strategic Arms Race?" Foreign Policy 15 (Summer 1974): 5-8, "Rivals, but No Race, Foreign Policy 16 (Fall 1974): 49, 60-64.

[300] U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Détente," 93rd Cong., 2nd sess., September 19, 1974 (Washington DC: GPO, 1976): 238.

Following up on his address in Los Angeles, Wohlstetter published a series of articles that expanded on the argument that he had advanced at the California Arms Control Seminar. Drawing on unclassified statements by various Secretaries of Defense, as well as portions of classified posture statements, Wohlstetter constructed an extremely detailed case for his contention that the intelligence community was guilty of underestimation. Overlaying the estimated numbers with the actual numbers after deployment, Wohlstetter showed that throughout the decade of the 1960s, the intelligence community had substantially underestimated Soviet deployments. He also purportedly demonstrated that U.S. strategic power, in both absolute and relative terms, had been steadily declining since the mid-1960s.[301]

The effects of Wohlstetter's work were immediate and dramatic. His articles ignited an intense debate inside and outside of government. Among the expert community, Morton Halperin and Jeremy Stone, Michael Nacht, Johan Holst and Bernard Brodie responded critically to Wohlstetter in print, while Paul Nitze and Joseph Alsop concurred. Kissinger showed his displeasure by deleting Wohlstetter's name from a list of invitees to a Soviet-American conference of academics on SALT. Even in Iowa, the Des Moines Register published a lengthy discussion of Wohlstetter's thesis.

As might be expected, there was significant consternation within the intelligence community. Colby's deputy, Gen. Daniel O. Graham opined that, while "artful" data selection can make estimates appear too high or too low, people outside of the intelligence community would not be interested in any explanations involving the more arcane details of

[301] Albert Wohlstetter, "Is There a Strategic Arms Race?" Foreign Policy 15 (Summer 1974): 3-20, "Rivals, but No Race, Foreign Policy 16 (Fall 1974): 49, 48-81, "Legends of the Strategic Arms Race, Part 1: The Driving Engine," Strategic Review 2, 1 (Fall 1974): 67-92, "Legends of the Strategic Arms Race, Part 2: The Uncontrolled Upward Spiral," Strategic Review 3, 1 (Winter 1975): 71-86.

the estimating process. The political utility of Wohlstetter's argument would be formidable. Colby, Graham warned, should take Wohlstetter's work "very seriously."[302]

Colby did in fact take Wohlstetter's work seriously. While the official position of the CIA was not to comment publicly, Colby commissioned no less than two internal studies. The results were ambiguous. One study found Wohlstetter's charges to be largely accurate, while the other reached just the opposite conclusion. Colby also asked Stoertz for comment. He pointed out that Wohlstetter's numbers were drawn from the NIEs of the 1960s, and that many of the deficiencies that had plagued CIA analyses had been corrected by the time the Soviet missile-building programs gained their greatest momentum in the 1970s.

Stoertz also pointed out that CIA analyses had improved substantially with the discovery that the Soviets were "piggy-backing" the testing and production phases, thus speeding up the time it took a missile to leave the drawing board and enter service. Previously, the Agency had used American missile contractors' methods as a model to arrive at an approximate time frame for Soviet design, testing and production. In 1972, however, the CIA learned that once a design was approved, the Soviet bureaus often went directly into production, bypassing the expensive and time-consuming testing phase mandated by U.S.

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[302] Paul Nitze, Joseph Alsop, Morton Halperin and Jeremy Stone, "Comments," Foreign Policy 16 (Fall 1974): 82-92; Bernard Brodie, "On the Objectives of Arms Control," International Security, v. 1, no. 1 (Summer 1976): 17-36; Michael Nacht, "The Delicate Balance of Error," Foreign Policy 19 (Summer 1975): 1-13; Johan Jorgen Holst, "What's Really Going On," Foreign Policy 19 (Summer 1975): 14-22; Jack H. Taylor, "Wohlstetter, Soviet Strategic Forces and the NIEs," Studies in Intelligence, 10, 1 (Spring 1975): 44-54;Ross Cowey, "More on the Military Estimates," Studies in Intelligence, 10, 2 (Summer 1975): 7-29; U.S. Department of State, "American Press Coverage," November 21, 1974, film no. D740337-0716, doc. no. 1974STATE256935, "SALT Meeting with Academicians," December 11, 1974, film no. D740358-1063, doc. no. 1974BRUSSE09705 electronic telegrams, Central Foreign Policy files, July 1973-December 1975, RG 59, National Archives; Daniel Graham, "Memorandum for Director Colby," July 1, 1974, RG 263, National Archives.

government contracting regulations. Quality control in the Soviet system consisted of pulling random units off the assembly line for testing.[303]

Partly as a result of Wohlstetter's insinuations of incompetence and partly as a result of Soviet behavior, NIE 11-3/8-74 differed substantially from earlier estimates in its range and scope. Produced in two volumes, it combined a forecast of Soviet intentions and capabilities through 1985. The 1974 NIE was most notable for its grim discussion of Soviet strategic doctrine. The NIE posited the possibility of "waging and winning a nuclear war should deterrence fail." Although this argument had been made definitively the previous year in a special NIE prepared by Schlesinger's deputy, Fritz Ermarth, the 1974 estimate was the first statement of the Soviet war-fighting thesis by a "director's estimate," or an NIE delivered under the DCI's imprimatur. As such, the 1974 NIE is indication of how strongly the neoconservative view of Soviet strategic doctrine was now institutionalized within the intelligence community. Indeed, by 1974 it had become politically dangerous to dispute the war-fighting thesis.

Nevertheless, the 1974 NIE qualified its assessment of Soviet doctrine by asserting that the "relevance and nature" of victory in a nuclear conflict "remains ill-defined and probably contested" within the Soviet defense establishment. The NIE also concluded that achieving a war-fighting capability was not the only or even the primary consideration driving Soviet strategic programs. The vigorous arms programs of the last several years were, according to the estimate, seen by the leadership as enabling détente. From the perspective of the Soviet leaders, the strategic programs had enhanced Soviet prestige abroad and brought the United States to the negotiating table. Simultaneously, the buildup had also

[303] Stoertz.

assured the Soviet military that national security would not be compromised as the arms control process unfolded.

Against this backdrop of caution and opportunism, the NIE argued that the real danger for the United States lay in the very phenomenon Wohlstetter had inveighed against so vehemently in his articles: the action-reaction cycle. As each side continued to develop more and better weapon systems, the strategic environment would become increasingly uncertain and unstable. The best solution, the NIE implied, was a political one:

> Unless such a strategic environment is significantly changed by arms limitation agreements, it is likely that the Soviet leaders will continue to believe that the acquisition of more and better strategic armaments is their best course.[304]

Unsurprisingly, the 1974 NIE was not well received by the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. The Board's chairman, Adm. George Anderson, objected to the NIE on the grounds that the estimate was too optimistic the number and types of missiles likely to be deployed by the Soviets. The reference to the action-reaction cycle, the portrayal of the Soviet leadership as opportunists rather than ideologues and the implicit endorsement of arms control also seemed calculated to raise neoconservative temperatures. The Board, however, took no immediate action when the estimate was submitted in November 1974. Rather, Anderson dispatched Foster, late of the Pentagon's Department of Defense Research and Engineering (DDRE), to California in January 1975 to discuss the estimate with Wohlstetter.

The neoconservatives, however, were in no mood for explanations. In August of 1975, the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB), a semi-official body

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[304] NIO S/P, National Intelligence Estimate 11-3/8-74: Soviet Forces for Intercontinental Conflict Through 1985 (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1992), pp. 2-5, 17.

charged with the final review of the NIEs, suggested to Kissinger that equal consideration ought to be given to "opposing views and alternative interpretations." At Wohlstetter's suggestion, the chairman of the PFIAB, Adm. George Anderson, proposed to Kissinger the establishment of a "competitive analysis group composed of experts drawn from outside of the intelligence community to produce an "alternate estimate." Kissinger deferred to Colby, who rejected this suggestion on the grounds that it would interrupt the 1975 NIE presently underway. There, for the moment, the matter rested.[305]

The Attack Pressed: The Birth of Team B

In the fall of 1975, the political winds were not blowing favorably for the Ford Administration and détente. Polls showed that approximately half of the American public was indifferent or opposed to détente. Soviet meddling in Angola, Portugal, and the Middle East seemed to many Americans to run contrary to the spirit of détente. There was also a growing perception—reinforced by the neoconservatives at every turn—that the Soviets were cheating on their SALT obligations.

Among the president's fellow Republicans, there was also very little support for détente. Obliged to defend an unpopular president and an unpopular policy with the 1976 elections looming, Republicans took a variety of positions. Some Republican leaders, such as the House Minority Leader Rep. John J. Rhodes (R-AZ) urged Ford to take a tougher line

[305] Ibid; Jan M. Lodal and Richard Ober, "Memorandum for Secretary Kissinger," September 4, 1975, DDRS, CK3100088538, pp. 1, 5; President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, "An Alternative NIE," June 18, 1975, DDRS, CK3100089207; PFIAB, "Draft NSDM," August 15, 1975, Leo Cherne Papers, box 3, folder 2, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, Ann Arbor, MI. [hereafter Ford Library]; Helmut Sonennfeldt, "Memorandum for Secretary Kissinger," July 22, 1975, National Security Advisor's Name file, box B3, folder 17, Ford Library.; Lodal and Ober, p. 5; Henry Kissinger, "Memorandum for the Director of Central Intelligence," September 8, 1975, DDRS, doc. no. CK3100089230.

with the Soviets to increase his election year appeal to conservatives. Other Republicans, such as the former chairman of the JCS, Elmo Zumwalt and former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird sniped at the administration in the pages of various conservative publications. Still other Republicans, such as Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), advocated jettisoning détente *and* the president in 1976. Chairing a fundraising group called the Committee for Conservative Alternatives, Helms and many other conservative Republicans favored former California governor and vocal détente critic, Ronald Reagan. Reagan, a persistent critic of détente and arms control, had kept up a steady drumbeat of criticism since completing his term as governor in 1974. He made his views known through a syndicated newspaper column, a weekly radio show and literally hundreds of appearances on the Republican "rubber chicken" dinner circuit.[306]

The focus of much of this anti-détente bile was, of course, Kissinger. Besides conservative Republicans, calls for his resignation were heard from several quarters, from erstwhile presidential candidate George Wallace to AFL-CIO leader George Meany to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion and the National Association of Manufacturers. Even the long-suffering Chinese saw fit to pile on, with the deeply anti-Soviet Vice Premier Deng Xioaping telling Kissinger in the wake of the Helsinki Conference that American appeasement of the Soviet Union was endangering Sino-American relations.

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[306] "The Growling on Ford's Right," Time 105, March 17, 1975, p. 19; William F. Buckley," The Coils of Détente," National Review 27 (February 28 1975), p. 240; Joseph Fromm, "Russia: Suddenly a Silent Partner in Détente," U.S. News & World Report 78 (April 14 1975), p. 33; H. Flieger, "Moscow's One-Way Road: The Meaning of Détente," U.S. News & World Report 78 (May 19 1975), p. 80; Elmo Zumwalt, "Big Push for Détente: Is the US Moving Too Fast?," U.S. News & World Report 79 (July 28 1975), p. 12-13; Malcolm Forbes, "Détente Stops at the Water's Edge," Forbes 116 (October 1 1975), p. 82; Barry Goldwater, Robert E. Bauman, Karl R. Benedetsen, "Is the Present U.S. Posture of Détente a Sound National Policy?," Congressional Digest 54 (October 1975), p. 235; Melvin Laird, "Is This Détente?" Reader's Digest 107 (July 1975), p. 54-7, "America's New Leadership," Reader's Digest 105 (November 1974), p. 97-104, "I Don't Think We've Reached a Détente," Forbes 114 (July 15 1974), p. 16-17; "The Public: Disenchanted with Ford," Time 106 (October 13, 1975), p. 13.

Deng's complaints prompted Reagan to note publicly that "even the Chinese are disappointed in us."[307]

Less public but more serious for Kissinger, was the neoconservative effort to question him under oath about Soviet heavy missile deployments. Upon submitting the Interim Agreement to the Senate in 1972, Kissinger had assured senators that the silo restrictions and the unilateral statement regarding heavy missiles would preclude deployment of "heavy" missiles. Although Jackson and Fosdick had known since 1972 that Kissinger's assurances to the Congress were wildly inaccurate, the administration's political weakness prompted them to now press the issue. Colby, in a classified preview of the 1975 NIE, had also confirmed that ten single-warhead (or "Mod 1") SS-18s had been deployed and that flight testing was complete for two multiple warhead versions, the Mod 2 and Mod 3. Jackson, upon learning of the new deployments, demanded that Kissinger appear before his Arms Control Subcommittee to explain his previous statements. In a letter that read very much like a subpoena, Jackson left little doubt that the old days of "Scoop" and "Henry" were long gone:

> Dear Mr. Secretary: Your persistent failure to appear before the subcommittee in the face of Soviet missile deployments is inconsistent with your assurances to the Congress (about the SALT I Agreement) and raises serious doubts about the manner in which that agreement was negotiated. As the only member of the administration present at the negotiations of the SALT I Agreement . . . you alone are in a position to tell the subcommittee. . .why the administration has chosen to ignore its pledge to regard the deployment of the

[307] "Notes of Meeting Between Deng Xioaping and Henry Kissinger," October 20, 1975, The Kissinger Transcripts, item 8, pp. 384-386, National Security Archive [online], June 2, 2007, www.gwu.edu/%7Ensarchiv/nsa/publications/DOC_readers/kissinger/notes.htm; William Hyland, Mortal Rivals: Superpower Relations from Nixon to Reagan (New York: Random House, 1987, p. 164.

> new SS-18 as a heavy missile . . . one whose deployment contravenes the U.S. interpretation of the agreement.[308]

The Ford Administration's initial response to the building antipathy toward détente was to present the president as above the domestic political fray. Stealing a page from the Nixon playbook, Ford attempted to bolster his image with a high-visibility diplomatic tour of Europe prior to the European Security Conference in Helsinki, Finland. Upon arriving home, Ford found that his image had not only not improved, but had also deteriorated somewhat. Although Ford's overall approval rating had begun to level off at 47 per cent before his European trip, it had dipped slightly as conservatives of both parties began hammering at the Helsinki Agreements as a legitimization of Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. Worse, the Gallup Poll, as well as the White House's own private polling indicated that Reagan had pulled ahead of the president among all likely Republican voters. Ford, frantic to reverse his slide in the polls, turned to his advisors.[309]

The president's advisors were all young and/or inexperienced in national politics, but with ties to the neoconservatives. They included the thirty-eight year old Special Assistant to the President, William J. Baroody, Jr., and his thirty-four year old Deputy, Richard "Dick" Cheney, forty-three year old Donald Rumsfeld, the White House Chief of Staff, and forty year old Richard Wolthius, the Legislative Assistant to the President. There was also fifty-three year old Robert Goldwin. Bearing the ambiguous title, Special White House Consultant, Goldwin was a Strauss-trained professor of political philosophy who had been brought into the White House by Rumsfeld. A self-professed "outsider on the inside,"

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[308] U.S. Department of State to Ambassador Anderson, "SALT Confrontation: Jackson and Kissinger," September 3, 1975, film no. D750304-0131, doc. no. 1975STATE208714, electronic telegrams, Central Foreign Policy files, July 1973-December 1975, RG 59, National Archives.

[309] "An Earnest, Conservative Society," 106, July 21, 1975 "Some Cheering, Some Trouble," August 11, 1975; Tom Wicker, "Reagan's Lead May be Real," New York Times, December 23, 1975, p. 25.

Goldwin's only discernible tasks were to deliver periodic philosophy lectures to the president and White House officials, and serve as an "idea broker" and advisor to Rumsfeld.

Of this varied collection of advisors, Rumsfeld, a former four-time representative from Illinois' 13th congressional district, was generally regarded as the most powerful. Brought to the White House by Nixon, Rumsfeld's forceful, direct style led Nixon to characterize him as "a ruthless little bastard." Assuming the job as White House Chief of Staff in September 1974, Rumsfeld almost immediately set about jettisoning older, more experienced Nixon and Ford associates. The shrewd and able Counselor to the President, Anne L. Armstrong, was removed from the inner circle by appointing her chair of the National Bicentennial Committee. Alexander Haig was appointed Supreme Commander of NATO and exiled to Brussels. CIA analyst Dave Peterson, who had personally briefed Ford since he was a congressman, was relieved of his White House badge and sent back to Langley. Even Philip Buchen, the president's closest friend and former law partner was marginalized by a temporary appointment at the Department of Justice. Given this pattern of behavior, it is not surprising that when Ford asked Rumsfeld for advice, his answer was true to form: fire everyone.[310]

On November 1, 1975, Ford followed through on Rumsfeld's advice. In what the press soon dubbed the "Halloween Massacre," Ford attempted to placate the right wing of the Republican Party by firing Colby and relieving Kissinger of his post as National Security Advisor. Schlesinger was also relieved as Defense Secretary, although he was quite popular with détente's opponents. Rather, his firing seems to have had more to do with Ford's and Kissinger's personal dislike of Schlesinger, as well as Rumsfeld's ambition. Indeed,

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[310] Andrew Cockburn, Rumsfeld: His Rise, Fall and Catastrophic Legacy (New York: Scribner Press, 2007), pp. 111-117.

Rumsfeld himself replaced Schlesinger, while Cheney became White House Chief of Staff. Kissinger's deputy, Gen. Brent Scowcroft became National Security Advisor, and the chief liaison officer to China, George H.W. Bush, was nominated to replace Colby.

In a move that he would later come to regret, Ford asked his moderate Vice-President, Nelson Rockefeller, to withdraw his name from the 1976 election slate. Although there were rumors that Rumsfeld was angling for the vice presidential slot on the 1976 ticket, Rockefeller himself seems to have believed that the Jackson forces were behind his political demise. Talking off the record in January with Time editors about the upcoming election, Rockefeller expressed this very opinion, and added that Jackson's staff had been "infiltrated" by Communists, and implied that Perle had at one time been a Communist. A few weeks later at a cocktail party in Atlanta, he repeated the Communism charge and alluded to Fosdick's work at the San Francisco U.N. conference in 1945 for Alger Hiss. After an irate Jackson demanded an apology, Rockefeller recanted. Although a small incident, it was just the sort of embarrassing misstep that had begun to plague the administration.[311]

The Battle Joined: Team B and the Alternate View

It was, therefore, against this backdrop of desperation and disarray that the President's Intelligence Advisory Board renewed its request to conduct an experiment in competitive analysis. Although the 1975 NIE was much grimmer in its tone—partly as a result of Soviet behavior and partly a result of more pessimistic forecasts—the Board believed that the estimate failed to convey a "sufficient sense of anxiety." Colby, despite his

[311] James M. Naughton, "Disavowal by Rockefeller Fails to Mollify Jackson," New York Times, April 23, 1976, p. 17; Richard D. Lyons, "Rockefeller Apologizes for Remarks on 2 Jackson Aides," New York Times, April 28, 1976, p. 85.

lame duck status, rejected the new request as one of his last official acts. In January, as the new DCI, George H.W. Bush, took the helm of the intelligence community, the Board pressed him to approve the exercise. Bush, whose experience in the world of intelligence was limited, heeded this advice and on May 26, approved the "experiment."[312]

Upon Bush's approval, the outlines of the experiment quickly took shape. Two teams would be formed, given access to the same data and the teams would produce an estimate of Soviet strategic capabilities and intentions. Stoertz, and his team—designated Team A—would produce the regularly scheduled NIE for 1976 according to the established procedures. Team B would be comprised of a group of outside experts, selected by the DCI in consultation with the PFIAB and Scowcroft, and divided into four panels. Each panel would be given access to the same raw intelligence as Team A and produce an analyses of Soviet strategic objectives and three technical areas, Soviet missile accuracy, air defense, and anti-submarine warfare (ASW). Upon completion of the two estimates, the teams would be allowed to comment on the opposing view and present their case to the PFIAB. After the presentations, a review of both estimates would be conducted by the Deputy DCI John Lehman and the National Security Advisor's office.

The teams now began to assemble. Stoertz, as was the procedure, assembled a number of analysts from across the intelligence community to serve on Team A. Upon a recommendation from Richard Perle of Jackson's staff, Bush appointed Richard Pipes of Harvard as the chair of Team B. Once ensconced as chairman, Pipes invited Gen. John Vogt (former commander of the Seventh Air Force), Paul Wolfowitz (a senior analyst at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), Gen. Daniel O. Graham (former DIA director and IC staff chief), Paul Nitze (Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs), Gen. Jasper

[312] Stoertz; Hyland, p. 85.

Welch (Air Force Assistant Chief of Staff for Systems Analysis) and Thomas Wolfe (RAND Corp.). The three technical panels were manned by active duty officers and employees of various military contractors. Thus constituted, the teams began work in June of 1976.[313]

Completing their work in late October, the teams submitted their documents to Lehman. The 1976 NIE was, for the most part, very similar to the 1975 NIE in its characterization of the Soviet leadership as prudent and opportunistic. In regard to Soviet strategic objectives, the NIE also reflected the earlier estimate. The Soviet Union, the NIE argued, could be expected to continue to seek economic development, international prestige, and political influence through its military power.

There was, however, an unprecedented level of concern over the number and scale of the Soviet programs, particularly the new ICBM programs. Team A's assessment was that the Soviets would probably accelerate a few critical programs and maintain the rest at current levels. Only arms control, Team A held, offered any hope of slowing the Soviets' progress. Moreover, a new agreement might induce the Soviet leadership to delay or cancel some future programs.

Team B's document was quite different in tone and scope. The Team B Report was not only an assessment of Soviet strategic capabilities and intentions, but also a scathing critique of the realist view of foreign affairs and American culture. According to Team B, the "unspoken assumptions of the U.S. intelligence community and, one may add, the U.S. political, intellectual and business communities as well" were at the root of all American misperceptions about Soviet behavior and objectives. These assumptions, Team B maintained, derive from three pervasive, culturally-embedded Western "traditions" that

[313] Stoertz; Soviet Strategic Objectives Panel, National Intelligence Estimate NIO M 76-021J: Soviet Strategic Objectives, An Alternate View (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1976), pp. iii-16 [Hereafter Team B Report].

"permeate American society and culture: the commercial, democratic and insular traditions." Reviewing the NIEs from the previous ten years, Team B found that the NIEs "are filled with unsupported and questionable judgments" that derived from the three cultural traditions. The commercial tradition, for example, predisposes Americans to see "peace and the pursuit of profit as 'normal,'" and war as "an aberration." Similarly, the democratic tradition leads to the expectation that as long as there are negotiations, the Soviet-American relationship could and would be conducted on a mutually beneficial basis. The insular tradition, meanwhile predisposes Americans toward the belief that any large-scale destruction of life and property is "something entirely outside the norms" of policy and military planning.[314]

In order to understand the essential nature of the "Russian national character" Team B asserted, it was necessary to understand the Russian culture and history as well as Communist ideology. The Russians' history of expansionism, for instance, required that the military play a significant role in the political life of the nation and impelled to conceive of national security in zero-sum terms. As a result, threats, coercion and war were seen as the central instruments of policy, rather than as "aberrations," as in the United States. Their historical experience—as both a victim of foreign invasions and as "the aggressor who absorbed entire countries"—had also imbued the Russians with a sense of stoic fatalism in the face of enormous human and material losses.

Considered against this cultural and historical backdrop, Soviet behavior and objectives were likely to be quite different than that posited by the NIEs, claimed Team B. Détente was seen by the Soviets as less a mutually beneficial relationship than a multi-faceted strategy. One facet of this strategy called for the avoidance of any provocations of

[314] Soviet Strategic Objectives Panel, National Intelligence Estimate NIO M 76-021J: Soviet Strategic Objectives, An Alternate View (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1976), pp. iii-16 [Hereafter Team B Report].

the United States, while exploiting the various political, economic and cultural contacts to acquire technology, improve the Soviet Union's image with Americans and, if possible, weaken anti-Soviet politicians. Other aspects of the strategy of détente involved an effort to isolate the United States both from its allies and Third World. The reduction of tensions would allow the Soviets to increase their economic relationships with Europe by supplying energy and entering into various cooperative arrangements and incurring high levels of debt. In the Third World, the Soviet Union could be expected to support socialist political parties, provide military assistance and loans and, where possible, provide support for socialist revolution.

The détente strategy, Team B maintained, also had a significant military facet. While the Soviets would probably continue to engage in the arms control process, they could be expected to continue to focus on the limitation of weapon technologies where America held an edge, as had been the case with the ABM treaty of 1972. Team B forecast that they would remain reticent about negotiating limits in areas where they were superior, such as in conventional arms and counterforce weapons, such as the massive SS-18. As for the CIA's theory that the Soviets wished to divert resources from the military sector to the civilian, Soviet war-planning made this an unlikely occurrence. The Soviet leadership feared that if the population were to become "addicted to the pursuit of consumer goods," it would rapidly lose its sense of patriotism and "sink into a mood of self-indulgence that makes it extremely poor material for national mobilization."

According to Team B, it was also unlikely that the Soviets would continue their strategic buildup. Their efforts, however, would not continue willy-nilly. Rather, Team B predicted, they would continue to focus on structuring their strategic forces for nuclear war-

fighting. This effort would include improving their counterforce capabilities of their strategic forces and a whole range of secondary defensive programs without analogue in the United States. These programs, Team B contended, included civil defense, particle and laser beam research and development of anti-satellite and anti-submarine capabilities.

All of the Soviets Union's massive military capability, Team B concluded, existed to attain a number of objectives. In the short-term, the Soviets sought to guarantee its own security and to deter an American attack or a joint Sino-American attack. It also served as a means of persuasion and coercion. The ability to intimidate smaller, weaker nations was, in the eyes of the Soviet leadership, the definition of the super-power status that it sought. In the long term, however, the Soviet Union had but one over-arching goal: the world-wide triumph of socialism, or less euphemistically, world domination.[315]

With this final assertion, the neoconservatives submitted one of the most significant—and grim—assessments of the Cold War world since NSC-68. Like NSC-68, Team B's effects on U.S. policy were not to felt right away. The process whereby American security policy came to embrace, codify and plan for all aspects of nuclear war-fighting was to take six years. When war-fighting did become fully institutionalized, however, the view of the Soviet Union which had informed Team B was much in evidence.

In the history of neoconservatism itself, Team B and the events that preceded it are significant for what they tells us about the state of neoconservatism in the 1970s. Most prominently, is the persistence of those characteristics that informed it as an academic school: the sense of crisis, the essentialism and the faith in transformation through moral clarity. Having moved outside of its birthplace in academia into the nuts-and-bolts world of policymaking, neoconservatism had coalesced into a distinct political movement. Yet, even

[315] Ibid, pp. 15, 44.

as it became more diverse, neoconservatism retained that set of peculiar attributes that we can only assume is the legacy of anti-modernism.

Neoconservatism also seems to have retained its remarkable critique of America that first emerged from the anti-modernist claim that liberalism and Communism were both manifestations of modernity. While the Soviet Union was, to be sure, not spared in the pages of Team Report from characterization as an evil and illegitimate state, bent on world conquest, the main focus of Team B's cultural critique was America. America is weak, Team B implied. It is a weakness caused not by a lack of military capabilities, but a moral weakness. The danger Team B perceived is only partially a consequence of growing Soviet military power. In the main, it was America's moral blindness; its refusal to seriously contemplate what the Soviet Union *was*, that invited mortal danger. Whether America would survive and prevail in the contest would thus depend primarily on transformation at home.

In its own time, Team B was significant for its influence on American politics. Over the next few years, Team B would become the foundational document for a conservative-neoconservative political narrative that would carry Ronald Reagan to the White House. Amplified through a Reagan-esque delivery, the droning Manichean tones of Team B—and Wohlstetter's articles and NSDM 242—can be detected amid the martial melodies of the "decade of neglect." How this came to be is where we now turn.

Chapter 7

The Public Face of the Movement: Creating a Narrative, 1972 – 1980

At a ceremonial occasion in 1984, Vice President George H.W. Bush launched into a "spontaneous" campaign speech that featured a triumphant recounting of the Reagan Administration's efforts to rebuild U.S. military power. America, Bush said was "back." After a "decade of neglect" during which "those in charge seemed to be operating under the notion that a weaker America is a more secure America," President Reagan had re-built U.S. military power to the point where America could once again face down the Soviet threat. [316]

Although the crowd cheered Bush, there was one disgruntled onlooker. Former President Gerald Ford had not appreciated Bush's references and later sharply reminded the Vice President and presidential chief of staff James A. Baker that all three of them had been in power during the so-called "decade of neglect." Bush and Baker apologized to Ford and promised the former president that future stump speeches would be substantially modified. Two days later, however, Bush delivered the same speech with only minor modifications. More deliveries by Bush—and a few by Reagan himself—prompted Ford to address an angry missive to Baker that expressed his dismay as to why the speech had not been altered. He received no reply.[317]

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[316] Gil Troy, Morning in America: How Ronald Reagan Invented the 1980s (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 12-13.

[317] Ibid.

Troy attributes Baker's apparent insensitivity to political necessity. Ford was asking Baker to alter the "decade of neglect" narrative. Narratives, which are nothing more than short interpretive accounts of people and events, are an integral part of politics everywhere. Narratives tell a story and interpret events in order to shape the public image of political figures. In this particular case, the "decade of neglect" narrative told the story of how Reagan had appeared at a critical moment in history to re-arm and re-vitalize a weakened and demoralized America. As the central foreign policy narrative of the first Reagan Administration, this narrative was the source of Reagan's highly successful public image. It is not surprising, therefore, that Ford's request received short shrift. The president's advisors were, in a sense, being asked to jettison the political equivalent of a gold mine.

Reagan, however, was not the author of this narrative. It was the latest manifestation of a singular narrative that had emerged from neoconservative thought during Scoop Jackson's efforts to win the 1972 Democratic presidential nomination. America, the original narrative went, was facing a crisis. America's values were being undermined by the radical forces of the counterculture and the New Left. Deeply hostile to the foundational values of upon which the American political system and society rested, the radicals now sought, through the election of George McGovern, to completely re-orient U.S. society toward their values and preferences. Only a strong leader, possessed of extraordinary moral clarity, could prevent America's descent into a welter of "acid, amnesty and abortion," and restore the nations' values and sense of purpose.[318]

Jackson, however, was unable to translate this narrative into political success despite several apparent advantages. In both 1972 and 1976, he was well-funded, nationally known and free of scandal. Jackson also had a solid Congressional record in areas of traditional

[318] "The Long Journey to Disaster," Time (November 20, 1972): 15.

liberal interest, such as labor, energy, and the environment. Moreover, in both 1972 and 1976, Jackson contested for the Democratic nomination against opponents with significant political liabilities. What, then, went wrong?

Jackson's political failures were, in the main, attributable to his inability to answer a single question: What about Vietnam? In 1972, the question was a literal one. In 1976, the question was a metaphor for the direction of U.S. foreign policy in the wake of Vietnam.

In both instances, the insufficiency of the neoconservative narrative in this instance reflected the state of the movement. Jackson's inability to answer the question of Vietnam was reflective of the neoconservatives' ideological rigidity. Accustomed to thinking in absolute terms and dedicated to a Manichean conception of the Cold War, they were unable to adapt their world-view to the rapidly changing international environment. Indeed, for all their success in the world of bureaucratic politics, the neoconservatives might have remained in permanent opposition if not for the appearance of Ronald Reagan. Reagan, with his sensitivity to the political tenor of the times, was able to answer the question of Vietnam and—for reasons that we will examine—do what Jackson had been unable to do: translate the neoconservative narrative into political success.

Moral Minority: The 1972 Campaign and The Coalition for a Democratic Majority

In September 1970, Scoop Jackson was planning to mount an intense effort for the Democratic presidential nomination. At first, Jackson had been hesitant to run. He had been a strong supporter of the war from the early days of the decision to intervene in Vietnam and was convinced that this record would disqualify him as a viable candidate. Recent polling, however, showed that many voters regarded social issues such as crime, school busing and

the economy at least as or more important as Vietnam. In light of this polling data, Jackson planned to run on a platform that emphasized his devotion to middle-class values and concerns.[319]

In order to carry his case to the voters, Jackson quickly constructed a small but experienced campaign organization. Jackson's boyhood friend and long-time political hand John Salter ran the logistics of the campaign, while election strategy was the responsibility of former Johnson Administration officials Ben Wattenberg and Richard Scammon. Facing an array of formidable candidates, such as Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-ME), Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D-MN), Mayor John Lindsay of New York City, Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) and Sen. George McGovern (D-SD), Wattenberg and Scammon quickly enlisted the aid of number of older Democratic figures, such as Richard Schifter, Max Kampelman, Eugene Rostow, Peter Rosenblatt, George Ball and Paul Nitze. As veterans of the Truman, Kennedy and/or Johnson administrations, these men possessed an enormous store of political and policy experience.

In order to help craft the campaign's policy positions, Wattenberg launched an effort to recruit academics and specialists in various fields. He quickly found that among those intellectuals for whom Vietnam was the central issue, support for Jackson was almost non-existent. While many, such as the sociologists Nathan Glazer and Daniel Bell, the journalist Dwight MacDonald, and the novelists Mary McCarthy and Norman Mailer were not completely comfortable with McGovern, they continued to support the South Dakota senator

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[319] Robert G. Kaufman, Henry M. Jackson: A Life in Politics (Seattle: University of Washington, 2000), pp. 157-160; Richard J. Whalen, "Will the Real Majority Stand Up for Scoop Jackson?," New York Times, October 3, 1971, p. 13; R.W. Apple, Jr., "Jackson Courted by Party Hawks," New York Times, February 7, 1971, p. 27; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Sen. Jackson's Game Plan, Washington Post, June 14, 1971, p. 3.

for his commitment to immediate disengagement in Vietnam. Others, such as the sociologist Robert Nisbet, the socialist activist Max Shachtman and former RAND analyst Herman Kahn, were unenthusiastic Nixon supporters who believed the president's "Vietnamization" policy to be the best of an array of bad choices.[320]

Wattenberg's recruitment efforts were more successful among those intellectuals who supported the war in Vietnam. Norman Podhoretz, the editor of Commentary magazine, and his wife, the writer Midge Decter, regarded Vietnam as a well-intentioned, if not particularly well thought out consequence of containment. Although Podhoretz had opposed large-scale intervention in Vietnam, he had come to support the war effort. He believed that it was possible to bring the war to a successful conclusion in which the Republic of Vietnam remained a sovereign state, free of Communist domination. The most likely outcome, the couple believed, would be for the war to end in a negotiated settlement, as had been the case in Korea.

Podhoretz and Decter also believed that it was possible for the war to end in disaster. If it turned out that America no longer possessed the moral clarity and courage necessary to prosecute the war, the result would be a humiliating unilateral and unconditional withdrawal. Decter and Podhoretz had detected a Weimar-like breakdown of values in the national culture since the 1950s, and the appearance of the New Left, the counterculture, and the various social movements seemed to indicate that America's moral crisis was accelerating. In their view, the domestic turmoil associated with Vietnam was both symptomatic of, and a catalyst for the destructive impulses that they perceived at work in American culture.

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[320] Sidney Blumenthal, "Dateline Washington: The Conservative Crackup," Foreign Policy 69 (Winter 1987-1988): 179; Tevi Troy, Intellectuals and the American Presidency: philosophers, jesters or technicians? (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), p. 110.

Jeane Kirkpatrick also believed that an American loss of moral clarity was a dangerous development. A former Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) member-turned-political scientist, Kirkpatrick had come to regard the Soviet Union as the primary threat to Western civilization. While Kirkpatrick regarded Vietnam as an important arena in the global contest with Communism, the outcome of the war would not determine the outcome of the larger Soviet-American contest. A loss of nerve in the face of growing Soviet power, however, could be fatal. Unlike many older Democrats, she did not believe that it would be possible to simply contain the Soviet Union while hoping for it to mellow. Indeed, Kirkpatrick, like Podhoretz and a number of other figures associated with the Jackson campaign, believed that if the Soviet Union were to change at all, it would be for the worse. Only a stiffening of spine at home, coupled with a muscular activism abroad and a determined and confident leadership could attenuate the Soviet threat. [321]

The conviction shared by Podhoretz, Decter and Kirkpatrick that America was in the grip of a moral crisis with foreign policy implications derived from the thought of Hannah Arendt. Kirkpatrick had studied political theory under Arendt at Columbia, while Podhoretz claims to have experienced something of an epiphany upon encountering Arendt's monumental The Origins of Totalitarianism, in 1951. Under Arendt's influence, the young neoconservatives came to regard ideas and values as the agents that shaped the *regime*. This

[321] For examples of the neoconservatives' cultural critique, see Midge Decter, "Women at Work," Commentary (March 1961): 243-250, The Liberated Woman and Other Americans (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan,1970), The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1972); Norman Podhoretz, "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," Partisan Review (Spring 1958): 316-318, "My Negro Problem and Ours," Commentary (February 1963): 93-101, Doings and Undoings: The Fifties and After in American Writing (Farar, Straus, 1964), "Reflections on Earth Day," Commentary (June 1970): 26, 28. For examples of Podhoretz's views on the connections between Vietnam, American culture and the anti-war movement, see: Norman Podhoretz, "First Things, and Last," Commentary (July 1970): 28-33, "Like Fathers, Like Sons," Commentary (August 1970): 21, "New Hypocrisies," Commentary (December 1970): 5-6, Why We Were in Vietnam (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982). For an interesting look into Kirkpatrick's views on the connection between American culture and Vietnam, see Jeane Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

classical view of the integral nature of culture and politics was the basis of their conception of an American moral crisis. Kirkpatrick, in particular, applied this classical, anti-modernist view to her diagnosis of the American crisis by characterizing the counterculture and the anti-war movement as products of a Nietzschean "transvaluation of American values."

Podhoretz and Kirkpatrick also seem to have internalized Arendt's view of Soviet Communism. Like Arendt, both Podhoretz and Kirkpatrick perceived the Soviet state as a political manifestation of Evil. They also believed that the Soviet Union was incorrigibly committed to the conquest of the world. In both regards, Podhoretz and Kirkpatrick saw the Soviet Union as an analogue to Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union, however, appeared as even more dangerous than Nazi Germany. Fascism had never garnered the loyalties of young intellectuals in the West, and it had never possessed strategic nuclear weapons.[322]

Kirkpatrick's and Podhoretz's view of Soviet Communism was shared another group of intellectuals aligned with the Jackson campaign. Richard Pipes, Martin Malia, Adam Ulam, Leopold Labedz, Leon Gouré and Robert C. Tucker were prominent historians of Russia and Soviet Communism associated with the totalitarian school of Russian history. An anti-modernist school of thought originated by the Russian émigré Mikhail Karpovich (Harvard), the totalitarians believed that Communism was a radical form of modernity that had originated during the French Enlightenment. According to Karpovich, the seeds of Communism had been planted among the Russia intelligentsia foreign revolutionaries, degenerate intellectuals and criminals in the early nineteenth century. Despite the corruption of the intellectuals, liberalism had continued to grow and develop in Russia among the merchants and propertied farmers. World War I, however, had interrupted the development

[322] Bernard Weinraub, "Reagan's Brain-Trust: Font of Varied Ideas," New York Times, December 1, 1980, p. 1; Norman Podhoretz, Making It (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 289-290.

of liberalism, and provided an opening for Lenin and the Bolsheviks to seize power. The revolution of 1917, therefore, had not been a true "bottom-up" revolution, but rather an illegitimate coup, carried out by the adherents of a murderous ideology. Similarly, the totalitarian school regarded Stalin, not as an aberration, but as an exceptionally powerful manifestation of Communism.[323]

The totalitarian school was also one of the strongest links to Jackson's staff. Over the years, many of the totalitarian scholars had been engaged as staff consultants by Fosdick. Pipes was a particular favorite of Fosdick's, having served the staff during the national security machinery hearings of the 1950s. His grim view of Soviet Communism had helped shape Jackson and Fosdick's understanding of the nature of the Soviet Union and its intentions and now informed the campaign's position.

A more "grassroots" sort of political experience was represented by members such as Hal and Theodore Draper, Seymour Martin Lipset, Joshua Muravchik, and Penn Kemble. All were, or had once been members of the American Communist Party, the Young Person's Socialist League (YPSL), and/or the Social Democrats USA. Draper, a free-lance historian was not only a former Communist, but had also once worked at Tass. All of the "YPISLs,"

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[323] Mikhail Karpovich, Imperial Russia, 1801 – 1917 (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1932), A Lecture on Russian History (Gravenhage: Mouton, 1959); Ralph T. Fisher, Jr., "Obituary: Dimitri Sergeevich von Mohrenschildt," Russian Review v. 62, n. 1 (January 2003): 191-192; Richard Pipes, "Nikolai Nikolaevich Bolkhovitinov, Russkie uchenye-emigranty (G. V. Vernadskii, M. M. Karpovich, M. T. Florinskii) i stanovlenie rusistiki v SShA," Kritika 7, 2 (Spring 2006): 383-385, The formation of the Soviet Union, Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), Europe Since 1815 (New York: Heritage Publishing Co., 1970), Russia Under the Old Regime (New York: Scribner, 1974); Revisionism: Essays on the History of Marxist Ideas ed. Leopold Labedz, (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1962); Leon Gouré, et al., Convergence of Communism and Capitalism: The Soviet View (Washington, DC: Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1973); Robert C. Tucker, Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1961), The Marxian Revolutionary Idea (New York: Norton, 1969). Other members of the totalitarian school include Karpovich students, Leopold Haimson, Marc Raeff, Donald Treadgold and Nicholas Riasanovsky. Dimitri von Mohrenschildt, Robert V. Daniels, Walter Lacquer, Robert Conquest, Merle Fainsod and Leonard Schapiro are also generally considered to be totalitarian school scholars although they did not study under Karpovich. George Vernadsky, Karpovich's fellow émigré and sometime writing partner is also generally considered to be a totalitarian school scholar.

as they were known were also highly versed in organizing and veterans of the ferocious factional struggles that seem to have been endemic to socialist political groups.[324]

Thus constituted, the Jackson campaign entered the Democratic primaries. Despite the crowded field, the Jackson forces, at Kemble's recommendation, focused on McGovern as the primary threat. Part of the reason for McGovern's strength, in Kemble's view, was that McGovern seemed to have an almost exclusive command of the political Left. Social activists of all stripes, as well as various left-leaning independent groups, counterculture figures, and the majority of the party's anti-war faction flocked to McGovern's banner. Collectively known as the "New Politics," McGovern's supporters were generally young, diverse, highly motivated, and disorganized. The policy preferences of the New Politics was reflected in his platform, which many regarded as one of most radical Democratic platforms ever assembled. A strong anti-war stance, which called for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam, legalization of abortion, a guaranteed minimum income, marijuana legalization and an Equal Rights Amendment constituted the main planks of McGovern's platform.

Wattenberg and Kemble also expected McGovern to derive considerable strength from recent changes in the way Democratic Party delegates were selected. The result of an overhaul of party processes overseen by McGovern himself in 1968, the new system reserved a certain number of delegate posts for traditionally under-represented groups, such as women, African-Americans, Native Americans and gays. Since these groups tended to

[324] Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Anti-New Politics Liberals," Washington Post November 12, 1972, p. B6; "Moderates Start Democratic Group," New York Times, November 13, 1972, p. 40; Decter, pp. 33-40.

overwhelmingly favor McGovern, he was expected to command the support of all of these delegates.[325]

In the spring of 1971, the Jackson forces launched an assault on McGovern that focused on his "radical vision" for America. Jackson, for instance, repeatedly observed that McGovern was supported by radical activists Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman and other authors of the counterculture. These people, Jackson maintained, were "intolerant extremists who have come to despise America." A McGovern victory would mean entrusting the country to "an absolute radical left-fringe" that would seek to legalize marijuana and on-demand abortion, while granting amnesty to draftees that had fled to Canada to avoid service in Vietnam. Encapsulated in the alliterative and exaggerated slogan, "acid, amnesty and abortion," Jackson's attacks foreshadowed the Republican attacks on McGovern and the New Politics in the coming general election.[326]

The Jackson campaign's claims that McGovern and the New Politics represented a threat to American values and society were echoed in neoconservative writings, with Podhoretz's Commentary magazine in the lead. Crime, drugs and the radicalization of youth were the most prominent themes. Podhoretz himself conflated the "revolutionists" of the New Left with the Sabbateans, a heretical seventeenth century Jewish sect that denied the authority of Talmudic law and declared their rabbi, Sabbatai Zevi (who later converted to Islam) to be the Messiah. In a forceful 1971 article entitled "The Tribe of the Wicked Son,"

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[325] Penn Kemble and Joshua Muravchik, "The New Politics and the Democrats," Commentary (December 1972):77-85; R.W. Apple, "McGovern Aides Hopeful on Reinstating Delegates," New York Times, July 1, 1972, p. 22.

[326] R.W. Apple, Jr., "Democratic 'Truce' is Falling Apart," New York Times, May 21, 1971, p. 14, Tom Wicker, "Jackson and the Left," New York Times, May 23, 1971, p. 17. Rick Perlstein, Nixonland: The Rise of a President and the Fracturing of America (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), p. 654; Jeane Kirkpatrick, "The Revolt of the Masses," Commentary (February 1973): 60;

Podhoretz warned his Jewish readers that their flirtations with the New Left might one day lead an anti-Semitic backlash.[327]

Wattenberg and Kemble also attempted to formulate a Democratic version of Nixon's "Southern strategy" to draw support from Wallace. In February, Jackson introduced a bill in the Senate introducing a constitutional amendment guaranteeing "school choice." The practical consequence of this amendment would be to effectively roll back the federal court order that allowed school districts to use busing to achieve desegregation. Podhoretz supported the Jackson bill with an article in which he argued that based on his own experience, integrated schools "bore not the slightest resemblance to the rosy fantasies being scattered about in those days by the prevailing winds of liberal opinion . . . in my own experience it had led to violence and greater animosity." This attempt at a southern strategy was, however a failure. Jackson had a long record of support for civil rights and Southern segregationists had a long memory.[328]

There also seems to have been a conscious decision early on by the Jackson campaign to avoid discussion of foreign and military affairs in order to avoid becoming entangled in any lengthy debates about Vietnam. Although the polls had shown Vietnam to be a secondary issue among some voters, the recent lowering of the voting age meant that during the 1972 election there would be 25 million new youth voters. "Anybody who thinks the youth vote doesn't matter," Wattenberg told the New York Times, "is an idiot."

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[327] Penn Kemble, "Rediscovering American Labor," Commentary (April 1971): 45-52; Norman Podhoretz, "Redemption Through Politics," Commentary (January 1971): 4, 6. "The Tribe of the Wicked Son," Commentary (February 1971): 6, 10, "Speak of the Devil," Commentary (April 1971): 6, "Liberty and the Intellectuals," Commentary (November 1971): 6; James Q. Wilson, "Crime and the Liberal Audience," Commentary (January 1971): 71-78, "Liberalism versus Liberal Education Commentary (June 1972): 50-51; Robert Nisbet, "The Future of the University," Commentary (February 1971): 62-71.

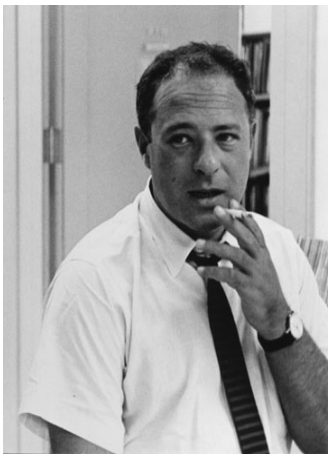
[328] Tom Wicker, "The Jackson Amendment," New York Times, February 15, 1972, p. 33; Norman Podhoretz, "School Integration and Liberal Opinion," Commentary (March 1972): 38-43; George Lardner, "Big Vote Expected in Florida," Washington Post, March 14, 1972, p. 1.

7.1 The 1972 Election

1972 Jackson campaign ephemera. Note that despite the appellation "troops" to describe his supporters, the image of Jackson is dressed as a baseball player. The original drawing was of the senator in a military uniform, but was changed when campaign manager John Salter concluded that it would conjure up images of Vietnam in voters' minds.

Scoop and Helen Jackson greet delegates at the 1972 Democratic National Convention in Miami.

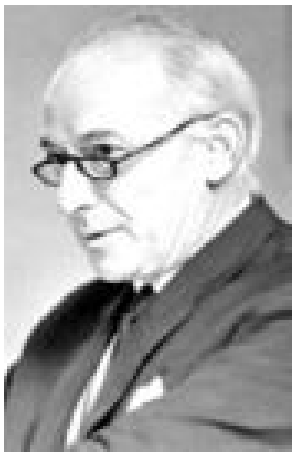
7.2 The Coalition for a Democratic Majority



Norman Podhoretz
Editor of Commentary.

Midge Decter
Podhoretz's wife and noted cultural critic.

Ben Wattenberg
A former Humphrey speech writer and journalist, Wattenberg represented the liberal old guard of the Democratic Party.

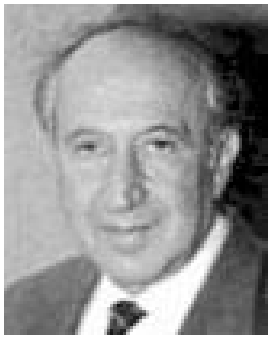


Eugene Rostow
Under-Secretary of State in the Johnson Administration.

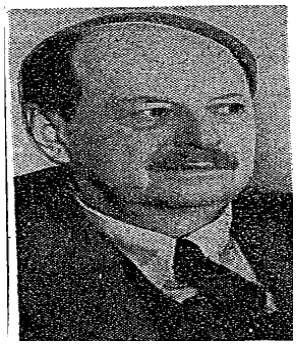
Penn Kemble
A professional activist with the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Social Democrats USA, his organizing skills kept the CDM from folding in its first year.

Theodore Draper
A former member of the American Communist Party, Draper became a distinguished freelance historian. His attacks on détente were particularly scathing.

Jeane Kirkpatrick
A former YPSL member and political theorist, Kirkpatrick's writings attracted the attention of Ronald Reagan.



Richard Pipes
A Karpovich student and historian of nineteenth century Russia, Pipes succeeded Karpovich as head of the Russian Center at Harvard.



Mikhail Karpovich
Former *Kadet* Party member, he was the founder of the anti-modern "totalitarian" school of Russian history in the U.S.

Martin Malia
Another product of Karpovich's seminars, Malia maintained that Stalin was not an historical aberration, but the main manifestation of Soviet Communism.

Wattenberg also realized that Vietnam would be the primary issue among these young voters. Although a few carefully-worded articles did appear that discussed Vietnam and foreign policy, the pages of journals and newspapers remained undisturbed. While Jackson was not averse to telling residents of towns with nearby military bases that McGovern planned to turn their towns into "ghost towns," for the most part he avoided any substantive discussion of foreign affairs. This strategy severely limited Jackson's effectiveness insofar as foreign affairs and military issues were his areas of expertise. The strategy also prevented Jackson from making inroads among Republicans and independents disenchanted with Nixon. A definite opportunity to glean unaffiliated and disaffected independent voters existed, for instance, in the critical early state of New Hampshire. Many independent conservatives—as well as a number of prominent Republicans—agreed with Jackson's narrative of an American moral crisis. Jackson, however, was unable to capitalize.[329]

The Jackson campaign was also hamstrung by the McGovern campaign's insistence on talking about Vietnam. While much of his rhetoric focused on the immorality and human costs of the war, in the spring of 1972 McGovern began to link the costs of Vietnam to the inflationary pressures on the economy. In a period of "stagflation," this bit of message refinement was quite effective and by the summer, McGovern had gained a distinct advantage over his fellow Democrats. Heading into the July convention, McGovern had almost as many committed delegates as Jackson, Wallace and Chisholm combined.[330]

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[329] Steven B. Roberts, "'72 Strategists See the Youth Vote as Vital," New York Times, December 26, 1971, p. 45; Eugene Rostow, "Eight Foreign Policies for the United States: Which is Yours?," New York Times Magazine (April 1972): 16-18; Bill Kovach, "Nixon's Too Left-Wing for William Loeb," Manchester Union Leader, December 11, 1971, p. 1. William F. Buckley, Jr., "Say It Isn't So, Mr. President," New York Times, August 1, 1971, p. 8.

[330] William Chapman, "McGovern's New Strategy: Stress War, Taxes and Inflation," Washington Post, March 17, 1972, p. 1.

Faced with the prospect of McGovern as the Democratic nominee, many prominent Democrats were stirred to action. Some, like Georgia governor Jimmy Carter, resolved to mount an "anybody but McGovern" floor fight at the convention in Miami. Others, like Jackson supporters Irving Kristol, editor of The Public Interest, and his wife, the historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, simply threw their support to Nixon. Himmelfarb, a former student of Strauss at Chicago, had been a long-time Democrat from a family with a long history of Democratic activism. Her departure, therefore, registered as something of a shock to her fellow Jackson supporters. While Kristol's departure was more understandable—he had just taken a job at the Wall Street Journal—most neoconservatives felt that his intellect would be sorely missed by the movement. Still others, like Glazer and Bell, decided to simply sit out the election. All of these groups believed not only would McGovern lose the general election to Nixon, but also that his nomination would also signal a permanent turn for the party toward the positions of the New Left.[331]

The majority of Jackson's supporters, unwilling to accept a Democratic Party dominated by the New Left, decided to mount a counter-insurgent movement: the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. The CDM was envisioned by Wattenberg as an American "ginger group," or "an organization that inspires others with demonstrated enthusiasm and activeness." In this regard, the members chose the British Fabian Society as their model. They also planned to adopt the Fabian's guerilla strategy of weakening numerically superior enemies through strength of argument and political harassment rather than through pitched battles. They would make up for their lack of numbers through sheer tenacity.

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[331] R.W. Apple, Jr., "Governor's Group Charts anti-McGovern Strategy," New York Times, June 4, 1972, p. 60; Norman Podhoretz, "Between Nixon and the New Politics," Commentary (September 1972), pp. 43-50; Nina J. Easton, Gang of Five (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), p. 31.

The CDM's immediate goal was to rid the Democratic Party of the influence of the McGovernites by lobbying for a return to the delegate selection rules that had existed prior to 1971. Operating under these older rules, which did not "reserve" a certain number of delegates for under-represented groups within the party, Wattenberg and Scammon believed, would move the party back toward more centrist positions and help marginalize those elements of the counterculture and the New Left that claimed Democratic affiliation. The CDM's longer term goal was to promote Jackson as the Democratic nominee for 1976. To this end, the CDM sought to re-group and re-energize prominent Democrats, while attracting influential figures of both parties who, for one reason or another, did not feel comfortable with either the New Left or the Nixon Administration's dealings with the Soviet Union. In order to achieve this objective, the CDM leadership, Wattenberg, Kemble, Decter and Podhoretz, resolved to continue to refine the campaign narrative of a disintegrating American culture. Vietnam was omitted.[332]

The CDM's official manifesto debuted on December 7, 1972; exactly one month after Nixon won the general election by the biggest landslide in history. Written by Decter and Podhoretz, the manifesto appeared as a full-page ad in the New York Times and the Washington Post. Entitled "Come Home, Democrats" (a reference to the McGovern campaign slogan "Come Home, America"), the CDM piece was both an assignation of blame for the disaster of the 1972 and a declaration of war on the New Left. The CDM flatly asserted that the New Left, which had "sneered at the greatness of America," was primarily to blame for the Nixon landslide. Secondarily, the Republicans had "usurped" the values of

[332] Ben Wattenberg, Fighting Words: A Tale of How Liberals Created Neo-Conservatism (New York: Macmillan, 2008), pp. 135-136, 141.

the "Democratic tradition." There was, however, no mention of Vietnam or of foreign affairs in general, save for an oblique reference to "past miscalculations."[333]

Between McGovern's defeat and the 1974 mid-term party convention, the CDM busied itself with financing the CDM, formulating political strategy and promoting Jackson as the 1976 nominee. In regard to the CDM's organization, Wattenberg and Decter hired Kemble as a full time executive director. An organizer and administrator of the first rank, Kemble was also a proficient fund-raiser. In short order Kemble succeeded in forming alliances with two of the most prominent labor leaders in America, Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, and Al Barkan, the director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education. Both men provided the CDM with financial and moral support.[334]

The CDM also sought to capitalize on the Nixon landslide. The sheer scale of McGovern's defeat, they hoped, would strengthen the CDM's hand in the intra-party political debate at the Democratic mid-term convention in Kansas City in 1974. A review of the delegate selection procedures was on the agenda and the new party chairman, Robert Strauss, was planning a debate and a vote on the rules. The CDM's position was that the rules favored left-of center candidates unlikely to appeal to voters in general election.[335]

The CDM also began an intensive effort to position Jackson for 1976. The main targets were journalists and potential campaign donors. Labor leaders, disaffected

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[333] Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Anti-New Politics Liberals," Washington Post, November 12, 1972, p. 7; The Coalition for a Democratic Majority, "Come Home, Democrats," New York Times, December 7, 1972, p. 14.

[334] Wattenberg, pp. 138-139.

[335] Midge Decter, An Old Wife's Tale: My Seven Decades in Love and War (New York: Regan Books, 2001), p. 37; Seymour M. Lipset, "Steady Work: An Academic Memoir," Annual Review of Sociology, v. 22 (1996): 1-27.

Republicans, academics and select career bureaucrats were also targeted. Although the group's promotional efforts were rather amateurish—the *modus operandi* being a banquet at which some sort of "award" to be given to a distinguished business or political figure—the CDM managed to raise a substantial war-chest. Held at the Sheraton Carlton hotel in Washington, the main draws at these soirees were Jackson, Humphrey or some other prominent Democratic politician. The CDM also launched monthly mail fund-raising appeals, and held discussion roundtables outside of Washington that sometimes drew the attention of the Washington Post, Time or Newsweek.[336]

The centerpiece of the CDM's message in speeches and fundraising appeals remained the moral crisis narrative that had been featured during the campaign. Vietnam remained unmentioned. The CDM's silence on Vietnam after the election reflected Jackson's continuing reticence to talk about the war. While the CDM's speeches and mailings, expressed support for a "strong national defense," there was very little in the way of specific policy recommendations. The CDM's reticence in this regard is, of course, quire understandable. The organization was simply on the wrong side of the issue politically and Jackson, Wattenberg and the other CDM leaders knew it. Very little had changed on the political plane since the election, and barring the sudden appearance of any new strategy there remained only two possible positions: Nixon's or McGovern's.

Thus Vietnam remained an obstacle to the emergence of a politically viable public narrative. While the Soviet Union remained the primary neoconservative target of their bureaucratic-political efforts in Washington, calls to re-orient U.S. foreign toward the roll-back favored by Jackson, Fosdick and Perle appeared a hard sale to make. In the absence of some particularly blatant Soviet provocation, such muscular activism looked too much like

[336] Wattenberg, pp. 148-149.

the crusading zeal that had landed the United States in Vietnam. As for security policy, most policy discussions involved extremely esoteric strategic calculations about nuclear weaponry that were not easily translated into political talking-points. Two issues, however, were about to arise that promised to help the neoconservatives construct a narrative capable of transcending Vietnam and defining a new direction for U.S. foreign policy.

The Narrative Refined: Jackson-Vanik and the Yom Kippur War

The first issue that might have served as the basis for a new neoconservative foreign policy narrative was human rights. Human rights as an issue had come into focus in official Washington and among informed observers in 1971 as a result of Soviet restrictions on Jewish emigration. The Soviet restrictions prompted Mark Talisman, a staffer in the office of Rep. Charles Vanik (D-OH), to come up with the idea of linking Jewish emigration to Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status for the Soviet Union. Although Vanik had gone so far as to codify this idea in a bill, the legislation remained in limbo until 1972, when it was lent a new impetus by the Soviet decision to institute an "exit tax"—sometimes up to $30,000 per person—on Soviet Jews who wished to emigrate.

The main thrust of Vanik's bill involved denying the Soviet Union MFN, then under negotiation, until it eased the exit restrictions on Soviet Jews. The very idea of tying MFN to Jewish emigration all but guaranteed a forceful response from the administration. The economic aspect of détente was, as Kissinger never tired of pointing out, was a crucial and integral component of détente. Without the "carrot" of Soviet-American economic

cooperation, the entire edifice of détente would be at risk—which is precisely why Jackson, Fosdick and Perle sought to promote it.[337]

Almost from the moment the amendment appeared in the House as Vanik-Mills (H.R. 10710), the Nixon Administration began warning members of Congress and anyone else who would listen that Vanik-Mills was dangerous to détente. These warnings, mainly delivered in private asides by Kissinger, seemed to presume that the measure would only manage to insult the Soviets and would never become law. Jackson immediately placed his name on the bill as the primary Senate sponsor and, almost as immediately, began to negotiate with the administration over its particulars. Kissinger still does not seem to have believed that the amendment, now called Jackson-Vanik, would ever become law. Yet he realized that in Jackson's hands, the bill could greatly complicate Soviet-American relations. As a result, the White House began to tout the potential economic benefits of détente to Jackson's corporate supporters in an effort to pressure him indirectly.

Jackson, however, was not as susceptible to the White House's strategy as Nixon and Kissinger had assumed. While he did depend greatly on corporate largesse, his largest and most reliable corporate supporters were not likely to engage in commerce with the Soviets. Most were businesses that realized enormous revenue streams from U.S. military contracts, such Boeing, Martin Marietta and Thompson-Ramo-Woolridge. This attachment to firms

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[337] There are very few substantive academic works on the origins and implications of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. The handful that do exist tend to focus on the interaction between the Nixon and Ford Administrations and the American Jewish Congress. See: Petrus Buwalda, They Did Not Dwell Alone: Jewish Emigration from the Soviet Union, 1967-1990 (Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press 1997); Edward Drachman, Challenging the Kremlin: The Soviet Jewish Movement for Freedom, 1967-1990 (New York: Paragon House, 1991); Henry Feingold, Silent No More": Saving the Jews of Russia, The American Jewish Effort, 1967-1989 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007); A Second Exodus: The American Movement to Free Soviet Jews, ed. Murray Friedman and Albert D. Chernin (Waltham: Bradeis University Press, 1999); Fred A. Lazin, The Struggle for Soviet Jewry in American Politics: Israel versus the American Jewish Establishment (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); Annelise Orleck, The Soviet Jewish Americans (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999).

doing mainly national security business with the government meant that Jackson was insulated from Kissinger's argument about the economic benefits of détente.[338]

The high drama that was now building around Jackson-Vanik in the Congress appeared to be tailor-made for the CDM to promote Jackson and his—and the CDM's—view of Soviet behavior. This, however, was not the case. Despite the popular mythology that the neoconservatives have always represented a unified and cohesive front, or have always acted in the interests of the Jews, the majority of the CDM's membership does not seem to have lent much support to Jackson-Vanik. Indeed, there is no evidence that any of the leading CDM members—not Podhoretz, Decter, Lipset, Pipes, Wattenberg, Rostow, Draper, Kemble, Muravchik or Kirkpatrick—uttered or wrote one public word in support of Jackson-Vanik at the time.

There were exceptions. Bayard Rustin, a prominent civil rights leader, led a group called the Black Americans Support Israel Committee (BASIC) in a demonstration in Washington in support of Jackson-Vanik, while Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, lobbied congressmen on behalf of the amendment. Similarly, Marshall I. Goldman, a historian of Russia who had studied under Pipes at Harvard, appeared on a debate panel on the public television program, "The Advocates." The AFL-CIO was also a staunch supporter of the legislation, although the labor organization's motives were less altruistic than those of Rustin, Shanker, and Goldman. AFL-CIO president George Meany simply feared that without Jackson-Vanik, American corporations, lured by the

[338] Whalen, p. 13; Decter, p. 39; Arlene Kurtis and Sandra Goldberg, "The Jackson-Vanik Amendment: The Back Story," Midstream (September/October 2005): 28.

prospect of ultra-low wages, would rush to transfer as many jobs as possible to the Soviet Union.[339]

The CDM's puzzling lack of support for Jackson-Vanik may have reflected the wider debate among American Jews over the merits and potential implications of the bill. Some Jewish Americans feared—and rightfully so—Soviet reprisals against Jews remaining in the Soviet Union. Others, meanwhile, were fearful of wrecking détente because they believed that increased commerce with the Soviet Union would eventually "democratize" and ameliorate Soviet behavior. Given the neoconservative antipathy toward détente, however, as well as their usual lack of inhibitions in criticizing Soviet policy, neither of these objections seems to explain the CDM's behavior.

It is also unlikely that the CDM members were swayed by the Nixon Administration's argument that only gradual, incremental improvement of Soviet-American relations along a broad political, economic and military front would benefit the Soviet Union's Jewish citizens. Kissinger, in his conversations with American Jewish leaders, did manage to sow doubt about Jackson-Vanik in the minds of some. Max Fisher and Jacob Stein, the leaders of the umbrella-group, the Conference of President of Major Jewish Organizations, took the administration's position to their member organizations. At the group's conference in New York, however, the member organizations not only overwhelmingly voted to support Jackson-Vanik, but also roundly denounced Fisher as a dupe of the administration.[340]

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[339] James Kirchick, "Commemorating the Struggle for Soviet Jewry," Commentary (December 2007): 33; Marshall I. Goldman, "Jackson-Vanik: A Dissent," Second Exodus, p. 17-22.

[340] J.J. Goldberg, Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment (New York: Basic Books, 1997), p. 170.

There is also the possibility that the CDM was silent about Jackson-Vanik so as not to anger would-be corporate supporters. A number of multi-national U.S. corporations, Pepsi, IBM, and Occidental Petroleum, either had projects already underway in the Soviet Union, or were planning significant new investments there. Indeed, a number of these corporations formed an interest group called The Emergency Committee on American Trade, headed by the Pepsi-Cola Corporation's CEO, Donald Kendall. Perceiving the Soviet Union and China as potential new markets, these corporations were very alarmed at the potential chilling effect that Jackson-Vanik could have on détente. While there is little evidence that any of the CDM members—other than possibly Max Kampelman—had a personal financial stake in American investment in the Soviet Union, they may have feared the discontinuation of corporate and foundation support for the various organizations with which the neoconservatives were affiliated. Podhoretz's Commentary, for instance, was certainly vulnerable to financial manipulation. Despite the magazine's ostensible position as a financial ward of the non-profit American Jewish Committee, Podhoretz had long solicited and received donations from outside corporate sources.[341]

On December 11, 1972, Jackson-Vanik passed the House by a resounding 319 to 80. The bill now moved to the Senate where it passed into the Senate, where Fosdick and Perle anticipated a much steeper climb. Even now, the majority of CDM members—save the handful that had supported the bill during its House passage—made no effort to support Jackson-Vanik. Jackson's staff, aware that little outside help was in the offing, began an intense round of senatorial arm-twisting. By the fall, however, the administration had fought

[341] William Korey, "Jackson-Vanik: A 'Policy of Principle,'" A Second Exodus, p. 105; "Two Directors are Named for Struther-Wells Corporation," New York Times, August 17, 1966, p. 79; Andrew Silow-Carroll, "'Perestroika' at the AJC," Washington Jewish Week, February 15, 1990, pp. 17-18.

the Jackson forces to a stalemate. Détente simply remained too popular among the American people and in the Congress for Jackson to acquire sufficient votes.

The second issue around which a new neoconservative narrative might have been organized was Israel. This issue arose on October 6, 1973 when Egyptian and Syrian forces attacked Israel. Sweeping towards Israel from the Sinai in the south and the Golan Heights in the north, the Arab forces advanced for the first forty-eight hours. By October 9, however, the Israelis were poised to advance into Syria proper, and had begun to counterattack in the Sinai. The same day, the Soviet Union began re-supplying the Egyptians, while Nixon authorized a massive airlift of supplies to Israel. Over the next two weeks, the fronts shifted back and forth until on the night of the 23rd, the Soviets cabled Washington that they planned to intervene unless the Israelis ceased hostilities. The Nixon Administration responded by placing U.S. strategic forces on heightened alert, and the Soviets relented on their threat. By the 24th, all sides had accepted a United Nations brokered ceasefire, effectively bringing hostilities to a conclusion.[342]

The Yom Kippur war (as it came to be known) ignited a storm of neoconservative criticism against détente. Realizing that the Soviets had now supplied a rational for a public assault against détente, the neoconservatives became as vocal and unrelenting in their criticisms of détente as they had been silent about Jackson-Vanik and Vietnam. One of the main lines of criticism, as put forth by Herbert Dinerstein, was that the war proved the ineffectualness of détente and the value of superior U.S. strategic power. After all, many

[342] Edgar O'Ballance, No Victor, No Vanquished: The Yom Kippur War (San Rafael: Presidio, 1979), pp. 1-2, 5, 25, 37, 108, 329-330. Although there is no paucity of books on the Yom Kippur War, two of the more detailed works, particularly in regard to the pre-war intelligence are: Michael I. Handel, Perception, Deception and Surprise: The Case of the Yom Kippur War (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1976); and Abraham Rabinowich, The Yom Kippur War: Epic Encounter that Transformed the Middle East (New York: Schocken, 2004). The definitive account remains that of O'Ballance.

neoconservatives argued, it had been the U.S. threat of nuclear retaliation that had prevented a Soviet-American conflict in the Middle East. Other criticisms made claims about various political dangers that attended détente. The former socialist-turned-OSS operative-turned-anti-modernist scholar, James Burnham claimed that because the Soviets saw détente as a sign of U.S. weakness, they had been emboldened to threaten intervention. Podhoretz argued that détente appeared to be leading to the "Taiwanization" of Israel, whereby the Jewish state would be "abandoned under cover of diplomatic euphemisms by the United States for the sake of a settlement with the Russians." Draper went even further, accusing Nixon of allowing domestic politics to drive foreign policy. "The more the president was forced to wallow in the Watergate and associated ignominies," he wrote in Commentary, "the harder Mr. Nixon tried to sell the blessings of détente." Rostow took up Draper's line and Kissinger felt compelled to call a news conference to deny that détente was being oversold to mitigate the effects of Watergate.[343]

An equally worrisome development from Nixon's perspective was conservative participation in the criticism of détente. Indeed, the zeal with which conservative Republicans piled on seemed to betray a certain amount of suppressed unhappiness with Nixon. William F. Buckley, the editor of conservatism's flagship weekly, National Review,

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[343] James Burnham, "Bulletins from the Détente Front," National Review (July 20, 1973): 779, "Détente Trap," National Review (September 28, 1973): 1046, "War, Arms, Détente, NATO, Oil," National Review (November 23, 1973): 1291, "Détente," National Review (August 2, 1974): 857; H.S. Dinerstein, "Post-Nuclear Diplomacy: The Stability of Détente," Nation (November 23, 1974): 529-532; Theodore Draper, "From 1967 to 1973: The Arab-Israeli Wars," Commentary (December 1973): 4-44, "Détente," Commentary (June 1974): 25-47; Joseph Fromm, "Détente: The Glow is Gone," U.S. News & World Report (October 29, 1973): 24-25; Bernard Gwertzman, "Détente and the Mideast," New York Times, October 18, 1973, p. 19, "Kissinger Says Diplomacy Not Used for Politics," New York Times, April 27, 1974, p. 65; Henry M. Jackson, "Détente Pitfalls," Aviation Week & Space Technology (October 8, 1973): 65-66; Walter Lacquer, "Détente: What's Left of It?," New York Times Magazine (December 16, 1973): 26-33, "Kissinger and the Politics of Détente," Commentary (December 1973): 46-52; Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, "Theodore Draper, Freelance Historian, Is Dead at 93," New York Times, February 22, 2006, p. 14; Norman Podhoretz, "Now, Instant Zionism," Commentary (February 3, 1974): 1; Irving Spiegel, "Soviet Intervention Called Peril to the U.S. by Eugene Rostow," New York Times, October 29, 1973, p. 16.

gave Burnham a permanent forum from which to attack détente and arms control, and periodically joined in the fray himself. To add insult to injury, Nixon's friend and former Defense Secretary, Melvin Laird, also began to criticize the Nixon foreign policy. Similarly, an unidentified American diplomat—a Kissinger subordinate—told U.S. News that in the wake of the Arab-Israeli war and the subsequent criticism of détente, "Henry has been cut down to size . . . few on the Hill want to see him pushed out, but . . . few now consider him indispensable."[344]

The conservative attacks on détente represented an unexpected political windfall for Jackson. The mounting criticism of the administration suggested that latent conservative distrust of the Soviets might be leveraged in support of Jackson-Vanik. In the coming months, Fosdick and Perle indeed managed to parlay conservative unhappiness into support for Jackson-Vanik. Moreover, Jackson's staff saw possibilities to gain in future battles over arms control and the defense budget.[345]

The incipient critique of détente also suggested the basis for a new foreign policy narrative for use during the 1976 presidential campaign. The elements of this narrative, that negotiation with the Soviets was futile and dangerous and that only military power could contain Soviet expansionism, had much to recommend it from the neoconservatives' perspective. Most importantly, it offered a platform from which Jackson could talk about foreign policy without reference to Vietnam. In so doing, he would also distinguish himself from Democratic supporters of détente and the neo-isolationists within the party. As a

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[344] William F. Buckley, "Vindication of Détente?," National Review (November 25, 1973): 1316-1320; Melvin R. Laird, "Let's Not Fool Ourselves About Détente," Reader's Digest 104 (February 1974): 57-60, "I Don't Think We've Reached a Détente," Forbes (July 15, 1974): 16-17; U.S. News & World Report, "Superstar Kissinger Now Facing Supertroubles" (October 28, 1974): 52.

[345] Joseph Albright, "The Pact of Two Henrys," New York Times, January 5, 1975, p. 5; Leslie H. Gelb, "Détente's Supporters Under Fire in the U.S.," New York Times, December 29, 1975, p. 53; Henry A. Kissinger, "Between the Old Left and the New Right," Foreign Affairs 78, 3 (May-June 1999): 99-116.

corollary, opposition to détente might also be a means to gain a significant number of Republican votes in 1976.

Members of the CDM also recognized the makings of a foreign policy narrative that might help them displace the influence of the New Politics within the Democratic Party. At the mid-term convention in Kansas City they made a case for abandoning the New Politics that hinged on characterizing McGovern's stances on social issues as well out of the mainstream and narrowing foreign policy choices to dangerous isolationism, amoral détente, and morally-informed activism. The Democrats in Kansas City, however, did not accept this argument. Indeed, many regarded the CDM position as merely rhetorical cover for a return to the same sort of militarized containment that liberal mythology held to be responsible for Vietnam. The feeling of many liberals was encapsulated by the New Republic's John Osborne, who opined that, in spite of how Democrats might feel about Nixon personally, his foreign policy was infinitely preferable to a return to "the days of Berlin blockades, missile crises and bomb shelters."[346]

The CDM's difficulties in Kansas City were compounded by the fact that Jackson himself did not attend the convention. Whether out of a belief that the effort was futile, as compensation for the CDM's failure to support Jackson-Vanik or both, Jackson's absence remains a mystery. Although in retrospect it seems unlikely that his presence would have had any affect on the eventual outcome, at the time many CDM members felt that he could have made a difference. In his absence, however, defeat was assured. In Decter's words, "the New Politics people walked all over us."[347]

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[346] John Osborne, "Arming Up," New Republic (December 14, 1974): 9-10.

[347] Midge Decter quoted in John Ehrman, Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 61.

Jackson's snub of the CDM did not, of course, end the group's relationship with him. While there were some bad feelings—Decter was particularly bitter, calling Jackson "foolish"—the members resolved to forge onward and prepare the ground for a Jackson candidacy in 1976. In order to keep the CDM functioning, it also became an urgent matter to secure funding for any future activities. Support from the AFL-CIO and its member unions had dropped precipitously—perhaps another sign of a *quid pro quo* between some neoconservatives and corporate America. While there were a number of gifts from individual contributors, the CDM quickly concluded that it needed to cast a wider net. In late 1974 Kemble stepped up the fund-raising effort by forming a number of "letterhead organizations," or organizations which existed only on paper. Many of the organizations, such as Institute on Religion and Democracy and the Foundation for a Democratic Education did not trumpet their support for Jackson so as to allow appeals to traditional Republican donors.[348]

The outcome of the intra-party struggle reflected the neoconservatives' ideological rigidity. Unable to move beyond their Manichean conception of the Cold War world, they had squandered two opportunities to construct a narrative that may have transcended the question, "What about Vietnam?" Human rights, for instance, could have easily served as the basis for a new narrative, as it eventually did for Jimmy Carter, yet the neoconservatives did not embrace human rights for reasons that remain unclear.

Similarly, the neoconservative narrative may have been re-organized around the idea of America as a global "peace broker." Although this direction was much more difficult insofar as the nuclear alert would have to be handled delicately, an America-as-peacemaker

[348] Sara Diamond, Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right (Boston: South End Press, 1989), p. 149; Wattenberg, p. 143.

narrative would not have been impossible. Shaped along the lines of the Nixon Doctrine, the peacemaker narrative would have had resonance among the public. The neoconservatives, however, allowed this opportunity for a new narrative to evaporate as they subsumed the peacemaker image beneath the harsh, militant criticisms of détente.

Last Chance: The Vietnam Syndrome, and the 1976 Campaign

"What about Vietnam?" had been a literal question in 1972. Although the Nixon Administration had begun the withdrawal of U.S. troops, Americans were still fighting and dying and the immediacy of the war as a campaign issue was only slightly less than it had been in 1968. In 1976, with the war over and South Vietnam now in Communist hands, the question about Vietnam had become a metaphor for the candidates' views on the direction of future U.S. foreign policy. For the neoconservatives, this question itself suggested the basis for a new narrative: the Vietnam Syndrome.

When Saigon fell to the forces of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam in April of 1975, the American's public's resigned reaction to the event caused the neoconservatives to wonder about the effects of the war on the national moral fabric. In order to ascertain the damage by the war and its effects on future U.S. foreign policy, Podhoretz and Decter organized a symposium at Commentary that included such CDM luminaries as the political scientists Zbigniew Brzezinski, Stanley Hoffman, Richard A. Falk, Herman Kahn (formerly of RAND), the philosophers Sidney Hook and William Barrett; and the sociologists Norman Birnbaum and Peter Berger. Irving Howe, an English professor at City University, former

Undersecretary of the Air Force Townsend Hoopes, former Assistant Secretary of State Charles Frankel, and twenty-four others completed the panel.[349]

While most of the symposium participants agreed that the Vietnam had engendered a fear of international involvement among the American people—a "failure of nerve"—there was some disagreement about the degree of damage and its likely persistence. Some, such as Berger, Birnbaum and Brzezinski believed the damage was minimal and that America would recover given steady leadership and a realistic assessment of Soviet behavior. Others, however, believed the damage caused by Vietnam was deep and would be long-lived. Decter, in particular, put forth an extremely pessimistic view that foresaw great danger for America and the world arising from America's failure in Vietnam:

> Defeat . . . is not good for people. And it is no better for nations . . . It humiliates, raises doubts, heightens acrimony . . . If America, because of a terrible mistake made in the name of the Cold War, with all the bitterness and humiliation attendant thereto, ceases to continue the struggle . . . a vast proportion of the Earth's surface will to one extent or another eventually be Bolshevised.

Decter's formulation, which came to be incorporated in the neoconservative narrative as the "Vietnam Syndrome," is significant as one of the most serious neoconservative attempts to resolve the questions associated with Vietnam. At the core of the argument is the explanation: Vietnam was a well-intentioned "mistake" that will have severe consequences should America withdraw from its responsibilities in the world and not "continue the struggle." In her formulation, détente is not a "continuation of the struggle," but an admission of weakness. This linkage of a flawed détente to the mistakes of the past supplies a rational for another aspect of her argument: forgiveness. While we may acknowledge the

[349] "America Now: A Failure of Nerve?" Commentary (July 1975): 16-87.

mistakes of the past, Decter seems to argue, the grave dangers of the present require us to forgive and move on. In closing her argument, Decter acknowledges that there will be those who will not forgive. Here, however, she conjectures that those unable to forgive will be the corrupt and morally blind "ruling elite" who have "forgotten what evil is and "would rather "complain about the difficulties of freedom than do anything about the sufferings of enslavement."[350]

Adopting this refined narrative for his 1976 campaign for the Democratic nomination, Jackson quickly found it insufficient. Although he went so far as to state that it had been "a mistake" to become embroiled in Vietnam, Jackson would accept no personal responsibility. In most instances, he blamed the Nixon Administration for its "secret agreements" with Saigon, without explaining how these agreements may have prolonged the war. Subsequently, he found that the voters had neither forgotten nor forgiven. Beginning the campaign in earnest in January 1976, Jackson was forced to quit the field in April when the governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter, scored an impressive win in the Democratic primary in Pennsylvania, his sixth win in a row, and his eighth out of nine primaries.[351]

As in 1972, the neoconservatives remained on the battlefield after the battle. Although Jackson's second attempt at the presidency had failed, what was left of the CDM resolved to try and influence foreign and security policy from afar. A chronic lack of funding, however, made continuing the organization difficult. There also seems to have been a feeling that the neoconservative narrative had reached an intellectual dead-end. Vietnam had proved to be a problem for which the neoconservatives simply had no answer. Their

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[350] Midge Decter, contribution to "America Now: A Failure of Nerve?," Commentary (July 1975): 29-31.

[351] Peter Goldman, "The Fastest Tortoise?" Newsweek (February 10, 1975): 18; Richard Steele, "The War in Indochina," Newsweek (April 21, 1975): 20; Tom Matthews, "Dreams of Glory," Newsweek (November 3, 1975): 18; "Carter's Plan To Scoop It Up," Time (June 14, 1976): 17-23.

commitment to the idea of the Cold War as a cosmic battle between Good and Evil simply allowed no room for qualifications and moral confusion.

The CDM's inertia, however, did not mean that the critique of détente and arms control had ceased. The 1976 Team B exercise had produced a comprehensive and closely reasoned explication of the strategic "window of vulnerability" that Pipes and several of his associates set about promoting in several different fora. As they did so, the former Team B members further refined the neoconservative crisis narrative by successfully translating the esoterica of nuclear strategy and weaponry into an understandable and politically useful form.

The promotion of this aspect of the crisis narrative, what Pipes was to call the "myth of Team B," began with a series of interviews that Pipes gave to his former student, New York Times reporter David Binder. In his interview, Pipes claimed that the Soviet Union was relentlessly pursuing nuclear superiority which it fully intended to use. Pipes's interviews were followed, much to the displeasure of the Director of Central Intelligence George Bush, by remarks by Gen. George Keegan, the Defense Intelligence Agency chief. In a separate interview with Binder, Keegan, who had not served on the Team B Panel, claimed that Team B's report had caused the official estimate to "shift 180 degrees" and that the 1976 NIE had been re-drafted three times. This, of course, had not been the case, although Keegan had inserted several lengthy dissents in the NIE agreeing with Team B's conclusions. To counter Keegan, an irate Bush complained to Binder and included a cover letter to all NIE recipients stating that there was no truth to Keegan's assertions.[352]

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[352] David Binder, "New CIA Estimate Finds Soviet Seeks Superiority in Arms," New York Times, December 26, 1976, pp. 1, 14; George H.W. Bush, "Memorandum to Recipients of NIE 11-3/8-76," attached to NIO S/P, National Intelligence Estimate 11-3/8-76: Soviet Forces for Intercontinental Conflict Through the Mid-1980s (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1976).

Team B members followed up their New York Times interview with various other interviews and appearances. Graham and Van Cleave in particular, turned out to be quite loquacious. In several public forums sponsored by the American Security Council, they asserted that the Soviets had achieved outright strategic superiority over the United States. When Keegan repeated this claim, there was a swift and public reproach from the Joint Chiefs. Irritated that an active-duty officer would assert Soviet strategic superiority, the JCS chairman, Air Force Gen. George S. Brown, wrote to Sen. William Proxmire denouncing Keegan's claims. Brown followed up with a rebuttal of Keegan in the Washington Post and a private dressing-down. No further statements from Keegan were forthcoming until his own retirement some six months later.[353]

The Binder interviews caused the Congress to conduct two sets of hearings that accomplished little other than to give Team B a public forum from which to promote its views. In front of both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Pipes reiterated his contention that the growing Soviet nuclear force represented an imminent danger to the United States. The drama of this apocalyptic testimony was heightened by the vehement denunciations of Team B by former CIA deputy director and INR chief Ray Cline, who loudly disparaged Team B as a politicized "kangaroo court." In a rather more thoughtful—and prophetic—opinion, CIA and Pentagon veteran Herbert Scoville ventured that Team B "was clearly an attempt to leave a legacy for the new

[353] "New Assessment Put On Soviet Threat," Aviation Week & Space Technology, March 28, 1977, p. 38; George Wilson, "Soviet Arms Superiority Denied by Joint Chiefs," Washington Post, January 31, 1977, p. 1.

administration—or for the Ford administration if it continued—which would be very hard to reverse . . . I think it is going to make life very difficult for the new administration."[354]

The Narrative Co-Opted: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Reagan Resolution

Scoville was right. Two days after Carter's election, the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) introduced itself to the world at a press conference at the Metropolitan Club in Washington. Promoting a summary of the Team B Report written for laymen called "Common Sense and the Common Danger," the group's "policy chairman," Paul Nitze, put the incoming Carter Administration on notice that its recent intimations that it would seek to continue some form of détente and arms control would not be acceptable.[355]

Emerging from the ruins of the old Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM), the Committee on the Present Danger was a much more formidable organization. The group incorporated almost all of the CDM's members, which meant that the group enjoyed a close relationship with to Jackson and his staff. The CPD membership also included a sizeable number of conservative Republican corporate leaders. The CPD counted representatives of 110 major corporations among its members, including prominent Republican businessmen such as David Packard (Hewlett-Packard), Henry C. Fowler (Goldman Sachs), Thomas Nichols (Olin Corp.), and C. Douglas Dillon (Dillon Reed Investment Bank). The leadership, which consisted of expert bureaucrats like Nitze, the CPD president, Charles Tyroler (the former head of the Defense Department's Manpower Supply Directorate during

[354] Williard C. Matthias, America's Strategic Blunders (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 306.

[355] Max Kampelman, Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), p. 233; Paul H. Nitze, Ann M. Smith and Steven L. Rearden, From Hiroshima to Glasnost: At the Center of Decision – A Memoir (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1989), p. 353.

the Johnson Administration) and John Connally (former Secretary of the Treasury and Navy under Kennedy and Nixon). As a result of this array of corporate nobility, the CPD was better financed, better led and better connected than the CDM.[356]

The CPD was also proved very adept in creating a network of allies outside of official Washington. Early on, the CPD made contact with like-minded organizations, such as the American Conservative Union, the Hudson Institute, and the venerable American Security Council. The CPD leadership also placed great emphasis on maintaining relationships with Commentary Magazine and the New Republic. These publications loomed particularly large in CPD strategy, not only for their wide readership, but also because of their enormous prestige. Articles appearing in them, Tyroler believed, gained a measure of credibility that could not be purchased.[357]

As a result of these attributes, the CPD was, unsurprisingly, a quite effective organization overall. Almost immediately after Carter assumed office, the CPD demonstrated its strength by organizing opposition to Paul Warnke's appointment as chief SALT negotiator. Warnke, a familiar figure within the Democratic Party, had one serious mark against him in the CPD's view: he had served as an advisor to McGovern in 1972. According to Nitze, the group intended to use Warnke's confirmation hearings as a forum for drawing a contrast between Warnke's views on the Soviet Union and that of the CPD. Prevailing upon Jackson to hold hearings into Warnke's views and record, the competing

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[356] John L. Boies, Buying for Armageddon: Business, Society and Military Spending since the Cuban Missile Crisis (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), p. 126.

[357] Ibid; Anthony Lewis, "The Brooding Hawks," New York Times, February 10, 1977, p. 39.

testimonies engendered a great deal of acrimony and controversy and very nearly derailed the nomination.[358]

The group's initial victory performance, however, was its campaign against the SALT II treaty concluded by Carter and the Soviets in June of 1979. Beginning in the summer of 1977, CPD members began to produce a series of speeches, mailings and articles, based on the Team B Report, and aimed at undercutting public support for any arms control treaty that the Carter Administration might conclude. The initial salvo was fired by Pipes, with the publication of an article entitled, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight and Win a Nuclear War." This article represented a further refinement in the crisis narrative insofar as it was one of the first—if not the only—explication of strategic war-fighting doctrine written for laymen. The ominous title of Pipes's article was also emblematic of the tone of a campaign so ferocious that many in Washington believed that the treaty was dead before Carter left for Vienna to begin negotiations.[359]

In terms of U.S. national security policy, the CPD campaign yielded almost immediate results. In order to counteract CPD charges of a "decade of neglect" of U.S. military capabilities, the Carter Administration initiated planning for a substantial arms buildup, the centerpiece of which was the MX. Capable of carrying a ten-reentry vehicle MIRV warhead, the MX was a counterforce weapon of the first rank. The president's National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former member of the CDM himself, revealed plans for a buildup to Nitze, ostensibly to gain his support. Nitze, however, was not so easily seduced.

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[358] David Callahan, Dangerous Capabilities (New York: Haper Collins, 1990), p. 390.

[359] Richard Pipes, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight and Win a Nuclear War," Commentary 64 (July 1977): 21-31; Strategic Options for the Early Eighties: What Can Be Done? ed. William Van Cleave and W. Scott Thompson, (New York: National Strategy Information Center, 1979); Eugene Rostow, "The Case Against SALT II," Commentary (January 1979): 14-19; William R. Van Cleave and Seymour Weiss, "National Intelligence and the USSR," National Review (June 23, 1978): 770-780; Robert G. Kaiser, "Jackson Rips 'Appeasement' of Moscow," Washington Post, June 13, 1979, pp. 1, 14.

Believing that the administration simply intended to use the new weapons programs as "bargaining chips" in the SALT process, Nitze refused to lend his support. Although the budgetary and planning deployment proceeded, CPD continued its scathing criticisms of arms control and the Carter Administration.[360]

From a historical perspective, however, the CPD is less significant for its influence and effects on security policy than for what it tells us about the state of neoconservatism during this period. The nature of the membership, for instance, demonstrates that the neoconservatives had reached a *rapprochement* with the Republican Party, and were rapidly moving toward a permanent alliance. While party affiliation had never been of utmost importance to the neoconservatives, they had long been uncomfortable with the realist tendencies that seemed to characterize the Republican Party and its leaders since Eisenhower. Indeed, most of the more prominent realist figures within the party, such as Kissinger, Scowcroft, Bush and James Baker, were shunned by CPD.

Several factors facilitated a neoconservative-conservative alliance. Most obvious is the emerging set of common interests between the neoconservatives and the corporate wing of the Republican Party. While businessmen had looked longingly at the giant untapped markets in China and the Soviet Union during the Nixon years, their hopes that détente would eventually provide an entry into those markets had waned substantially since the optimism of the early 1970s. The Soviet Union, in particular, had proven itself an exceedingly difficult market to tap. Obsessed with secrecy and control, the Soviet government seemed more interested in harnessing business than facilitating it. More importantly, however, was the emerging view among American corporate interests that simply being "allowed" into a market was insufficient. American corporations soon found to their distress that the Soviets simply would not allow large-

[360] Strobe Talbott, The Master of the Game: Paul Nitze and the Nuclear Peace (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), p. 154.

scale capitalist enterprises to operate in the Soviet Union in the same ways they did in America and Europe. Insofar as they believed that the Soviets would continue to resist the sort of regime-change that would make a sustained relationship possible, American corporate interests were willing to countenance—and in many cases, finance—an activist foreign policy aimed at the transformation of the Soviet regime.[361]

The most important factor in the emergence of a neoconservative-conservative alliance was the role of neoconservative thought in filling the intellectual vacuum left by the departure of Nixon and Kissinger from the scene. Once they had begun to reject détente after Yom Kippur, many Republicans were confronted by the fact that there were not many alternatives to it. After all, détente had emerged from Nixon and Kissinger's efforts to find a workable alternative to both the reflexive anti-Communism of the Eisenhower era and the idealism and adventurism of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. The neoconservatives, however, offered a view of the Soviets that was at once simple, sophisticated, and comprehensive. The Soviet state was evil, militant and incorrigible. Behind this formulation was a sizable body of literature in which the neoconservatives claimed philosophical, sociological and historical authority for their essentialist views.[362]

Most attractive of all to conservatives was the neoconservative narrative of crisis. The notion of America in crisis, weakened and demoralized by Vietnam and threatened from without by an evil, implacable power was attractive to many. The political equivalent of the pregnant pause, its power lies in its incompleteness which seems to demand a political *denouement* in the person of a strong leader, new ideas and new policies. Even Jimmy Carter seems to have

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[361] C.W. Lawson, "Soviet-American Trade: Prospect and Retrospect," Soviet Studies 29, 2 (April 1977): 317-323.

[362] See the works of Pipes, Malia, Lacquer, Haimson, Riasanovsky, von Mohrenschildt, Daniels, Conquest, Fainsod and Schapiro, op. cit. For insight into the neoconservative leveraging of sociology, see Robert Bathurst, Intelligence and the Mirror: On Creating an Enemy (Oslo: Sage Publications, 1993). The Team B Report interweaves philosophy, sociology and history in its discussion of Soviet intentions.

recognized the political and literary power inherent in the neoconservative narrative when he argued that America was, in 1979, in the midst of a "crisis of confidence." Unfortunately for Carter, his version of the neoconservative narrative suffered from the same weakness that had plagued Jackson: a lack of moral authority. In Carter's formulation he could no more account for Iran than Jackson could for Vietnam.[363]

Ronald Reagan adopted the neoconservative narrative. As a charter member of the CPD, Reagan was quite familiar with the components of the narrative. The essentialist view of the Soviet Union, the moral crisis brought on by the Vietnam Syndrome, the military decline fostered by a decade of neglect, all were encapsulations of ideas that he had held and promoted for decades. During his 1976 campaign, the critique of détente had comprised most of his rhetoric, although he did address Vietnam. Reagan's answer to the questions associated with Vietnam, however, were mainly limited to assertions that the war had been a "noble cause." While many factors can be assembled to account for Reagan's defeat, it is interesting to note that he, like Jackson, had not accounted for Vietnam in such a way as to completely restore his moral authority.

Pressing ahead in 1980, Reagan proffered a new iteration of the neoconservative narrative that answered the question of Vietnam in an elegant and novel way. Reagan proceeded from the assertion that the decision to become involved in Southeast Asia had been correct. Vietnam had been a noble cause. America had failed, Reagan argued, because of our leaders. "If only," Reagan maintained, "our government had not been afraid to win." The consequence of this failure has been the onset of the Vietnam Syndrome. Now, however, we must put it aside and "re-arm morally and militarily." This ingenious formulation is superior to Jackson's insofar as it replaces contrition with exoneration. Thus, anyone who had believed in the anti-Communist

[363] Jimmy Carter, "Energy and the National Goals – A Crisis of Confidence," speech delivered in Washington D.C., July 15, 1979, [online] www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jimmycartercrisisofconfidence.htm, accessed May 9, 2007.

crusade stood pardoned. In the context of electoral politics, the psychological power of the alleviation of guilt should not be underestimated.[364]

The failure of American leaders, Reagan claimed, must be understood as a moral failure. The decade of neglect had been a neglect of the spirit, as well as a neglect of America's military capabilities. The moral aspect is a subtle but important characteristic Reagan's narrative that has been often misunderstood, even by the people in general agreement with the president's narrative. Some, for instance, have tended toward a "stab-in-the-back" myth, arguing that the war was lost because political leaders, in particular Defense Secretary McNamara and President Johnson, enforced an unwarranted strategic "gradualism" or made tactical decisions better left to commanders ion the field. Others, simply assert that "we weren't allowed to win" by unidentified parties in the government. The latter example enjoyed wide currency in the 1980s when it became identified with the fictional character John Rambo in the popular movie Rambo: First Blood. These distortions of Reagan's narrative obscure the "moral re-armament" facet of his prescription for overcoming the Vietnam Syndrome.[365]

As for the neoconservatives, it is ironic Reagan's formulation implicitly places much of the blame for the moral failure on them or very close to them. Rostow, Wattenberg and Nitze, for example, had all served in the Kennedy and/or Johnson Administrations. Wohlstetter and his coterie of acolytes within the Pentagon had formulated the bases for the Flexible Response doctrine that was the basic U.S. strategic approach in Vietnam, while Jackson, Fosdick, and Perle had been among the war's staunchest supporters in the Congress. The neoconservatives, however, did not react to Reagan at the time. They were preparing to join him in Washington.

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[364] Richard J. Whalen, "It's Time to Reverse Our Retreat and Resume the Cold War," Washington Post, January 20, 1980, p. 1; Bernard Weinraub, "Reagan Blames 'Carter Failure' for Soviet Move," New York Times, January 25, 1980, p. 12; John M. Gosliko, "World Speculates on Nature of a Reagan Foreign Policy," Washington Post, July 12, 1980, p. 8.

[365] For an examination of some of the "stab-in-the-back" mythology, see George C. Herring, "American Strategy in Vietnam: The Postwar Debate," Military Affairs 46, 2 (April 1982): 57-63.

Conclusion: The (Temporary) End of Transformation

As the 1980 presidential election neared, Dorothy Fosdick was preparing, like almost all of the neoconservatives, to cast her vote for Ronald Reagan. Knowing that Jackson, ever the dutiful Democrat would support Jimmy Carter despite a heartfelt inclination to do otherwise, Fosdick feared that he might expect the same sacrifice from her. Thus, before voting for Reagan, she went to the senator to obtain his dispensation. "You're a free woman," Jackson said quietly. Fosdick thanked him and, for the first time in her life, cast her vote for a Republican presidential candidate.

The neoconservative vote for Reagan in the 1980 election marks the beginning of the end of the first neoconservative transformational project. Although it was not apparent at the time, neoconservatism was all but spent. Almost four decades of ideological and political conflict had sapped neoconservatism's intellectual energy and left it doctrinaire and ossified. As a result, the movement found itself unable to respond to the new challenges and rapidly changing events of the 1980s.

The final phase of the neoconservatives' evolution began with the movement's definitive break with the Democrats. Although the relationship between the neoconservatives and the Democrats had been strained for some time, most had made little effort to seek a permanent home elsewhere. Part of the reason was that party identity had always been secondary to ideas and positions. Another consideration was that there had simply been no place for the neoconservative view in the Republican Party. While there had

long been some affinity between the academic and literary neoconservatives and many of the social conservatives that populated the Republican Party, the realist foreign policy view of Nixon, Ford, Kissinger and Rockefeller repelled the political neoconservatives.[366]

In 1980, however, the situation was quite different. Republican realism, while not dead, lay wounded next to the corpses of détente and arms control. The demise of détente and the decline of the Nixon-Ford wing of the party cleared the way for the neoconservatives to assume an intellectual leadership role within the party. The collapse of the Nixon-Ford wing also softened to a significant degree conservative opposition to the neoconservatives and their ideas. Nixon conservatives, no longer bound by the political necessity of having to support negotiations with the Soviets, tended to gravitate toward the neoconservative view. This growing convergence between conservatives and neoconservatives over the danger represented by the Soviet Union was, in turn, the basis of a burgeoning conservative-neoconservative alliance.

The presence of Ronald Reagan at the top of the Republican ticket was, however, the most compelling factor in the neoconservative move. Shrewd political calculations aside, there seems to have been a genuine affinity between Reagan and the neoconservatives that consisted of a shared belief in the power of ideas, the material reality of evil and a predilection for transformative action. While these characteristics seemed to have derived more from a confluence of Reagan's Midwestern evangelical heritage and classic Cold War anti-Communism, their origins were less important than their implications. The most striking manifestations of these characteristics can be seen in Reagan's famous "evil empire" speech and his startling announcement of the Strategic Defense Initiative in March of 1983.

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[366] Sidney Blumenthal, "Richard Perle's Nuclear Legacy; An Acolyte's Education and Passing of the Torch," Washington Post,

Politically, Reagan was a known and acceptable quantity to the neoconservatives. He had a long record as a vocal and consistent critic of détente and was a founding member of the Committee on the Present Danger. Indeed, many neoconservatives had hoped for a Reagan nomination in the wake of his shocking defeat of Ford in both the North Carolina and Texas primaries in 1976. Although he did not succeed in gaining the nomination, Reagan's strong showing in 1976 generated enough momentum to sustain a four-year speaking tour on the Republican "rubber-chicken" circuit. While touring the country and maintaining his visibility, Reagan reprised the scathing attacks against arms control that had propelled his 1976 campaign. Once the campaign began in earnest, Reagan hired a number of neoconservatives as advisors. The CPD foreign policy team was represented by Paul Nitze, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Robert W. Tucker and Fred Iklé, while Team B alumni William Van Cleave, Seymour Weiss and Richard Pipes comprised the campaign's "Soviet section."[367]

As a result of these affinities between Reagan and the neoconservatives, in the wake of his electoral victory he looked to the neoconservatives to guide the new administration's foreign and security policy. As the new Reagan Administration began to take shape, the neoconservatives for the first time assumed important policymaking and executive positions within the foreign and security policy bureaucracy. On the eve of his inauguration, Reagan named Jackson as chair of his bipartisan Foreign Policy Advisory Committee. Richard Pipes was appointed head of the Soviet section of the National Security Council. Pipes's former student, Douglas J. Feith, along with Michael Ledeen and China expert Aaron Friedberg, were also assigned to the NSC. At the State Department, the neoconservative presence was even greater. Former Jackson staffers, Elliot Abrams (who was also Midge Decter's son-in-

[367] Steven B. Roberts, "Reagan, in Chicago Speech, Calls Détente an 'Illusion,'" New York Times, March 18, 1980, p. B8; Hedrick Smith, "Reagan Advisors Hold Somber View of the Soviet Intentions," New York Times, May 25, 1980, p. 14.

law), became Director of the Office for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Robert Kagan was appointed Deputy for Policy of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, and Charles Horner was made Associate Director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). Wohlstetter protégés Paul Wolfowitz and Zalmay Khalilzad secured positions as Ambassador to Indonesia and Assistant Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff, respectively. Jeane Kirkpatrick was appointed as U.N. ambassador.[368]

Neoconservatives were also given important positions in the Defense Department. Here the focus was on two broad areas; arms control and strategy. Perle, who had been made Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, was given responsibility for formulating the Defense Department's position in arms control negotiations. Reinforced by the presence of his fellow Jackson staffer, Frank Gaffney, Perle's immediate task was to ensure that nothing derailed the impending placement of 464 intermediate-range Pershing II and Tomahawk cruise missiles in Europe. Perle was also given responsibility for securing the approval and deployment of the new ten-warhead ICBM, the LGM-118A "Peacekeeper," popularly known as the MX. In undertaking these missions, Perle could count on allies at ACDA, which was headed by Eugene Rostow, and included Max Kampelman and Paul Nitze as Deputy Directors.

On the strategic side, the new Assistant Secretary of Defense, Fred Iklé was charged with refining U.S. strategic doctrine. Recruiting Andrew Marshall's Office of Net Assessment and Wohlstetter's consulting firm, Pan Heuristics, Iklé's study group the Committee on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, began work in February 1981. The main thrust of this work was aimed at further improving the offensive aspects of nuclear war-

[368] Karl D. Jackson, "Reagan's Bipartisanism: A Promising Start," New York Times, November 7, 1980, p. 27; Michael Dobbs, "Back in the Political Forefront," Washington Post, May 23, 2003, p. A01.

fighting in U.S. strategic doctrine. Earlier work under the Carter Administration had sought to append improved defensive measures (silo hardening, command-and-control survivability, etc.) to the offensive revisions Schlesinger had instituted with Selective Options. In the aggregate, these measures comprised what had become known as the "countervailing" strategy, designed to prevent a Soviet victory in a nuclear conflict. The new efforts under Reagan, however, were designed to formulate a true "prevailing" strategy, where the emphasis would now be on achieving an American victory, rather than simply preventing a Soviet one.[369]

The first fruit of the neoconservative efforts to transform U.S. strategic doctrine became known in May of 1981 when excerpts from of the Defense Department's most important annual planning document, the Secretary's Defense Guidance, was leaked to the Washington Post. Quoting a hitherto unknown presidential decision memorandum, National Security Decision Document 13 (NSDD-13), the Defense Guidance stated that "should deterrence fail, and strategic nuclear war with the USSR occur, the United States must prevail and be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States."

The administration's reaction to the leak of its defense guidance was mixed. There were, of course, some attempts at "spinning" the story, but they were uncoordinated and unconvincing. Haig, in a moment of linguistic artistry, ventured that "to prevail" did not have the same meaning as "to win." Simultaneously, Weinberger, in a letter to 70 newspaper editors, denied that the word "prevail" had ever been used in connection with U.S. strategic doctrine and that no consideration had been given to formulating a war-fighting doctrine. All

[369] Michael Getler, "Unfettered Arms Competition Unlikely to Give Either Side an Edge, Washington Post, May 4, 1981, p. A1; Nuclear Heuristics: Selected Writings of Albert and Roberta Wohlstetter, ed. Robert Zarate and Henry Sokolski (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2009, p. 55.

of these protestations were undermined, however, by Pipes, who in an interview with Los Angeles Times columnist Robert Scheer, asserted that administration policy was aimed at pushing the Soviet leadership toward having "to choose between peacefully changing their Communist system . . . or going to war." A short time later, NSC staffer Gen. Robert Schweitzer expressed a similar sentiment, telling fellow officers, that the United States and the Soviet Union were on a "drift toward war" and posited the notion that "they [the Soviets] are going to strike." Although Pipes suffered only a dressing-down from Richard Allen, the National Security Advisor, Schweitzer was relieved of his NSC post for his comments.[370]

The year 1981 also saw the birth of the so-called "Zero Options" proposal. Formulated by Perle, the proposal was designed to put the Soviets on the defensive by publicly offering them a solution that he knew they would not accept. The U.S. offered to cancel the deployment of all intermediate-range weapons in exchange for removal of all Soviet SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe. From the Soviet perspective, the United States was asking for something for nothing, and flatly rejected the proposal. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, in an attempt to salvage the negotiations, proposed—over Perle's objections—that some sort of "interim" agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) could be worked out, while both sides continued to explore a comprehensive settlement. The president, however, quashed this idea on the grounds that such half-measures, as the first SALT agreements had demonstrated, almost always worked to the Soviets' advantage.[371]

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[370] George C. Wilson, "U.S. Defense Paper Cites Gap Between Rhetoric, Intentions," Washington Post, May 27, 1982, p. A1; Leslie H. Gelb, "Is the Nuclear Threat Manageable?" New York Times, March 4, 1984, p. 26; Robert Scheer, With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War (New York: Random House, 1982), p. 127.

[371] Ronald Reagan, An American Life: The Autobiography (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), pp. 257-268.

With the promulgation of NSDD-13 and the Zero-Option proposal, it appeared that the neoconservatives had effected a significant transformation of U.S. foreign and security policy. They had finally put in place a full-fledged strategic war-fighting doctrine, and had effectively killed any chances of continuing the arms control process for the foreseeable future. These two achievements also had implications beyond the narrow confines of doctrine and arms control policy. The first of these was the resignation of Haig. As Kissinger's former deputy, Haig had been mistrusted by the neoconservatives and had endured an uneasy relationship with his neoconservative subordinates in the State Department, as well as an intense rivalry with Perle. His replacement, George Schultz, was a former Nixon Administration official who supported the Zero-Option and, as a result, was a much more amenable figure to the neoconservatives.

Another implication of the policy changes concerned Congress. The Democrat-controlled Congress seems to have been "spooked" by the analyses, briefings and talk of protracted nuclear war emanating from the administration. As a result, when the request for funding was made for the initial deployment of the MX in November of 1982, the Democrats' objections centered, not on the missile's expense or its war-fighting capability, but on the vulnerability of the "dense-pack" basing mode. This represented an astounding development, insofar as many Democrats had maintained for years that the Soviets would not dare risk a first-strike against the U.S. ICBM force with an unproven strategy and unproven weapons. The exquisite irony of this objection was not lost on Perle, who could not resist crowing "that liberal lawmakers should now arrive at the conviction that the Soviets will go out of their way to destroy our land-based deterrent is too richly ironic to let pass without

comment." The Congress, it appeared, had ceded national security policy to the administration for the foreseeable future.[372]

Another, less welcome implication, was the emergence of a peace movement in Western Europe. Although the so-called "peace movement" had existed in Europe since the 1950s, they had fallen into disrepute and disrepair. The INF controversy, however, seemed to re-energize them and, by the end of 1982, mass protests had occurred in Holland, Britain, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and West Germany. The movement was particularly strong in West Germany, where the Green Party managed to forge a coalition consisting of clergy, students, social democrats, anarchists and even military figures. While the protests had no discernible effects on the U.S. negotiating position, many of the NATO governments openly worried that the peace movement—which was morphing into a much larger and much more militant anti-nuclear movement—was the beginning of an irrevocable spilt between the United States and its European allies. As a result of these fears, the Dutch government delayed asking its parliament for permission to deploy the U.S. weapons, while the West German government warned Schultz sternly that "there must be a real negotiation . . . not just a show."[373]

More serious from the administration's perspective, was an emerging fear of nuclear war among the American public. Polls taken between 1981 and 1983 in Britain, America, and Australia showed an exponential increase in the number of people who not only believed a nuclear war was possible, but also very likely within 5 to 10 years. This burgeoning fear

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[372] Richard Perle, "The Wondrous Turnabout of the MX's Enemies," Washington Post, December 13, 1982, p. A15.

[373] Jeffrey Boutwell, "Politics and the Peace Movement in West Germany," International Security 7, 4 (Spring 1983): 80; Richard Smoke, "The 'Peace' of Deterrence and the 'Peace' of the Antinuclear Movement," Political Psychology 5, 4 (December 1984): 741-748; George Schultz, Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), pp. 137, 149-150.

manifested itself several ways, some less overtly political than others. In popular culture, low-budget films with post-apocalyptic plots, such as Mad Max, Red Dawn, War Games, and The Terminator became overnight cult hits among many young people.

On the political plane, a "nuclear freeze" movement, which called for an immediate halt to the testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons, began to take shape in the United States. As a result, many Republican leaders began to fear that the increasing number of resolutions passed in support of a nuclear freeze presaged electoral disaster. These fears mounted as hundreds of state and local governments, as well as the U.S. House of Representatives, passed resolutions in support of a nuclear freeze.[374]

By the summer of 1982, the anti-nuclear reaction had become so intense Reagan was forced to confront it. At first he adopted the neoconservative line that the freeze movement was the result of a Soviet propaganda campaign and its adherents were Communist dupes. By 1983, however, Reagan was, in Schultz's words, "rattled." He was convinced that the Zero-Option proposal had to be withdrawn for the good of NATO as well as the Republican Party, and shelved the proposal in March. The president followed up with a conciliatory speech for Soviet consumption and ordered Schultz to prepare new positions for "meaningful" negotiations.[375]

As the Zero-Option strategy unraveled in the face of popular protest, other aspects of the neoconservatives' transformative project began to come under pressure. The Congress, which had just a short while ago seemed ready to acquiesce to the administration on national

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[374] Robert T. Schatz and Susan Fiske, "International Reactions to the Threat of Nuclear War: The Rise and Fall of Concern in the Eighties," Political Psychology 13, 1 (March 1993): 1-29; Mad Max 2: The Road Warrior, Warner Brothers, 1981; WarGames, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1983; The Terminator, Orion Pictures, 1984; Red Dawn, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer/United Artists Entertainment, 1984; J. Michael Hogan and Ted J. Smith III, "Polling on the Issues: Public Opinion and the Nuclear Freeze," The Public Opinion Quarterly 55, 4 (Winter 1991): 534-569.

[375] Schultz, p. 376.

security issues, suddenly acquired a collective backbone. The administration's basing plan for the MX was resoundingly rejected and total deployment limited to 100 missiles. Debate began on a number of other weapon-systems as Congressional Democrats also began to push for $25 billion in cuts in the huge $1.3 trillion defense budget.[376]

Equally detrimental to the transformative project as the nuclear freeze movement was the appearance of the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. Assuming power in the Soviet Union in March of 1985, Gorbachev almost immediately suspended SS-20 deployments and gave orders to disband the main offensive conventional formations aimed at Western Europe, the Operational Maneuver Groups (OMGs) and the Independent Tank Regiments (ITRs). Gorbachev's good faith efforts toward the Reagan Administration were successful and Reagan and the new Soviet leader met at Geneva in November. Thirteen months later, after more Soviet concessions, Reagan and Gorbachev signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in Washington.[377]

The neoconservative transformative project was now at a temporary end. The coalescence of the nuclear freeze movement had robbed the movement of its political impetus. The persuasiveness of the neoconservative view of the Soviet Union had, to a large extent, rested on the consistency of Soviet behavior. This consistency, the neoconservatives had claimed over the years, was a manifestation, not of national anxieties, perceived strategic needs or temporary political exigencies, but of the nature of the Soviet state itself. Gorbachev's policies, however, represented a significant departure from the neoconservative image of the Soviet system. While they do not appear to have been unduly troubled by this

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[376] Robert Foelber, "What Price Defense?" Defense Backgrounder (Washington DC: Department of Defense, 1982): 2.

[377] Historical Perspectives on the Operational Art, ed. Robert D. Krause and R. Cody Phillips (Washington DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2005), p. 314.

incongruity, others—most notably the president and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—began to revise their ideas about the Soviet-American relationship.

The collapse of neoconservative influence within the Reagan Administration had, however, begun before Gorbachev and was a result of both hubris and an inability to understand popular anxieties. Convinced of the unassailable correctness and historical importance of their transformative project, most of the neoconservatives had paid scant attention to, and had little sympathy with the popular unrest that their ideas and policies had precipitated. For figures such as Wohlstetter, Perle and Iklé, the emotional component underlying the nuclear freeze movement was anathema. Accustomed to talking about nuclear war in RAND-esque analytical terms, they could not easily grasp the fears and anxieties that nuclear war-fighting scenarios engendered in the public. Similarly, while most Americans realized that the Soviet Union was not by any stretch of the imagination a society comparable to that of the Western democracies, the stark references habitually used to describe the Soviet Union and its policies seemed to leave no room for politics. The neoconservative vision of the 1980s seemed to foreclose almost every possibility short of war. To the American public, as well as the publics of the Western European countries, there appeared to be no room for negotiation, for reform—for hope.

A measure of the neoconservatives' insensitivity to the popular will was the intensity of the recriminations they leveled at Reagan after 1985. Most were, as would be expected, harsh polemics by the neoconservative literary cadre. Characterizing the president's new policy direction as "appeasement," "lack of moral clarity," and "foolishness," the neoconservatives revealed a distrust of and contempt for the concept of democracy as a marketplace of ideas. For them, ideas were—and are—timeless, universal entities not

dependent on human agency for validity. In an earlier time, this notion may have served as a bulwark against the false truths and pretensions of fascism and Communism. Over time, however, the belief in the absolute nature of ideas had begun to foster an intellectual rigidity that discounted the possibility that Communism would mellow or simply fail. It is hard to imagine any attitude more contrary to the sunny optimism implicit in both liberal democracy and in the personality of Reagan himself.[378]

The fall of the neoconservatives from the first Reagan Administration did not mean the end of neoconservatism. The same intellectual cohesion and web of concerns and interests that had played a role in the coalescence of the movement kept neoconservatism intact as they remained active along the fringes of the Republican Party. They also remained somewhat active along the fringes of the Reagan Administration. That this should be the case is, of course, not surprising. They had, after all, laid the foundations for Reagan's foreign and security policy and, having helped build that singular edifice, they knew their way through its corridors quite well. Wohlstetter, for instance, remained at work on the Integrated Long-Term Strategy Project until the end of Reagan's second term. Although after 1985 the status of the project—and of Wohlstetter himself—was less than it had been, even the realists that now surrounded Reagan dared not cancel it.

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[378] Jeane Kirkpatrick, Adam Ulam, Lucien Pye, Sanford J. Ungar and Walter Lacquer, "Promises and Pitfalls for the U.S.; from Star Wars to Terrorism, Five Experts Assess Foreign Policy," U.S. News & World Report 99 (December 1985): 48-52; Irving Kristol, "A White House in Search of Itself," Wall Street Journal, May 13, 1985, p. 1, "America's Doomed Mideast Policy," New York Times, August 11, 1985, p. 23, "Nuclear NATO: A Moment of Truth," Wall Street Journal, July 9, 1987, p. 1, "U.S. Foreign Policy Has Outlived Its Time," Wall Street Journal, January 21, 1988, p. 1, "The Reagan Revolution That Never Was," Wall Street Journal, April 19, 1988, p. 1; Richard N. Perle, "The Arms Race and Mr. Gorbachev: Western Dilemmas," Encounter 68 (May 1987): 64-69; Richard Pipes, "The 'Glasnost' Test: Gorbachev's Push Comes to Shove," The New Republic 196 (February 1987): 16-18, "Paper Perestroika," Policy Review 47 (Winter 1989): 14-21; Norman Podhoretz, "Caveat: Realism, Reagan and Foreign Policy," Commentary 78 (July 1984): 56-60, "Arms Control Illusions," New York Times, January 24, 1985, p. 25, "The Terrible Question of Aleksander Solzhenitsyn," Commentary 79 (February 1985): 17-25, "Foreign Policy Under Reagan: The Road to Détente," Current (September 1985):25-34, "Israel: A Lamentation for the Future," Commentary 87, 3 (March 1989):15-22; Eugene Rostow, "The INF Trap: Gorbachev's Latest Gambit," The New Republic 197 (August 1987): 16-18, "Why the Soviets Want an Arms-Control Agreement and Why They Want It Now," Commentary 83 (February 1987): 19-27.

Indeed, having assumed the role as the intellectuals of the Republican Party, they were difficult to replace. Realists like James Baker, George H.W. Bush, and George Schultz might be uncomfortable with their ideas, but being realists, they faced up to what had been apparent for some time: the neoconservatives had brought an intellectual energy to the party that had been lacking since the fall of Richard Nixon. Their ideas had filled the void left by the departure of Nixon and Kissinger and, even though events were being driven by other ideas—Gorbachev's ideas—that fact did not automatically warrant exile.

Therein, lies part of the historical significance of neoconservatism. In the course of filling the intellectual vacuum left by the collapse of détente—a collapse that they facilitated—the neoconservatives transformed the Republican Party. Their primacy in foreign affairs guaranteed that for some time to come the Republican Party would adhere to an activist and anti-realist view of foreign policy, rather than the neo-isolationism represented by Pat Buchanan and the so-called "paleoconservatives." The neoconservative presence within the party has also served to perpetuate the perception that the Republican Party is much more adept and forceful in handling foreign and security policy than their Democrat rivals.

Beyond it effects on the Republican Party, neoconservatism has transformed the topography upon which U.S. policymakers would henceforth operate in two ways. First, they have created the perception that the first Reagan Administration represents a permanent, workable template for U.S. policy for all time. While the uncompromising, confrontational tone that characterized the early years of the Reagan Administration may indeed represent a workable strategy, the essentialist facet of that strategy is most troubling. To emplace such a strategy solely on the basis of what one believes another nation *is*, rather than what it *does*,

appears to foreclose the possibility of coexistence and/or reconciliation with a number of states. Moreover, it reinforces the idea that some enemies are so militant, so intractable, and so evil that nothing short of their utter destruction is practical or morally acceptable.

The idea of intervention predicated on moral obligation also represents a transformation precipitated by the neoconservatives. Admittedly, there has always been an undercurrent of morality to American involvement abroad, but that current has most often manifested itself as defensive missions of last resort, aimed at destroying the threat and restoring self-determination to others—Wilsonianism. In the neoconservative conception, however, America is morally compelled to actively seek out evil and destroy it. Whether or not future policymakers agree with this formulation, it will be difficult to argue on moral grounds how one arrives at a decision to allow evil to flourish. It would, for example, be extremely difficult for a future president to explain the jettisoning of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment or the prevailing doctrine without incurring some moral reprobation. Indeed, neoconservatives have recently argued in this vein, asserting that it is impossible to claim that the world is not better off without Saddam Hussein. To do so, they say, amounts to a morally relativistic "sleep of reason." I would argue, however, that such a "sleep of reason" is infinitely preferable to the knowledge that thousands of young American men lie asleep in their dress blues.[379]

[379] Jason Isbell, "Dress Blues," live performance by The Drive-By Truckers, April 29, 2006, Austin, TX, [online] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aJb1_EGnapY.

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