

promoted by this group of utopians, but persistently beaten back, by combinations of military traditionalists and other institutional forces inside the United States, appalled at the idea of the U.S.A. abandoning its heritage for a British or Roman pursuit of world empire. The Cheney-Wolfowitz-Perle-Sharon gang moved, in the wake of 9/11, to pursue their Well-sian nightmare.

Utopian War Doctrine: A Decade in the Making

by Jeffrey Steinberg

As the following timeline demonstrates, the so-called “new” National Security Strategy for the United States, presented in the Sept. 17, 2002 document issued under the signature of President George W. Bush, is not new at all. The formulations contained in the Bush document are derived 100% from published documents, devised by the utopian imperial faction inside the Dick Cheney Pentagon in the 1990-92 period, in response to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The same content reappeared under various sponsorships throughout the 1990s and in September 2000—all prior to the events of Sept. 11, 2001.

May 21, 1990: Paul Wolfowitz, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy, made a presentation before Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, arguing that the United States must pursue a national security policy of denying any other nation or group of nations the ability to challenge America’s military supremacy, in the aftermath of the demise of the Warsaw Pact. The Wolfowitz doctrine was prepared by Wolfowitz, I. Lewis Libby, and Eric Edelman, at Cheney’s behest.

Feb. 17, 1992: Patrick Tyler published an article in the *New York Times*, “Pentagon Imagines New Enemies To Fight in Post-Cold War Era,” revealing a draft text of a Defense Planning Guidance, prepared by Wolfowitz for Cheney, which repeated the call for the United States to establish long-term unassailable military supremacy over the globe, including the use of pre-emptive force to block any nation from achieving the capacity to undermine that American dominance. “The world order is ultimately backed by the U.S.,” the document declared.

1993: Zalmay Khalilzad, another member of the Cheney-Wolfowitz Pentagon team, enunciated the doctrine in a book, *From Containment to Global Leadership?*, demanding that the United States “preclude the rise of another global rival for the indefinite future . . . to be willing to use force if necessary for this purpose.”

July 8, 1996: Richard Perle, close ally of Wolfowitz, delivered a report to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, to be the basis for a July 10, 1996 Netanyahu speech

before a joint session of the U.S. Congress. The report, “A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm,” advocated abrogation of the Oslo Accords, annexation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and a war against Iraq, to divide the Arab world and create a permanent rift between the United States and the Arabs, to establish a new Washington-Tel Aviv axis of military domination over the Near East and Persian Gulf. Principal authors of the study, which was prepared for the Jerusalem-based Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (IASPS), were Perle, Doug Feith, David Wurmser, Meyrav Wurmser, and Charles Fairbanks. Fairbanks is a longtime associate of Wolfowitz, and, in effect served as Wolfowitz’s representative on the task force. IASPS produced two in-depth studies to facilitate implementation of “Clean Break”: “Coping With Crumbling States: A Western and Israeli Balance of Power Strategy for the Levant,” and “Succession in Saudi Arabia: The Not So Silent Struggle,” which spelled out detailed strategies for destabilization and “regime changes” in Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Feb. 19, 1998: Richard Perle and former Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.) sponsored an open letter to President Bill Clinton, demanding military action to overthrow the Saddam Hussein regime, and replace it with the Iraqi National Congress, headed by convicted swindler Ahmed Chalabi. The letter was co-signed by 40 leading neo-conservatives, including Doug Feith, Zalmay Khalilzad, David Wurmser, and Paul Wolfowitz, who were all involved in either the 1990 Pentagon study and/or the 1996 “Clean Break” study.

September 2000: The Project for the New American Century issued a report, “Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategy, Forces, and Resources for a New Century,” which repeated the 1992 Defense Planning Guidance call for U.S. global military supremacy and the use of pre-emptive military force to defeat any challenges to that supremacy. The report was prepared by a task force that included 1992 co-authors Wolfowitz and Libby, along with Eliot Cohen, Robert Kagan, William Kristol, and Dov Zakheim.

Documentation

World Responses to U.S. Preemptive War Doctrine

Western Europe

Neil Mackay, “Bush Planned Iraq ‘Regime Change’ Before Becoming President,” *Sunday Herald*, Glasgow, Scotland, Sept. 15:

“A secret blueprint for U.S. global domination reveals that President Bush and his Cabinet were planning a premeditated attack on Iraq to secure ‘regime change’ even before he took