

A. Wohlstetter and the Trotskyites in the national security woodwork

by Scott Thompson

In December 1980, British Fabian Society executive Stuart Butler, then operating out of the ostensibly conservative Washington, D.C. Heritage Foundation, boasted to an interviewer that the just-elected President, Ronald Reagan, “the most conservative American President to be elected in decades, will oversee the implementation of a left-wing socialist agenda.”

Perhaps nowhere was that “left-wing socialist” agenda more clearly spelled out by the Reagan administration than in the January 1988 interim report of the Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, entitled *Discriminate Deterrence*. Also known as the Wohlstetter Report, after its chairman and principal author, Albert Wohlstetter, the document proclaimed the end of America’s postwar nuclear umbrella over Western Europe, called for the phased withdrawal of American troops from Europe, and proposed that over the coming decades, America’s strategic attention would shift away from a Soviet-centered security policy to an emphasis on debt-collecting “brushfire wars” in the Third World.

When the report was released, every sane political figure in Western Europe recoiled in horror. Moscow rejoiced. The immediate response was so intense that the Reagan White House was forced to issue a hasty disclaimer of the fundamental conclusions drawn by the study commission appointed by the secretary of defense.

Considering the disastrous implications of the long-term strategy report, it was no surprise to *EIR* when Pentagon sources reported in the spring of this year that Wohlstetter was a leading suspect in a “Mr. X” committee believed to be spying on the United States on behalf of Israel and the Soviet Union.

In the course of several months’ exhaustive study of Wohlstetter’s long career inside the U.S. national security establishment (he is currently a member in good standing of the President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, PFIAB, the prestigious and powerful agency overseeing the entire

U.S. intelligence community), *EIR* investigators have learned that the former RAND Corporation nuclear strategist has a secret past that he has gone to great lengths to conceal: a leading position within the Trotskyite wing of the international communist movement.

Wohlstetter’s apparently obsessive effort to conceal that communist past drew the interest of an *EIR* investigative team. After archive reviews and an extensive series of interviews we publish here the fruits of that probe to date.

From Trotskyism to systems analysis

Early in 1951, friends of Wohlstetter’s from his radical period in the 1930s, landed him a job in the economics division of the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, California. This not only provided Wohlstetter with a means to bury his Trotskyite past, but also the means by which to submerge himself in a radical transformation of U.S. strategic policy, away from a traditional military emphasis upon maintaining a war-winning posture.

Among those with whom Wohlstetter would work on this transformation of U.S. military strategy at RAND were Andrew Marshall, Henry Rowen, Herman Kahn, and Fred Iklé. In former days, Wohlstetter, Rowen, and Kahn were known as “the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost of RAND.” Others in Washington added RAND founder Bernard Brodie to the group, and condemned them as the “Four Pursemen of the Apocalypse.”

By 1952, Albert Wohlstetter had plunged himself into strategic policy at RAND. Starting with the assumption that the Soviet Union might launch a surprise attack upon the United States, Wohlstetter, Rowen, and others employed pioneering “systems analysis” methods—presaging Defense Secretary Robert McNamara’s “biggest bang for the buck” techniques—to attempt to win the Strategic Air Command away from a strategy based upon early warning for a preemptive, war-winning strike against the Soviet Union. This back-

step (found in RAND Report R-244-S) from classical war-winning military theory to a concept of “deterrence” based upon survivability of forces after a Soviet first strike, eroded military opposition to such later refinements as the MAD doctrine, at a time of overwhelming U.S. strategic superiority. The way was prepared for the insane theory propounded by Henry Kissinger and others in a Council on Foreign Relations study which picked up on the theorizing of Bertrand Russell’s “Trust” back-channel to the Soviet Union, the Pugwash Conference.

The decade-long campaign by Wohlstetter and his RAND “bases group” against traditional military posture, culminated in 1957, the year of the revival of the “Anglo-Soviet Trust” through Russell’s Pugwash Conference. A special study group was created by H. Rowan Gaither, known as the Gaither Committee. Gaither was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and chairman of the board of the Ford Foundation, who brought in Jerome B. Wiesner, a founding member of Russell’s Pugwash Conference from MIT, to act as his chief assistant. Working alongside Wiesner was Wohlstetter’s colleague in the RAND study, Andrew Marshall. Marshall is currently situated to implement *Discriminate Deterrence* as the director of the Defense Department’s Office of Net Assessments, a post that he originally was appointed to fill in 1973 by then-Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger.

The purpose of the Gaither Committee was to conduct a full-scale assault upon the doctrine of “massive retaliation,” upon which the NATO alliance had been built. The Gaither Committee argued that the Soviet Union would soon develop 50,000 deliverable megatons, which would pose “a threat which may become critical in 1959 or early 1960.” The final report of the Gaither Committee was kept secret from those with a “need to know” in the U.S. military, but it sent shockwaves through the CFR and Pugwash “Anglo-Soviet Trust” circles of the Establishment, spreading defeatism and winning many to a position against traditional military thinking.

In 1959, Rowen, Wohlstetter, and Marshall became active in John F. Kennedy’s presidential campaign. Rowen was later rewarded with an appointment as deputy assistant defense secretary under McNamara, where he advocated the Pugwash Conference’s and Kissinger’s insane doctrines of “Mutually Assured Destruction” and “Flexible Response,” in opposition to the doctrine of “war winning.” Rowen successfully imposed his views during the 1961 Berlin Wall crisis. (Rowen’s most recent government post was as chairman of the National Intelligence Estimates Board at CIA from 1980 to 1983.) Returning to RAND, Rowen joined with Wohlstetter, Kahn, and Marshall in advocating Jimmy Carter’s disastrous Presidential Directive 59 (a replay of Schlesinger’s NSDM-242), which enshrined “Flexible Response” as U.S. military policy. PD-59, however, still maintained the possibility of a NATO nuclear response to an overwhelming Soviet conventional assault, a provision that *Discriminate Deterrence* seeks to finally eliminate.

A hidden Trotskyite background

Unlike Iklé and other RAND associates, Albert Wohlstetter has carefully avoided any post that would require close Senate scrutiny of his past. Still, serious questions are posed as to how Wohlstetter won clearance by the FBI and other government security agencies for his work on such concerns as the Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy and PFIAB. Assuming the best, it can now be demonstrated that there was a concerted campaign by Wohlstetter to cover up a Trotskyite background, which links Wohlstetter to a radical network spanning three generations in both the United States and England. *EIR* investigators had to talk to many, many of Wohlstetter’s associates from the 1930s, before anyone would spill the beans. Wohlstetter had more than a “vaguely radical past.”

Two published sources exist that corroborate these interviews, showing that Wohlstetter was a 1930s member of a Trotskyite sect known as the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party (LRWP): *The New York Intellectuals* by Alan Wald, and *Unrepentant Radical: An American Activist Account of Five Turbulent Decades* by Sidney Lens. The LRWP was founded in May 1934 by a former Wall Street petroleum analyst Max Gould (a.k.a. B.J. Fields), who had worked directly with Leon Trotsky in Istanbul for four months, when he won Trotsky’s support for his factional positions in the Communist League of America.

Founding the LRWP with Gould/Fields was Benjamin Gitlow, who had been a leading member of the Ruthenberg-Gitlow faction of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which had the support of Nikolai Bukharin in the Comintern. When Stalin cracked down upon Bukharin and Jay Lovestone at the 1928 Comintern Congress—thereby beginning to end the “Anglo-Soviet Trust” arrangements until Russell and Khrushchov’s 1957 revival—Gitlow became the first secretary general of Lovestone’s Communist Party (Opposition), which remained in contact with a faction of the GPU and GRU Soviet intelligence agencies until the final 1938 purge of Bukharin by Stalin. Gitlow left Lovestone to join with Gould/Fields in an attempt to merge the Left and Right Opposition in the United States through the LRWP: the same organizations whose members form the lower level of the Trust. After losing Gitlow, then Gould/Fields, the LRWP stumbled on until 1940 as a small sect.

Sidney Hook and the radical philosophers

Wohlstetter avoided interviews with *EIR*, which was anxious to inquire how he became a Marxist radical tied to the circles of the Trust, but one of the chief influences that *EIR* was able to uncover was a string of radical philosophers linked to Bertrand Russell of the Pugwash Conference and the Cambridge Apostles, whose careers span the 20th century.

At City College of New York, Wohlstetter was influenced by Morris Raphael Cohen (1880-1947), a professor of

philosophy and mathematics, who was a Russian Jewish emigré to the United States. While attending cheder and later a yeshiva in Russia, Cohen became sympathetic to the nihilist movement, whose groups conducted terrorist assaults against the czarist “oppressor.” Upon his arrival in the United States in 1892, Cohen joined Daniel de Leon’s Socialist Labor Party (SLP), and he was closely affiliated with its Russian Jewish emigré faction, grouped around such organs as *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

Gaining entrance to the City College of New York (CCNY) in 1895, Cohen continued his SLP activities, forming a “Marx Circle” with other Russian Jewish emigrés during de Leon’s campaign for assemblyman. This Marx Circle met regularly at the Henry Street Settlement House, which had been established by followers of the British Fabian Society.

While at CCNY, Cohen came under the influence of a Scottish philosopher named Thomas Davidson (1840-1901), who had earlier been the chief influence behind the founding of the “ethical socialist” movement in late-19th-century England. Between 1881-83, Thomas Davidson founded the Fellowship of the New Life, from which the British Fabian Society arose in 1884. Traveling between Italy (where he was studying the work of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, founder of the lay order of the Brethren of Charity) and England, Davidson worked through Percival Chubb to bring together the utopian socialist Fellowship group, which included such later founders of the Fabian Society as: Havelock Ellis, Frank Podmore, Hubert Bland, Edward Pease, and Frederick Ked-dell.

Davidson was among those sharing membership between the Fellowship and the Fabian Society. He traveled to the United States, and gathered around him a group of Jewish Russian emigrés, including Morris Raphael Cohen, whom Davidson offered to adopt shortly before his death. In the United States, Davidson, who had also been a founder of the Aristotelian Society in England, brought together a string of radical philosophical associations, including a summer school at Glenmore Farm in the Adirondacks, where he introduced Cohen to Aristotelian philosophy; and, a school for Jewish Russian emigrés called Breadwinners College, which Cohen ran after Davidson’s death. Through Davidson’s association with Felix Adler of the Ethical Culture Society, Cohen won a scholarship for graduate study at Harvard University, where he befriended William James, before returning to teach at CCNY. Cohen’s “Marx Circle” continued within Davidson’s enterprise.

Morris Raphael Cohen was strongly influenced by Bertrand Russell, who held Cohen in high regard among American philosophers. “It was the study of Russell’s *Principia Mathematica* which I began soon after I was appointed to teach mathematics at City College in 1902, that finally liberated me. . . . Russell came closer to being my philosophical god than any one before or since,” wrote Cohen in his autobiography. Cohen was a staunch defender of Russell when the

mayor of New York refused to let Russell teach at CCNY.

Cohen broke from the Socialist Labor Party in 1907, and became an early writer for *New Republic*, when it was founded in 1914. Michael Straight of the family that launched the *New Republic* was later revealed to be a member of the Philby, Burgess, Maclean KGB espionage network, recruited while he was a Cambridge Apostle by Sir Anthony Blunt.

Toward the end of his life, Cohen became a liberal, but he launched many leading Jewish organizations that shaded into Zionism. Apart from Wohlstetter, among those CCNY students trained by Cohen were:

- Ernest Nagel, the Aristotelian-Russellite symbolic logician, who later became Wohlstetter’s mentor at Columbia University.
- the philosopher Morton White, with whom Wohlstetter wrote an article for the Trotskyite *Partisan Review* magazine, which appeared in its fall 1939 issue (Vol. 1, No. 5), titled, “Who Are the Friends of Semantics.” It was a radical defense of Aristotelian symbolic logic.
- Jay Lovestone, the future Bukharin-appointed general secretary of the CPUSA, who worked with Soviet intelligence until 1938.
- Bertram Wolfe, a Lovestonite-Communist.

Another important individual in the Wohlstetter story who was trained by Morris Raphael Cohen was Sidney Hook, who told *EIR* that he has been a lifelong friend of Albert Wohlstetter, as has his friend, Ernest Nagel. According to Hook, Wohlstetter and Morton White used to attend classes given by Hook at New York University, when they were graduate students around the Trotskyite LRWP. Hook was a leader of the Marxist faction at CCNY, before he, like Wohlstetter, went on to do graduate work at Columbia University. Hook became a leading protégé of the then-pro-Bolshevik John Dewey. It was at Columbia that Hook began the project that was to occupy him throughout the 1930s, of seeking a synthesis between Karl Marx’s “dialectical materialism” and Dewey’s pragmatism.

Graduating from Columbia University, Hook received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1928 to study post-Hegelian philosophers in Germany, where he met Karl Korsch, the founder of the Frankfurt School. Of relevance to this study of Albert Wohlstetter—as the godfather of the “Mr. X” Committee for Soviet “false flag” spy Jonathan Pollard—is just whom Korsch was associated with in founding the Frankfurt School, which Korsch modeled upon “the Fabian research office.” At a small 1921 gathering of Marxist students in Thuringen, financed by the Argentine-German grain trading family of Felix Weil, among those present with Korsch were Hede Massing, Paul Massing, and Richard Sorge. All three friends of Korsch would become fixtures in Soviet intelligence, especially Richard Sorge, the grandson of Karl Marx’s secretary.

It is notable that while he was in Germany, Hook took up once again with two friends from the William Z. Foster

faction of the CPUSA, who had become agents of Soviet intelligence. Hook later brought Karl Korsch to the United States, and attempted to introduce him to radical American philosophical circles. Considering Hook's close friendship, this may have included Albert Wohlstetter.

A year later, Hook received the singular right to study at David Ryazanov's Marx-Engels Institute. Sorge also followed this path, from the Frankfurt School to this institute. Ryazanov was a leading Soviet member of the Anglo-Soviet Trust. Although Hook, today at the Hoover Institute, is known to be anti-Soviet, he was so pro-Soviet in the 1930s, when he became the teacher of Albert Wohlstetter, that he was asked by Earl Browder, the general secretary of the CPUSA, to found a "spy apparatus" for the Soviet Union in the "centers of scientific and industrial research." Browder motivated Hook to set up this Soviet espionage network, based upon the fact that Hitler's rise to power meant Germany would attack the Soviet Union.

Passing the mantle

Just as Albert Wohlstetter was steeped in Marxist doctrine by a network of socialist philosophers that spans three generations, so he, too, has been the godfather of a wide-ranging network that has burrowed into the U.S. defense establishment and other policymaking circles of government. Apart from Fred Iklé and his RAND colleagues, this network includes Richard Perle, the former assistant secretary of defense for international economic, trade, and security policy. Perle is another suspected member of the Pollard "Mr. X" committee, who narrowly escaped arrest in 1970 for espionage on behalf of Israel when wiretaps on the Israeli embassy showed Perle leaking highly classified information from his position on the staff of the late Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson, probably in association with Helmut Sonnenfeldt, whose appointment as undersecretary of the Treasury was held up in 1973 for this reason.

Perle met Wohlstetter as a teenager in California. He dated Wohlstetter's daughter, Joan. Perle described himself at the time of this meeting as a "socialist." In an article on Richard Perle appearing in the Nov. 24, 1987 issue of the *Washington Post*, this lifelong relationship between Perle and Wohlstetter is described as follows:

"Wohlstetter's ideas became Perle's ideas; his network Perle's; and, as Perle traveled through the bureaucratic catacombs of Washington, his first mentor remained his intellectual Virgil—always 'enormously helpful,' says Perle. He himself was never an original strategist. His views were mostly elaborations of Wohlstetter's."

It is therefore doubly significant that Richard Perle is the architect of the "zero option" policy, sold to the Reagan administration for the 1986 Reykjavik summit, which underlies the INF Treaty's step toward the decoupling of the United States from NATO. The next step is to be found in the the Iklé-Wohlstetter *Discriminate Deterrence* report.

Bush seizes the reins of government

by Nicholas F. Benton

Vice-President George Bush was publicly handed control of the White House on July 7, in a widely overlooked but extraordinary move which effects the closest thing to a direct transfer of power, short of the death of the President or invocation of the 25th Amendment against the chief executive.

Characterized by White House spokesmen as merely an effort to gear up for the Bush presidential campaign, a two-hour meeting was held over lunch July 7 in which the initiative for presidential policymaking was shifted from the aging President Reagan to Bush.

The following institutional changes were made which effectively implemented the transfer:

1) The creation of a "small group of staff members" from the top echelons of the White House staff, chaired by the President's Chief of Staff Ken Duberstein, and the Bush campaign, led by Bush's Chief of Staff Craig Fuller, to meet regularly and "ensure close coordination." This group will essentially set White House policy, filling the role vacated by the departure in June of Howard Baker.

2) The formation of a "shadow staff" of Bush personnel to monitor the daily activities of the President's staff. This means that Fuller now attends the daily staff meetings with Duberstein; a member of Bush's press staff attends all the staff meetings of White House press spokesman Marlin Fitzwater; and Bush staff people "work closely on a continuous basis" with White House Political Director Frank Donatelli.

3) President Reagan's role will be reduced to that of a public spokesman for the election of Bush between now and the election. White House spokesman Fitzwater said during a July 7 briefing announcing these changes, that Reagan's schedule includes, effectively, only three weeks of even apparent governing of the nation between the time of the Republican National Convention in mid-August and the November election. The rest of the time will be taken up by vacations and, from Oct. 1 onward, spending "at least two days a week" (half or more of his work schedule time) campaigning for the vice president.

Within a week of this development, Bush's enhanced role was clearly evident in the choice of former Pennsylvania Gov. Richard Thornburgh to become the new attorney general. Bush announced ahead of time that if the choice was to his liking, he would consider keeping the man on in the next administration if he were elected.