

Chapter 2

The Second Cold War: A First Panoramic View

2.1 Protests in China and Repression in Tiananmen Square

In the course of a few months in 1989, the communist regimes of the Soviet bloc collapsed one after the other, and that same year George H. W. Bush (1989–1993) took over the presidency of the United States as successor to President Ronald Reagan. China, however, did not destabilize, despite the intensification of its domestic contradictions since 1986. Several student protests arose spontaneously after the funeral of Hu Yaobang, on April 15, 1989, and flared up again in several cities of the country until June 4, 1989. They were now being coordinated by certain leaders of various university campuses, however, and joined and supported by elements from other social classes, including new emerging entrepreneurs, such as the Stone Group computer company.¹ After the regime opened in 1980, the movement's leaders gained access to foreign media, particularly to the BBC, Voice of America and the press in Hong Kong, which, as instruments of *psychological warfare*,² inflamed the demonstrations. The protests became even more political in nature in Tiananmen Square, in Beijing, between June 3 and 4, 1989. Here, the reporters of foreign TV-networks, such as CBS, had already set up all their filming gear and were communicating through walkie-talkies with their broadcasting colleagues staying in the hotels of Beijing.³ All signs indicate that foreign agents were infiltrated in the demonstrations. “*Presumably the CIA, Taiwan and Hong Kong*”, stressed Harrison E. Salisbury,⁴ adding that agents were actually seen on the square, but there was no evidence that they played any role. Except, possibly, in moving funds from Hong Kong to the demonstrators.⁵ Either way, the army's troops were

¹Goldman (2011, pp. 246–259).

²Ibid., p. 251.

³Salisbury (1993, p. 453).

⁴Ibid., p. 450.

⁵Ibid., p. 450.

ordered on June 4, 1989, to intervene in Tiananmen Square and crush the attempted *luan* (uprising), as was the intent and battle cry of some demonstrators. Approximately 1000–2000 people died in the clashes,⁶ and the severity with which Mr. Deng Xiaoping crushed the demonstration in Tiananmen Square strengthened his position in the Communist Party and allowed him to continue China's policy of economic opening.

President George H. W. Bush had personal ties with Deng Xiaoping since 1976, when he headed the U.S. Liaison Office (USLO)⁷ in Beijing. He tried to avoid a serious destabilization of the relations with China because of the bloody events in Tiananmen Square. As such, his protests were more rhetoric than anything else, and the imposed sanctions basically consisted in no more than the suspension of weapon sales to Beijing. In line with Henry Kissinger's strategy, George H. W. Bush believed that the alliance with China, the second greatest power, should be maintained at all costs while the total collapse of Soviet military power had not occurred.⁸

2.2 Invasion of Kuwait: Saddam Hussein Back on the US Agenda

Shortly after Bush turned his attention to the Middle East. On August 18, 1990, he signed a *secret intelligence finding* authorizing the removal of Saddam Hussein from the government of Iraq, and in May 1991, he informed Congress that he had assigned something between US\$ 15 million and US\$ 20 million to the military coup that should take place there. Backed by his advisors, he apparently believed that it was possible to overthrow the regime without Iraq fragmenting into ethnic groups and rival tribes, which would clear the way for Iranian, Turkish and Syrian influence.⁹

Shortly after signing the *finding* authorizing the CIA to organize a revolt to remove Saddam Hussein, President George H. W. Bush ordered Operation Desert Shield, later called Operation Desert Storm, and sent troops to expel the forces of the Iraqi Republican Guard from Kuwait, which they had invaded on August 2, 1990. This was the first time the United States had declared a war without justifying it as a defense of democracy and human rights, for neither Kuwait, nor

⁶Ibid., p. 519.

⁷The predecessor of George H. W. Bush as head of the USLO was Harriman David K. E. Bruce, who had worked for the OSS (the American intelligence service that preceded the CIA) during the Second World War. Diplomatic relations between the United States and China were only officially resumed in 1979, during the Carter administration.

⁸Tarpley and Chaitkin (1992, pp. 517–521).

⁹Kenneth Katzman, "Iraq: U.S. Regime Change Efforts and Post-Saddam Governance CRS Report for Congress", *CRS Report for Congress*, Order Code RL31339, Updated October 22, 2004, Congressional Research Service, Washington, DC, The Library of Congress.

Iraq were models of democracy. The problem was that the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein would come to control a fifth of global oil reserves with the invasion of Kuwait.¹⁰ But despite the intense Psychological Operations (*psy-ops*) against Iraq promoted by the American Psyops Group and the British MI6,¹¹ Saddam Hussein continued in power after withdrawing his troops from Kuwait. The uprising of the Kurdish and Shiite populations, which the CIA had incited and whose funding had been authorized by President Bush, only occurred in March 1991, after the Gulf War (August 2, 1990–February 28, 1991). And it was stifled by Saddam Hussein.¹²

2.3 Islamic Radicalism and the Civil War in Algeria

When the Kurdish and Shiite uprising was crushed, the Bush administration was paralyzed by the events unfolding in Algeria in 1990–1991, where the *Front Islamique du Salut* (FIS) (*al-Jabhah al-Islamiyah lil-Monitoring dh*) won the elections. This organization adhered to Salafism, a radical current of Sunni Islam that is intolerant of other religions and advocates the practices and customs of the Salafis (the predecessors), i.e. the first five caliphs. Its goal was to establish an Islamic state based on *shari'ah*,¹³ and it had always been funded by Saudi Arabia and the oil monarchies of the Persian Gulf.

Faced with the victory of the Salafist *Front Islamique du Salut*, the *Front Libération Nationale* (FLN) and the heads of the *Armée Nationale Populaire* (ANP), consisting of the *Janviéristes/Décideurs* generals Mohamed Mediène, Khaled Nezzar, Larbi Belkheir, Abdelmalek Guenaizia, Mohamed Lamari and Mohammed Touati, voided the elections in 1992 and deposed President Chadli Bendjedid (1929–2012). And so the Islamic groups *Mouvement Islamique Armé* (MIA) and *Groupe Islamique Armé* (GIA), among others, unleashed a civil war that claimed 80,000 lives and lasted virtually until 1999.¹⁴

These Islamic groups had been formed by young men from Algeria and other countries. The Muslim Brotherhood, funded by charitable organizations in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, had recruited them in the early 80s for the *Jihad* against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan.¹⁵ After receiving training and theological education in Pakistan, these men returned with combat experience to Algeria—via Islamabad-Karachi-Tunis—and started using the mosques to promote the religious party and strengthen the Salafist sect *El-Hidjira* or *at-Takfir*. During this bloody and fierce civil war, *la sale guerre*, which saw massacres and terrorist attacks, the Muslim

¹⁰Kleveman (2003, p. 5).

¹¹Urban (1996, p. 163).

¹²Baer (2002, pp. 171–173).

¹³Cooley (2000, pp. 202–203).

¹⁴Gerges (1999, pp. 73–75).

¹⁵Samraoui (2003, pp. 88–89).

insurgents were treated as “*beasts, castrated, violated, killed*” at the Blida (*El Bouleïda*) military prison.¹⁶ In such conditions, many prisoners attempted suicide.

According to the former head of the Algerian *Sécurité Militaire*, Mohamed Samraoui, the *Département du Renseignement et de la Sécurité* (DRS) and other intelligence services of the Algerian Army also infiltrated and manipulated the *Groupe Islamique Armé* in order to discredit the Islamic resistance to the coup of 1992, liquidate real opponents and obtain economic and military aid against terrorism from western countries.¹⁷ Most victims of the war were civilians, probably between 40,000 and 50,000,¹⁸ as Algeria devolved into chaos through Muslim and State terrorism, including summary executions and the flattening of entire villages.¹⁹

President George H. W. Bush didn’t condemn the interruption of the democratic process in Algeria and kept a *low profile*, an apparently neutral position, which was perceived as tacit support to the coup by some sectors in Washington. Various diplomats within the State Department, however, concerned with a potential fundamentalist movement across Africa, feared that the victory of Islamic fundamentalists in the Algerian elections would have negative repercussions for the West and the Arab-Israeli peace process.²⁰ According to Fawaz A. Gerges, this partly explains why President George H.W. Bush decided to allow Saddam Hussein to crush the Shiite uprising in Iraq, preventing Iran from increasing its influence.²¹

2.4 Operation Restore Hope in Somalia

In this context, President George H. W. Bush initiated a period in which the United States executed successive military interventions in other countries to expand its economic and strategic interests, always under the pretext of defending humanitarian values.²² In 1992, he sent the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment-Delta (1st SFOD-D), one of the most secret counter-terrorism units, to a Somalia in civil

¹⁶Souaïdia (2001, p. 277).

¹⁷Ibid., p. 215. Salima Mellah, “The Algerian Islamist Movement between Autonomy and Manipulation”, Extracts from a report presented by the Justice Commission for Algeria at the 32nd Session of the Permanent Peoples’ Tribunal on Human Rights Violations in Algeria (1992–2004) 5–8 November 2004, May 2004.

¹⁸Souaïdia (2001, pp. 320–321).

¹⁹Ibid., p. 321.

²⁰Samraoui (2003, pp. 75–76).

²¹Ibid., p. 77.

²²Maia (2012, p. 152).

war.²³ They would be part of the Unified Task Force (Unitaf), a multinational force established by Resolution 794 of the UN security council.²⁴

The justification of Operation Restore Hope was the mission “to create a protected environment for conducting humanitarian operations”. But, in fact, the main objective was to restore security in Somalia, which held large reserves of natural gas and oil, particularly in the north of the country, and to protect the multimillion-dollar investments of four major US corporations—Conoco, Amoco, Chevron and Phillips Petroleum—who had already obtained concessions to prospect two thirds of the country’s territory (14.9 million acres) at the end of the 80s, before President Maxamed Siyaad Barre (Muhammad Siad Barre) was overthrown in January 1991.²⁵

The intervention had another objective: controlling access to the Gulf of Aden in the Indian Ocean, the strategically important sea lane to the Red Sea and the Suez Canal for the oil tankers traveling from the Persian Gulf to the United States, Europe and Japan. “East Africa analysts and several prominent Somalis [alleged] that President Bush, a former Texas oilman, was moved to act in Somalia, at least in part, by the U.S. corporate oil stake”, the journalist Mark Fineman wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*.²⁶

Under the mantle of the United Nations Operation on Somalia (Unosom), Operation Restore Hope obtained some success: it enabled the construction of 2000 km of roads for the transport needs of the four large oil companies already operating there.²⁷ But 700 civilians were massacred by the “peace keepers” since

²³War flared up in Somalia in 1991 between the forces of the then president Ali Mahdi Muhammad, supported by Islamic fundamentalists, and the clans loyal to General Maxamed Faarax Caydiid. To a significant extent, this war reflected the dispute over economic and commercial interests between two multinational companies: Sombana, a Dole Fresh Fruit supplier headquartered in the United States, and Somalfruit, a joint venture with capital from Italy (De Nadai Group), the Somali state and local growers, who fought over the control of the production and monthly export of 200,000 boxes of banana to Europe.

²⁴General Discretion in the Further Employment of Personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia, S.C. res 794, 47 U.N. SCOR at 63, U.N. Doc. S/RES/794 (1992), Peace Resource Center.

²⁵Mark Fineman, “The Oil Factor in Somalia: Four American petroleum giants had agreements with the African nation before its civil war began. They could reap big rewards if peace is restored”, *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1993.

²⁶Ibid. See the figure of the Operation in: Operation Restore Hope—December 9, 1992 to May 4, 1993. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/jhtml/jframe.html> and <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/images/restore-hope-map.gif>. Accessed 09.05.2015.

²⁷“The largest and most purposeful enterprise going on in Somalia at the present time is Conoco’s quest for oil (...) Conoco is investing in oil exploration in Somalia on a scale unmatched by its rivals, building roads and airstrips, chartering one of the national airline’s three planes full time, and sending seismic survey teams to the edge of [Somaliland National Movement]-controlled territory.” “Petroleum Exploration: Conoco Searches for Oil in Somalia”, Cable from US Embassy in Mogadishu to State Department Headquarters. March 21, 1990. Cable Number: Mogadishu 02844. Source: Freedom of Information Act release (2006-01-286) to Keith Yearman.

139 the start of the operation, and the country continued divided and unstable.²⁸ On
140 October 3, 1993, however, the units of the Joint Special Operations Task Force
141 (JSOTF) and of Special Forces Operational Detachment-Delta suffered a bitter
142 defeat under the command of General William Garrison when they attacked
143 Mogadishu in order to capture general Maxamed Faarax Caydiid (better known
144 as Farrah Aidid).

145 500 Somalis died and more than 1000 were injured. 19 American soldiers,
146 however, were also killed, and 77 were wounded and one captured. General Farrah
147 Aidid's militias celebrated the victory by cheering and dragging the corpses of the
148 American soldiers through the streets of Mogadishu. This dreary spectacle was
149 broadcast on television, and the number of casualties shocked the United States.
150 Faced with the outcry caused by the fiasco, President Bill Clinton, successor of
151 George H. W. Bush, had no other alternative but to withdraw the troops from
152 Somalia on March 31, 1994.

153 President George H.W. Bush also ordered an intervention in Panama, called
154 Operation Just Cause, to overthrow and capture President Manuel Noriega
155 (1983–1989), accused of drug trafficking. But he also had to deal with the fall of
156 the Berlin Wall and the unraveling of the socialist block between 1989 and 1991,
157 the greatest political events of the second half of the twentieth century, signaling the
158 end of the Cold War.

159 No longer would another State or block of States be able to challenge or put at
160 risk the economic, social and political system of the United States, whose military
161 force had become the only one in the world since the second world war to have not a
162 defensive, but an offensive mission. That is, it served not to protect its national
163 borders, but to project itself on all the continents where it had placed the military
164 commands representing its imperial power.²⁹ And these military commands began
165 exerting a more significant influence on American foreign policy than the State
166 department itself.

167 As the Soviet Union³⁰ crumbled, it not only lost dominion over its Eastern
168 European states, but also over other republics, including those of the Baltic region,
169 Central Asia and the Caucasus. Eight republics of this region (the Caucasus and
170 Central Asia)—Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan,

²⁸Elizabeth Chamberlain, "Operation Restore Truth—U.S. relations with Somalia", Humanist, FindArticles.com, June 5, 2012.

²⁹The military commands were established by the United States with jurisdiction over continents and certain regions, dividing geographical responsibility: Northern Command (USNORTHCOM), Pacific Command (USPACOM), Central Command (USCENTCOM), European Command (USEUCOM), Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM). Commands with functional responsibility: Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), Transportation Command (USTRANSCOM), Strategic Command (USSTRATCOM), Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM).

³⁰The Soviet Union was made up of 15 republics: Russia, Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Georgia and Armenia.

Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan—proclaimed themselves as independent states, in which hundreds of ethnicities, linguistic groups and religious sects coexisted.

And general Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President George H. W. Bush, recommended that the government should preserve the “credible capability to forestall any potential adversary from competing militarily” with the United States,³¹ prevent Japan and Russia from remilitarizing and the European Union from becoming a military power outside of NATO, and discourage any challenge to its dominance or the established international economic and political order. He therefore signaled to the Armed Forces of Latin American countries what their new missions should be:

to maintain only such military capabilities as are necessary for self-defense and alliance commitments, counter-narcotrafic efforts, disaster relief, international peacekeeping forces and consistent with their laws and constitutions and other missions, with the principles of the Organization of American States and United Nations Charters.³²

Meanwhile, in 1992, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney issued a document in which he confirmed that the primary political and military mission of the United States after the Cold War was to prevent the emergence of any rival power in Europe, Asia or the now defunct Soviet Union. The goal was to ensure the status of *lonely*, hegemonic power to the United States as head and guide of an ultra-imperial system of western nations, attributing the monopoly of international violence to NATO as some sort of *global cop*. The original document—*Defense Planning Guidance*—drafted in 1990 together with Paul Wolfowitz, Lewis “Scooter” Libby and Eric Lewderman, all of them *neocons*, established that the strategic objective of the United States, as “*permanent unilateral superpower*”, consisted in gaining control of all Eurasia (Europe and Asia) and find the means “*to integrate the ‘new democracies’ of the former Soviet bloc into the U.S.-led system*”.³³

There was an awareness in Washington that the United States possessed “*overwhelming conventional military superiority*” and that the other nation-states could not threaten it directly. A direct and large-scale conflict, a conventional war, was therefore becoming increasingly unlikely. For the Pentagon, competition in an

³¹Powell (1992, p. 7). Draft Resolution—12 Cooperation for Security in the Hemisphere, Regional Contribution to Global Security—The General Assembly, recalling: Resolutions AG/RES. 1121 (XXX-091 and AG/RES. 1123 (XXI-091) for strengthening of peace and security in the hemisphere, and AG/RES. 1062 (XX090) against clandestine arms traffic.

³²Powell (1992, p. 7).

³³“Prevent the Reemergence of a New Rival”—The Making of the Cheney Regional Defense Strategy, 1991–1992—Declassified Studies from Cheney Pentagon Show Push for U.S. Military Predominance and a Strategy to “Prevent the Reemergence of a New Rival”—William Burr—National Security Archives. Ralph (2008, p. 257). Patrick E. Tyler, “U.S. Strategy Plan Calls for Insuring No Rivals Develop A One-Superpower World. Pentagon’s Document Outlines Ways to Thwart Challenges to Primacy of America”, *The New York Times*, March 8, 1992. Jeffrey Steinberg, “LaRouche Demands Cheney’s Resignation”, *Executive Intelligence Review*, October 4, 2002.

international environment would coalesce into the undetermined and continuous use of instruments of power, especially with informal, “*irregular*”, “*asymmetric*” or “*unrestricted*” methods of war, such as guerrilla warfare, sabotage and insurgencies.³⁴ In this context of *unconventional war* (UW), the Special Operations Forces devoted themselves to the mission of *exporting democracy* and the *free market* in order to align the interests of recalcitrant countries with those of the United States.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Socialist block opened a *political vacuum*. And the deployment of the market economy, the exploitation of the immense oil and gas reserves and the construction of pipelines in the Caucasus region opened new opportunities for capitalist accumulation, that is, for the flow of capital from the western powers, particularly from the United States, to the non-capitalist economies of the newly independent countries. Soon President George H. W. Bush, his Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and the Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair, were pressing the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Äbişılı Nazarbayev (since 1991), to secure large oil and gas exploration contracts, which could potentially rival those in Iraq, for Chevron, ConocoPhillips, Halliburton, British Petroleum and the BG Group.³⁵

In the 1990s, the United States was living its imperial *momentum*. It began to act internationally as *lonely*, hegemonic superpower, the sole center of authority, force and economic and political decision-making, dictating neoliberalism, based on the *Washington Consensus*,³⁶ as the path to economic

³⁴“Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare”. Field Manual No. 3-05.130—Headquarters Department of the Army, Washington, DC, 30 September 2008—DISTRIBUTION RESTRICTION: Distribution authorized to U.S. Government agencies and their contractors only to protect technical or operational information from automatic dissemination under the International Exchange Program or by other means. This determination was made on 28 August 2008. Other requests for this document must be referred to Commander, United States Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, ATTN: AOJK-DTD-JA, Fort Bragg, NC 28310-9610, or by e-mail to JACComments@soc.mil. DESTRUCTION NOTICE: Destroy by any method that will prevent disclosure of contents or reconstruction of the document. FOREIGN DISCLOSURE RESTRICTION (FD 6): This publication has been reviewed by the product developers in coordination with the United States Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School foreign disclosure authority. This product is releasable to students from foreign countries on a case-by-case basis only. Headquarters, Department of the Army. This publication is available at Army Knowledge Online (www.us.army.mil) and General Dennis J. Reimer Training and Doctrine—Digital Library at (www.train.army.mil).

³⁵Aitken (2009, p. 168, 202).

³⁶The American economist John Williamson was author of the *Washington Consensus*, a document that contained ten recommendations for economic reform, which represented a broad consensus in Washington between members of Congress, the administration and technocrats of international financial institutions, economic agencies of the American government, the Federal Reserve Board, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and *think tanks*. These recommendations, which focused on monetary stability and the full restoration of market laws, consisted in: (1) Fiscal discipline; (2) Changes in public spending priorities; (3) Tax reform; (4) Positive interest rates; (5) Exchange rates dictated by the market; (6) Trade liberalization; (7) End of restrictions to foreign investments; (8) Privatization of state enterprises; (9) Deregulation of economic activities; (10) Guarantee of property rights. Williamson, 1990, pp. 9–33.

development.³⁷ By seeking greater multilateral commitments and emphasizing the interdependence of States in the globalization process,³⁸ President Bill Clinton (1993–2001) of the Democratic Party maintained significant portions of the foreign policy agenda of his Republican predecessors, Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush, in the sense that he superimposed the concept of “world government”, i.e. the global governance under the leadership of the United States, over “national sovereignty”. This had been an increasing trend in American foreign policy since the end of the Second World War, and Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright explicitly stated in his book *Old Myths and New Realities* (1964): “Indeed, the concept of national sovereignty has become in our time a principle of international anarchy”, the most pervasive of the old myths “that blind to the realities of our time”.³⁹

2.5 Private Military Corporations

The recruitment of the first mercenaries to support (supply, maintenance etc.) the military services probably occurred in Incirlik Air Base, in Turkey, during Operation Desert Storm (1990–1991).⁴⁰ President Bill Clinton, however, advanced this outsourcing policy, the privatization of military services,⁴¹ in the mid-90s. This had been planned in the administration of President George H. W. Bush by his Secretary of Defense, Mr. Cheney, who had requested Brown & Root, the Engineering division of Halliburton, headquartered in Houston, to identify those services performed by the Armed Forces that could be taken over by the private sector.⁴² And so the *Private Military Contractors* (PMCs), mercenaries “authorized to commit violence” in name of their employers, gained ground. Or “uncontrollable predatory bandits” representing public power in the most remote regions, as professor Peter Dale Scott described them.⁴³ Jeremy Scahill wrote that these “shadowy mercenary companies”⁴⁴ employed “some of the most feared professional killers in the world”, accustomed to operate without regard for legal consequences, far from Congressional oversight; and with “remarkable power and

³⁷See Bresser-Pereira (2009, p. 29).

³⁸Ibid., p. 38.

³⁹Fulbright (1964, p. 87 e 147).

⁴⁰Chetterjee (2009, p. 56).

⁴¹Chesterman and Lehnardt (2007, p. 99).

⁴²Klein (2007, p. 291).

⁴³Peter Dale Scott, “The Real Grand Chessboard and the Profiteers of War”, Global Research, August 11, 2009.

⁴⁴The *Private Military Contractors* relived the *Grandes Compagnies*, the mercenary companies mobilized during the Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453), especially by Philippe De Bourgogne, Jean II and Charles V of France, and the *Condottieri*, hired by the city-states and the Papacy between 1350 and 1530.

251 *protection within the U.S. war apparatus*". They committed acts of violence "*with*
 252 *impunity, including the cold-blooded murder of non-combatant Civilians*".⁴⁵ Pres-
 253 ident Bill Clinton gave lucrative contracts to Halliburton to operate in the wars in
 254 the Balkans—Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo (1999).⁴⁶ Cheney had taken the helm at
 255 the company after leaving the Secretary of Defense, and in 5 years he had doubled
 256 its turnover, which jumped from US\$ 1.2 billion to US\$ 2.3 billion, extracted from
 257 the United States Treasury.⁴⁷ And his personal wealth also increased.

258 "*Counter-terrorism*" continued to be "*a top priority for the Clinton Administra-*
 259 *tion*", as the White House announced in 1995.⁴⁸ Madeleine Albright, Secretary of
 260 State during his administration, emphasized that terrorism was the most important
 261 threat the United States and the world would face in the beginning of the twenty-
 262 first century, and senior American officials recognized that terrorists were more
 263 than ever capable of obtaining and using nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

264 Politics in Washington, however, was still guided by the Cold War mentality and
 265 overflowing with triumphalism because of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Fol-
 266 lowing the *Defense Planning Guidance* (DPG), President Bill Clinton violated the
 267 commitments President George H. W. Bush had made to President Mikhail
 268 S. Gorbachev and expanded NATO until the borders of Russia, incorporating states
 269 that previously belonged to the socialist block, such as the former Soviet republics
 270 of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. The United States also imposed its prominence on
 271 the Balkans with the breakup of former Yugoslavia, encouraged free market and
 272 democratic, i.e. pro-western, reforms in the Eastern European countries of the
 273 former Soviet Union's sphere of influence, and occupied the political *vacuum*
 274 caused by the debacle of the Soviet Union in the Baltic region, the Caucasus and
 275 Central Asia.

276 Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin (1991–1999), no doubt pressured by his
 277 Armed Forces, wrote a letter to President Clinton opposing NATO's expansion to
 278 the countries of Eastern Europe, including the Czech Republic and Poland.⁴⁹ "We
 279 are against the expansion of NATO to the East toward the borders of the Russian
 280 Federation. We are firm in our position", reiterated Yeltsin before his meeting with
 281 Clinton in Helsinki in March 1997.⁵⁰ But Russia had been crippled since the end of
 282 the Soviet Union, involved in a war against the *mujahidin* in Chechnya, which
 283 drained at least US\$ 5 billion from its coffers, and mired in a deep financial crisis,
 284 which led Russia to a default on August 17, 1998. It had neither the strength nor the

⁴⁵Scahill (2007, pp. XVIII–XXVII).

⁴⁶Ibid., p. XVI.

⁴⁷Klein (2007, p. 292).

⁴⁸The White House—Office of the Press Secretary—Fact Sheet—Counter-Terrorism—The White House's Position on Terrorism—State Fair Arena, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 23, 1995.

⁴⁹Roger Cohen, "Yeltsin Opposes Expansion of NATO in Eastern Europe", *The New York Times*, October 2, 1993.

⁵⁰Richard C. Paddock, "Yeltsin Sees Deal on Expansion of NATO Diplomacy: Russian president says he still opposes spread of alliance but is committed to resolving dispute during meeting with Clinton in Helsinki next month", *Los Angeles Times*, February 24, 1997.

conditions to prevent NATO's continued incursions into its former eastern republics, such as Georgia and Ukraine, transforming itself into a kind of UN, a political arbitrator with authority to intervene against any regime, as it did in Serbia with the situation in Kosovo, which harbored an Albanian population,⁵¹ when Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina separated from Yugoslavia in the early 90s.

2.6 NED and Subversion in Yugoslavia

NATO and the United States bombed Serbia (and Montenegro) in Operation Allied Force between March and June 1999, killing more than 1200 civilians, according to the Yugoslav Committee for Cooperation with Unicef, although the numbers may be as high as 5000 and 5700, if a longer period and the various ways one can lose one's life, are considered. But the covert intervention in Serbia began in 1998, when a group of students sparked the movement called OTPOR (resistance), and with the financial support of the United States through the US National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which helped mobilize the population to overthrow the government of President Slobodan Milošević by calling for the *Bager revolucija* (Bulldozer Revolution) in 2000.⁵² Paul B. McCarthy, director of the National Endowment for Democracy funded by the United States Congress, revealed that after the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation, his organization started giving assistance to movements advocating democracy in Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo, and that after September 1998, a significant amount of dollars began to flow to OTPOR, with around US\$ 3 million being spent in Serbia.⁵³ The NED operated in conjunction with the Soros Foundation and some European foundations and concentrated funding on the following areas: independent media;

⁵¹George Friedman, "Georgia and Kosovo: A Single Intertwined Crisis", *Stratfor*, August 25, 2008.

⁵²Roger Cohen, "Who Really Brought Down Milosevic?", *The New York Times Magazine*, November 26, 2000. Vejvoda (2009, pp. 307–316). "After its success, Serbia's Otpor would continue receiving funds from the West and become a 'CIA-coup college' of sorts, under the name CANVAS, or 'Center for Applied Non-Violent Action and Strategies'. It appears that after the Egyptian April 6 Youth Movement finished attending the US State Department funded confab in New York City in 2008, it would make a trip to visit CANVAS in 2009. From there, it took CANVAS's 'curriculum' and apparently their logo, and began assembling a US-funded mob in Egypt. Amongst CANVAS's current 'partners' are the Albert Einstein Institution, Freedom House, and the International Republican Institute (IRI). The IRI includes amongst its board of directors John McCain, Lindsey Graham, and Brent Scowcroft. When John McCain says 'We should have seen this coming,' in regards to the unrest in Egypt, he obviously isn't talking about himself since he helped make it happen." Tony Cartalucci, "CIA Coup-College", *Land Destroyer Report*, February 19, 2011.

⁵³Roger Cohen, "Who Really Brought Down Milosevic?", *The New York Times Magazine*, November 26, 2000.

308 non-governmental organizations (NGOs); human rights organizations; *various*
 309 *think tanks*; trade unions, etc.⁵⁴

310 Of the US\$ 25 million corresponding to the budget of the U.S. Agency for
 311 International Development (USAID), in 1999, “*several hundred thousand dollars*
 312 *were given directly to OTPOR for demonstration-support material, like T-shirts*
 313 *and stickers*”, declared the Senior Director for Foreign Service of that organiza-
 314 tion.⁵⁵ In addition to other covert resources, the leaders of OTPOR received
 315 around US\$ 1.8 million in 1999 from the International Republican Institute
 316 (IRI), another non-governmental organization that sought to “*advance freedom*
 317 *and democracy worldwide by developing political parties, civic institutions, open*
 318 *elections, democratic governance and the rule of law*”.⁵⁶ The leaders of OTPOR—
 319 Srđa Popović and Davorin Popović—never denied receiving resources from the
 320 United States, but they argued that the money only accelerated Milošević’ fall,
 321 which would have happened sooner or later, and facilitated a non-violent transi-
 322 tion. The European Union invested US\$ 17 million and between 1995 and 2002
 323 the United States government added more than US\$ 23 million, mostly through
 324 USAID, to assist the opposition media alone.⁵⁷ During the 18 months preceding
 325 the fall of Slobodan Milošević, they spent a total of approximately US\$ 80 mil-
 326 lion.⁵⁸ And the multimillionaire George Soros, who had invested in Yugoslavia
 327 since 1991, spent more than US\$ 100 million to fund the anti-Milošević move-
 328 ment, including the OTPOR group. And when the United Nations Mission in
 329 Kosovo (UNMIK) took control after the expulsion of Serbian forces by NATO, he
 330 invested US\$ 50 million in an attempt to buy the Trepca mining complex, a
 331 conglomerate of about 40 mines and factories, most of them in Kosovo, valued
 332 at US\$ 5 billion.⁵⁹

⁵⁴Statement by Paul B. McCarthy National Endowment for Democracy to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe 2172 Rayburn House Office Building December 10, 1998, “How the U.S. has Created a Corrupt Opposition in Serbia”.

⁵⁵Roger Cohen, “Who Really Brought Down Milosevic?”, *The New York Times Magazine*, November 26, 2000.

⁵⁶The International Republican Institute: <http://www.iri.org/>

⁵⁷Rich McClear, Suzi McClear e Peter Graves, “U.S. Media Assistance Programs in Serbia—July 1997–June 2002”, PPC Evaluation Working Paper No. 10, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, PN-ACT-553, November 2003.

⁵⁸Abel Polese and Donnacha Ó Beacháin, “The Color Revolution Virus and Authoritarian Antidotes Political Protest and Regime Counterattacks Regime in Post-Communist spaces,” Academia.edu.

⁵⁹Richard Poe, “George Soros and America’s Coming Election Crisis (Part 1)”, *FreeRepublic.com*, July 16, 2004.

2.7 Access to Oil and Gas, a Matter of US National Security

333

President Bill Clinton saw clearly that the national security of the United States 334
mainly meant economic security, and that this depended on its international 335
engagement, on the benefits it could bring to the American middle class, and on 336
the efforts to encourage economic reforms and the opening of markets to foreign 337
investments in all regions. The president himself stated that “*our ‘foreign’ policies* 338
are not really foreign at all”.⁶⁰ National security could no longer be defined in the 339
strict military terms of the Cold War and distinguish foreign from domestic 340
policy.⁶¹ As President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–1969) had done before him, 341
Clinton blurred the distinction between the domestic and international responsibil- 342
ities of the United States.⁶² And the conviction grew that if any other power would 343
come to dominate Central Asia and the Middle East, then it would have a powerful 344
weapon to threaten American society, whose energy security had become quite 345
vulnerable, since it depended on imports for 50% or more of its oil. This became 346
one of the most important guiding principles of American foreign policy after 1990. 347
And Russia, Iran and Central Asia held 15% or more of global oil reserves and 50% 348
of gas reserves. 349

The national security of the United States necessarily implied the control of 350
energy resources and their transport routes in Central Asia and in the Middle East, 351
where around 64.5% of known oil reserves are found, and in Africa, where around 352
90% of oil reserves and production was concentrated in six countries—Nigeria, 353
Libya, Algeria, Angola (oil), Sudan (oil) and Egypt (gas). Production had increased 354
in these countries from 53.3 billion barrels in 1980, to 117.2 billion in 2006, and 355
approximately 210 billion in 2012, representing around 13% of world reserves.⁶³ 356
But important reserves were also discovered in Ghana, Tanzania, Mozambique and 357
Uganda, with exploration of fields in other countries, such as Sierra Leone, Mali 358
and Kenya. All unstable countries, where oil interests probably contributed to the 359
escalation of the tribal and ethnic conflicts, constant revolts and civil wars that 360
plagued these nations. 361

⁶⁰“A New Covenant for American Security”, Remarks by Governor Bill Clinton to Students at Georgetown University in 1991, December 12, 1991. William J. Clinton Presidential Center.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²President Lyndon B. Johnson declared on January 20, 1965: “*Terrific dangers and troubles we once called ‘foreign’ now live among us. If American lives must end, and American treasure be spilled in countries that we barely know, then that is the price that change has demanded for conviction and of our enduring government.*” *The President’s Inaugural Address*, January 20, 1965.

⁶³Aaron Levitt, “Africa: The Next Great Energy Growth Story—Often ignored continent just waiting to break out”, *Investor Place*, February 23, 2012.

The Second Cold War

Geopolitics and the Strategic Dimensions of the USA

Moniz Bandeira, L.A.

2017, XXVII, 465 p. 53 illus., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-54887-6