
Book Review

The Ugly History of The Cheney Warmongers

by William Jones

The Rise of the Vulcans: the History of Bush's War Cabinet

by James Mann

New York: Viking Press, 2004

448 pages, hardcover, \$25.95

The story of the Bush War Cabinet as presented by former *Los Angeles Times* Beijing correspondent James Mann, now a senior writer-in-residence for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, will not be totally unfamiliar to *EIR*'s readers, or to those Americans who for several years have been exposed to the public lambasting of these "children of Satan" in the publications associated with *EIR*'s founding editor Lyndon LaRouche. Indeed, to the extent that the figure of that Rasputinesque Vice President Dick Cheney, and his policies, have become *the* issue that will determine the fate of the Bush Presidency, this has largely been due to LaRouche's unstinting efforts to make that the issue.

The significance of the Mann book lies in the fact that it will be a useful tool for the "establishment" layers in the Democratic and Republican Parties to go after the "neo-con problem." It's also a very interesting read, even for initiates. Mann is keen on distancing himself from writing a "political tract," and rather keeps to his characteristic style of "objective" reporting; he does stick to the facts of the case as they have been made known to him, in many instances, by some of the players themselves. But it is the facts themselves, as dutifully reported, which provide the key indictment against this band of scoundrels.

They themselves chose the name "The Vulcans" as their collective designation, according to Richard Armitage, because of a statue of that particular Roman god which overlooks Condoleezza Rice's birthplace in Birmingham, Alabama. Vulcan, the Roman god of fire and patron of the smithy and the forge, armorer of the gods, was how they envisioned their policy orientation—hard as nails. At the same time, what they may have overlooked in their choice is the fact that Vulcan was the only ugly god in the Pantheon—apparently

the reason Zeus threw him off Mount Olympus. And the Bush "Vulcans" have revealed a very ugly face indeed.

Utopian Roots

Mann's argument is particularly interesting in that he takes the origin of the "Vulcans" not to the beginning of the Bush election campaign, nor even back to the Cheney Pentagon with its foiled plans for establishing a doctrine of pre-emption during the earlier Bush Administration, but rather back to the Nixon Administration where Cheney and Rumsfeld cut their eye-teeth. While Mann provides quite a broad picture of the development of the group as a whole and individually, it is crystal clear that for him, Vice President Cheney has become the real spider in the this convoluted web. Mann also succeeds in pulling together some of the lesser known facts of our "ignoble warriors."

There is little ground-breaking work in Mann's accurate but cursory elaboration of the connection of the Vulcans like Paul Wolfowitz and William Kristol, to fascist guru Leo Strauss—*EIR*'s exposé of this sinister figure last year has now become part of the "mainstream" coverage of the topic. But he does bring up some of the early lesser-known connections of neo-con gurus Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle to the old-line utopians like Paul Nitze and Dean Acheson.

Acheson was the ultimate Cold Warrior, whose arguments late in World War II, not to allow Japan to keep its Emperor, helped quash the possibilities of a Japanese surrender—then very real—before the atomic bomb was dropped. His policies led to the U.S. debacle in the Korean War, and to the creation of a hostile relationship with Communist China, on the false assumption that the "communist world" was a monolith. Acheson later, as one of the so-called "wise men," would encourage Lyndon Johnson to expand the disastrous Vietnam War.

Nitze, who was the vice chairman of the Strategic Bombing Survey from 1944-46, played a key role in the fire bombing of Japan and Germany.

Acheson and Nitze, together with academia's "Dr. Strangelove," Albert Wohlstetter, established in 1969 the Committee to Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy, in Washington's Dupont Circle area. It was here that two eager young graduate students, Wolfowitz and Perle, served their discipleship, groomed to take over from the wizened icons of the Cold War. While the group only lasted a few months, Mann says, through it the aging Cold Warriors "passed along some of their sophisticated knowledge of Washington and their tough-minded views of American foreign policy to two eager young graduate students." Perle would then go on to work for conservative Democratic Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, while Wolfowitz would return to the university to write his doctoral dissertation under the watchful eye of Wohlstetter.

During the Nixon Administration, Wolfowitz would return to Washington to work in the arms control agency under the anti-Soviet hawk, Rand strategist Fred Iklé. Iklé had been

'New World Order' Gang Is Back, with G.W. Bush

by Jeffrey Stierberg

According to several recent news accounts, sometime in the Summer of 1998, a Bush family war council took place at the Kennebunkport, Maine vacation compound. At that gathering, the George W. Bush Presidential effort was formally launched. Former National Security Council Soviet expert Condoleezza Rice, flanked by her former boss, ex-President

for George Bush, agreed to take on the task of walking Dubya through the perils of foreign policy and national security. Others were also added to the team, which Rice dubbed "The Vulcans," after a name of the Roman god of metal-forging (the master of the hammer, a.k.a. the god of war). A more accurate name might be the "Marians," after the Roman god of war. Because of this gang of three back to the White House, you can expect a strategic combination with Moscow and Beijing, a bloody march on the Persian Gulf and throughout the Middle East, and many other similar extremely unpleasant surprises.

Given ex-President George H.W. Bush's lifetime affinity for nefarious "secret parallel government" operations, and his blood-curdling hatred of Bill Clinton, over his 1992 election defeat, it should come as no surprise that, within months of that initial meeting, "the Vulcans" had established a shadow "national security" apparatus, which would deploy over the next two years to virtually and invisibly sabotage every U.S. national security and foreign policy initiative, including the Middle East peace process and the Clinton Administration's efforts to bring peace and stability to the Korean peninsula.

The Shadow Cabinet

The Kennebunkport gathering had followed an April 1998 meeting at the Palo Alto, California home of former Reagan Secretary of State George Shultz, at which the Texas Governor had been first introduced to Condoleezza Rice. Much and

Dick Cheney were tapped. Paul Wolfowitz, another Bush-era national security hawk, in jobs whose names were dubbed "CWJ" ("George W. Cheney").

Constantly in the background at all the early planning sessions was Brent Scowcroft, President Bush's National Security Advisor and current alter ego, who, along with his George and former Bush Chief of Staff Chairman Colin Powell, is a British Knight, or dubbed by Queen Elizabeth II for "service to the Empire" during Operation Desert Storm.

The major secret took place on the night of the escalating impeachment drive against President Bill Clinton, and the Russian default, which would shortly trigger the near-collapse of the Long Term Capital Management hedge fund. The Bush Engineers, according to media accounts provided by Condoleezza Rice, among others, went to work immediately, creating what the former Bush National Security Council staffer described as a shadow national security council, to counter the Clinton Administration's every move, with sharp rhetoric and Congressional sabotage.

Almost every Sunday night since the Autumn of 1998, Governor Bush, Rice, and Wolfowitz have held a three-way conference call, to plan out the week's working activities, including public statements and other interventions by the Bush gang, to gain up the Administration's initiatives. Every Monday morning, a second conference call reportedly takes place—with a larger group of participants, including such Bush Administration Cold Warriors and General Lobby leaders as Richard Armitage, Richard Perle, and Don Rumsfeld. The late Sen. Phil Coverdell (R-Ga.) served as the liaison between "Team Bush" and the Republicans in the Congress.

Then, when Perle, the suspected Moscow spy and ally of convicted water Jonathan Jay Pollard, met with two senior Israeli negotiators on the eve of this past July's Camp David summit, and urged them to stage a walk-out the moment the Palestinians brought up the subject of Jerusalem, he was ac-



The Junior Bush Family

ting on behalf of the Bush "shadow cabinet," intending to send a vital U.S. foreign policy initiative.

"The Vulcans' policies, largely codified in the foreign policy and national security secrets of the Republican Party Platform, focus on: overthrowing 'rogue states,' keeping China and Russia on the defensive, and otherwise keeping the United States out of the endless mire of 'humanitarian' missions that have defined American military outreach under the Clinton Administration. Never mind that almost all of the 'hot spots' where American troops are still engaged, were either inherited from the Bush Administration, such as the Balkans, Haiti, and Africa. The new Bush team will blithely let the rest of the world go to Hell, unless some 'vital' American security interest—like control over the world petroleum reserves or other strategic raw materials—comes into play.

Inexplicable Denials

In the pages that follow, you will be reintroduced to the Bush-era operations that you came to know and hate during the 1980-90 period, until Bush was voted out of office, in a stunning repudiation of an incumbent President. The cast of characters who will populate a George "Dubya" Bush Administration are the secret personnel who brought you the Panama invasion, the Persian Gulf war, the "New World Order," economic recession, and the crack cocaine epidemic.

In a recent Washington Post interview, Condoleezza Rice, the "quarterback" of the Bush policy team, tried to downplay the similarities, by winking philosophical: "The world is a different place than it was in 1980 or 1981 or 1992," she said. In fact, to the extent there are differences between the immediate post-Cold War period, when the Soviet Union was going through its death throes, and today, those differences

drive the Bushies into even more extreme forms of "New World Order" imperial fantasy.

Then, Rice, Wolfowitz, et al. even they would no longer hold back from a full-scale ground invasion of Iraq, running into Baghdad to remove Saddam Hussein from power by force. And although the Bush Administration would pay no heed to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, and would proceed with a National Missile Defense system, ostensibly aimed against "rogue states," but, in reality, targeted at Russia and China. This, despite the fact that their Vice President George Bush was one of the biggest bureaucratic opponents of President Ronald Reagan's 1983 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), and played a pivotal role in the railroad frameup and jailing of London B. Laffonts, Jr., the influential author of Reagan's SDI, which would have sought Soviet collaboration in ending the Khrushchev era of Mutual and Assured Destruction.

And, Rice made it clear that a Bush Administration would not pursue positive global engagement, such as the Clinton effort to establish Clinton has belatedly woken up to the threat posed to all mankind by the spread of HIV/AIDS and other deadly diseases. Rice, with the cold, calculated logic of a Henry Kissinger, believes the idea of treating such issues as real U.S. national security concerns.



Vulcan, the Roman god of metal-forging, after whom the Bush foreign policy team named themselves. Forging metal to war, compared to teaching Dubya Bush anything about foreign policy.

EIR's exposure of the Vulcans' control of a George W. Bush Presidency was published in August 2000 (statue of Condoleezza Rice's Vulcan is at lower right), during that year's Presidential campaign. It, and the 2002 exposé of the Vulcans as followers of fascist philosopher Leo Strauss, were necessary predecessors to journalist James Mann's new book.

appointed to the arms control post by Nixon due to a continual barrage of attacks from Jackson and others, who complained that Nixon was too "soft" on Moscow in his arms control negotiations. During the Nixon Administration, Perle and Wolfowitz would play the same Mutt-and-Jeff role as they did under George W. Bush, with the argumentative Perle always "pushing the envelope" on the more outlandish areas of policy transformation, and the soft-spoken Wolfowitz, while sometimes even seeming to contradict his colleague, pursuing the same policy in a more discreet manner. Perle was working the Congress, and Wolfowitz was in the Administration.

Flailing at the 'Evil Empire'

When Gerald Ford took over the Presidency from the Watergated Nixon in 1974, Rumsfeld and Cheney emerged as the chief players in the attempt to push the new President in the direction of a more confrontational stance with the Soviet Union. But they weren't the only ones looking for some leverage on the new, untried President. Henry Kissinger, who had been Nixon's National Security Advisor, also hoped to utilize Ford's uncertainties to strengthen his own authority. He had himself placed in an unprecedented position as both Secretary of State and National Security Advisor. The Che-

ney-Rumsfeld duo, which at this time was dominated by the older and more senior Rumsfeld, intended to thwart Kissinger's plans.

A month after he was sworn in, Ford brought Rumsfeld back from his post as NATO ambassador to become White House chief of staff, replacing Alexander Haig. Rumsfeld then made Cheney his deputy. Together they went after Henry Kissinger, targeting particularly his détente policy with Moscow as the means to topple him.

By mid-1975, Ford was thinking about the 1976 election, his first as a Presidential candidate. He had come under considerable fire from the conservative wing of the Republican Party for his great reliance on the discredited Kissinger regarding foreign policy issues. Kissinger was set for a fall and the Cheney-Rumsfeld duo was prepared to push him.

When North Vietnamese troops on April 23, 1975 began making their final assault on Saigon, Ford's speechwriters, undoubtedly at the behest of the new White House chief of staff, wrote a speech effectively announcing the end of the war. Kissinger, self-esteeming "peacemaker" in the Vietnam conflict, was conveniently on travel and not consulted on the speech. Soon he would be out of the White House entirely.

In June 1975, Cheney, whose code-name while he was Rumsfeld's deputy had been Backseater, was now playing his own hand. The Soviet dissident Alexander Solzhenitzyn was to visit the United States. Cheney sent a memorandum to Rumsfeld, recommending that the President meet with him, a meeting which would have, no doubt, infuriated Moscow and thrown a monkey-wrench into Kissinger's arms negotiations. While Solzhenitzyn never got his meeting, Cheney's memo played into the growing conservative backlash against détente, and against Ford's re-election chances. The issue would re-emerge during the 1976 Republican convention, when Reagan would attack Ford on this issue. Ford did get the Republican nomination, but lost the election to Jimmy Carter.

In November 1975, Ford conducted a major shake-up—the “Halloween Massacre”—in his Cabinet, firing Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, and forcing Kissinger to give up the national security post, although he remained Secretary of State. Rumsfeld was appointed Defense Secretary, while Cheney was upgraded to White House chief of staff. While Kissinger was running back and forth from Moscow trying to cut an arms control deal, Rumsfeld was threatening to go to the Joint Chiefs against any agreement, assuring that no deal would ever get through Congress.

In his new position, Cheney quickly emerged from under the shadow of the irascible Rumsfeld, who generated a lot of flak from the liberal wing of the Republican Party. Cheney, according to Mann, even had to talk Rumsfeld into taking the post of Secretary of Defense. “Backseater” now became known as the “Grand Teuton,” a play on the Grand Teton Mountains in Cheney's home state of Wyoming.

During the 1976 presidential campaign, Cheney convinced Ford to accept the new Republican Party program, “Morality in Foreign Policy,” which was largely based on the conservatives' critique of the Ford Administration's failure to meet with Solzhenitsyn. Ford agreed to run on the platform, thus fending off a challenge from Ronald Reagan, but accepting a program which had little to do with his own views on foreign policy.

Cheney came back to Washington in 1978 after the Carter victory, this time elected to the House of Representatives. He quickly rose to head the Republican Policy Committee.

Shifting Policy

With the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, the future Vulcans began to coalesce as a team. Wolfowitz had remained in the arms control agency during the Carter Administration, already beating the drums against Iraq in a Limited Contingency Study he wrote for Carter Defense Secretary Harold Brown. While the study was primarily focused on the need to prevent Soviet control of Persian Gulf oil, Wolfowitz also warned of control of the oil by another country, like Iraq. Wolfowitz was brought on board as the State Department Director of Policy Planning, a post which

didn't require Senate approval. In Wolfowitz' case, it may have proven a major hurdle to overcome conservative Republicans' hostility to him for his service in the Carter Administration.

With this new appointment, Wolfowitz began recruiting some old friends and partisan spirits. Lewis “Scooter” Libby, a former student of Wolfowitz at Yale, was brought into Wolfowitz' State Department shop. From Cornell, he brought in Francis Fukuyama, later famous for his absurdist “end of history” thesis. From the University of Chicago came Zalmay Khalilzad, like Wolfowitz a former student of Wohlstetter. He pulled James Roche, a former colleague at DOD, from the Pentagon over to State.

The policy planning staff began immediately to snipe at the Reagan Administration's China policy. While under Nixon and later Carter, the United States had established a rapprochement with China aimed against the Soviet Union, Wolfowitz' crew called for a tougher line against China, insisting America was strong enough alone that it did not need the assistance of China in confronting Moscow. This reflected what would later become the infamous “pre-eminence theory” of the Cheney National Security Strategy. This was also a direct affront to then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who was following in the footsteps of his mentor, Henry Kissinger, in his geopolitical “tilt” toward China. When Haig was replaced by George Shultz, later to become the virtual “godfather” of the Vulcans and foreign policy guru to the Bush Presidential campaign, Shultz moved U.S. policy in the direction laid out by Wolfowitz' policy planning staff.

It was also under Wolfowitz and Libby that the “democratization” drumbeat began in an effort to remove Philippine President Fernando Marcos. To the chagrin of the “democratizers,” the removal of Marcos soon led to the removal of U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

During the Reagan years, Rumsfeld went back to the business world, while Cheney was running operations on Capitol Hill. In the aftermath of Iran-Contra, Cheney was avidly working to hamper any legislation which might limit the prerogative of the President to run covert operations, and he was ultimately successful.

The two were together, however, in a highly secretive “continuity of government” exercise. This particular clandestine program was dreamed up in a virtual Dr. Strangelove laboratory. Given the possibility, the authors of this exercise argued, that the President, during a nuclear exchange, wouldn't make it to the underground bunker, there should be three separate teams sent out from Washington to different locations, prepared to proclaim a new American “President,” literally setting aside the entire Constitutional process and even the more recent legislation designating Presidential succession. Both Cheney and Rumsfeld played roles in these highly dubious exercises. The experience gained would serve Cheney well when he virtually took over management of President Bush's movements in the aftermath of Sept. 11.



Mann's book follows the chiefs of the Vulcans' war party, Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, to their original hard- and soft-cop roles in the Nixon Administration, and their allegiance to the "doctrine of pre-eminence" which became "pre-emptive war." He also notes the role of George Shultz in creating the Vulcans and thus the entire foreign policy of the George W. Bush Administration.

Bridling Powell

Mann describes the well-known fights between Cheney and Colin Powell when Cheney, under the first Bush Administration, took over the Defense Secretary post and Powell became head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. When the White House decided to mobilize a coalition to throw the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait, after having for all intents and purposes encouraged Saddam to invade it, Cheney and his gaggle of Pentagon neo-cons, including Libby and Wolfowitz, began to draw up war plans. Powell was opposed to going to war to liberate Kuwait. This won him a tongue-lashing from Cheney. "You're not Secretary of State. You're not the national security advisor. And you're not secretary of defense. So stick to military matters," Cheney told him. Both President Bush and National Security Advisor Scowcroft were in agreement with Cheney, and the decision was made to prepare for war.

Cheney then secretly put forward a plan of attack for a move *into* Iraq, designated Operation Scorpion, Cheney didn't see fit to inform Powell or even Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, appointed head of the coalition forces, of the plan, developed by Wolfowitz clone Henry Rowen. The Rowen Plan envisioned a move from Jordan through the western Iraqi desert in the direction of Baghdad, following

the British Arab Legion's tactics in 1941. Such a move would also secure Israel from the possible launching of Scuds from western Iraq, the proponents argued. Cheney liked the idea, but the Bush White House didn't. This would look too much like a direct attack on Baghdad, presaging a break-up of the Iraqi state. This would be anathema to most of the envisioned allies in this operation. Schwarzkopf commented sourly about the plan, "Put a civilian in charge of professional military men, and before long he's no longer satisfied with setting policy, but wants to out-general the generals." The same could also be said for the second Gulf War under wannabe general Rumsfeld.

Cheney, in his typical conspiratorial style, urged that the President go to war without Congressional approval, warning that the Administra-

tion might lose the vote on Capitol Hill. Bush rejected the advice and won the vote on the war. When Powell later announced the cessation of hostilities, concerned by the tremendous loss of life, including Iraqi lives, in the operation, Libby commented on the decision by saying later, "We objected to it. I was floored by the decision. Neither of us liked it." The enmity of the neo-cons against Powell would follow him into the administration of George W. Bush.

Stoking the Iraq War Fires

With the election of Bill Clinton in 1993, the Vulcans went into exile. From their seats in the think-tanks and, especially after the Republican takeover of the House in 1994, from their perches in the Congress, they deliberated their come-back.

In 1997, Wolfowitz published an essay, "The United States and Iraq," where he discussed the replacement of Saddam Hussein with a new Iraqi regime. It was recycled in another article, written together with Zalmay Khalilzad, which was published in the neo-conservative rag, the *Weekly Standard*. This then coalesced into the Project for a New American Century, which became something of the political arm of the neo-conservative movement.

On Capitol Hill, conservative China-basher Congress-

man Chris Cox (R-Calif.) set up the Congressional Policy Advisory Board, which brought together leading Republican officials from the Nixon, Reagan, and first Bush administrations. The leading foreign policy members were Rumsfeld, Cheney, and Wolfowitz, joined later by Shultz and Cap Weinberger, and eventually, by Condoleezza Rice. Out of this group came the missile commission, headed up by Rumsfeld. The commission was similar to the famous “Team B” studies of the 1970s, where conservatives, angry about what they felt was a much too benign view of the Soviet Union coming from the Administration, created an alternative “intelligence evaluation apparatus” to the official agencies. As could be predicted, Team B came up with diametrically opposed conclusions to those of the intelligence agencies. Sound familiar? Precisely the same *modus operandi* would later set up Rumsfeld’s infamous Office of Special Projects.

The Rumsfeld Commission issued their “bipartisan” report warning of a missile threat from three particular nations—Iraq, Iran, and North Korea—which would later serve as George W. Bush’s “axis of evil.”

Rumsfeld also played a major behind-the-scenes role in the creation of the Cox Commission, an operation which was meant to derail the Clinton China policy. Serving as the committee’s lawyer was none other than Wolfowitz student Scooter Libby. The Chief of Staff for the Cox Commission, David McGrath, would also land a top post in Vice President Cheney’s foreign policy shop.

In the run-up to the 2000 election, Rumsfeld was also at the head of a clandestine Bush campaign group, which was tasked with elaborating a Bush policy on missile defense. Involved in those discussions were Rice, Wolfowitz, Stephen Hadley (the future Deputy National Security Advisor), and Richard Perle. Rumsfeld was preparing himself for taking on another pre-eminent role in government. At the same time, Cheney returned from a very lucrative job with the Halliburton energy company to aid the George W. Bush campaign. Wolfowitz was also brought in to assist. It was at this point that the “Vulcans” were officially constituted under that designation.

With the events of Sept. 11, which Lyndon LaRouche designated the neo-cons’ “Reichstag fire,” this gang of hooligans absconded with a President that didn’t have a clue as to what was being done to him—and obviously still doesn’t. And the role of Dick Cheney as the President’s Rasputin was absolutely crucial.

As Mann explains: “Foreign officials soon learned that when they visited Washington, it was no longer enough merely to talk to officials at the State Department, NSC, and Pentagon; they had to make Cheney’s office a regular stop on the itinerary. . . . Cheney had come a long way from the era when he had served as Donald Rumsfeld’s doorkeeper, supervising Christmas card lists and the repairs of the White House plumbing. . . . He had become perhaps the most powerful vice president in American history.”