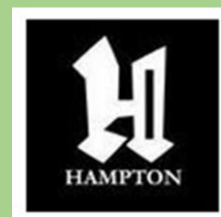


2013

Engineering Empire:



**An Introduction to the Intellectuals and Institutions
of American Imperialism in the Age of Obama**



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A 2013 Hampton Institute report by Andrew Gavin Marshall



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Educating yourself about empire can be a challenging endeavor, especially since so much of the educational system is dedicated to avoiding the topic or justifying the actions of imperialism in the modern era. If one studies political science or economics, the subject might be discussed in a historical context, but rarely as a modern reality; media and government voices rarely speak on the subject, and even more rarely speak of it with direct and honest language. Instead, we exist in a society where institutions and individuals of power speak in coded language, using deceptive rhetoric with abstract meaning. We hear about 'democracy' and 'freedom' and 'security,' but so rarely about imperialism, domination, and exploitation.

The objective of this report is to provide an introduction to the institutional and social structure of American imperialism. The material is detailed but should not be considered complete or even comprehensive; its purpose is to function as a resource or reference for those seeking to educate themselves about the modern imperial system. It's not an analysis of state policies or the effects of those policies, but rather, it is an examination of the institutions and individuals who advocate and implement imperial policies. What is revealed is a highly integrated and interconnected network of institutions and individuals - the foreign policy establishment - consisting of academics (so-called "experts" and "policy-oriented intellectuals") and prominent think tanks.

Think tanks bring together prominent academics, former top government officials, corporate executives, bankers, media representatives, foundation officials and other elites in an effort to establish consensus on issues of policy and strategy, to produce reports and recommendations for policy-makers, functioning as recruitment centers for those who are selected to key government positions where they have the ability to implement policies. Thus, think tanks function as the intellectual engines of empire: they establish consensus among elites, provide policy prescriptions, strategic recommendations, and the personnel required to implement imperial policies through government agencies.

Among the most prominent American and international think tanks are the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the Bilderberg meetings, the Trilateral Commission, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the Brookings Institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Atlantic Council. These institutions tend to rely upon funding from major foundations (such as Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie, etc.) as well as corporations and financial institutions, and even various government agencies. There is an extensive crossover in leadership and membership between these institutions, and between them and their funders.

Roughly focusing on the period from the early 1970s until today, what emerges from this research is a highly integrated network of foreign policy elites, with individuals like Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcroft, and Joseph Nye figuring prominently in sitting at the center of the American

imperial establishment over the course of decades, with powerful corporate and financial patrons such as the Rockefeller family existing in the background of American power structures.

Meet the Engineers of Empire

Within the U.S. government, the National Security Council (NSC) functions as the main planning group, devising strategy and policies for the operation of American power in the world. The NSC coordinates multiple other government agencies, bringing together the secretaries of the State and Defense Departments, the CIA, NSA, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and various other government bodies, with meetings directed by the National Security Adviser, who is generally one of the president's most trusted and influential advisers. In several administrations, the National Security Adviser became the most influential voice and policymaker to do with foreign policy, such as during the Nixon administration (with Henry Kissinger) and the Carter administration (with Zbigniew Brzezinski).

While both of these individuals were top government officials in the 1970s, their influence has not declined in the decades since they held such positions. In fact, it could be argued that both of their influence (along with several other foreign policy elites) has increased with their time outside of government. In fact, in a January 2013 interview with *The Hill*, Brzezinski stated: "To be perfectly frank - and you may not believe me - I really wasn't at all conscious of the fact that the defeat of the Carter administration [in 1980] somehow or another affected significantly my own standing... I just kept doing my thing minus the Office of the National Security Adviser in the White House." [1]

David Rothkopf has written the official history of the National Security Council (NSC) in his book, *Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power*, published in 2005. Rothkopf writes from an insiders perspective, being a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment, he was Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade Policy and Development in the Clinton administration, and is currently president and CEO of Garten Rothkopf, an international advisory firm, CEO of *Foreign Policy* magazine, previously CEO of Intellibridge Corporation, and was also a managing director at Kissinger Associates, an international advisory firm founded and run by Henry Kissinger. In his book on the NSC, Rothkopf noted that, "[e]very single national security advisor since Kissinger is, in fact, within two degrees of Kissinger," referring to the fact that they have all "worked with him as aides, on his staff, or directly with him in some capacity," or worked for someone in those categories (hence, within "two degrees").[2]

For example, General Brent Scowcroft, who was National Security Advisor (NSA) under Presidents Ford and George H.W. Bush, was Kissinger's Deputy National Security Advisor in the Nixon administration; Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's NSA, served on the faculty of Harvard with Kissinger, also served with Kissinger on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board during the Reagan administration, both

of them are also members (and were at times, board members) of the Council on Foreign Relations, as well as members of the Trilateral Commission, and they are both currently trustees of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Other NSA's with connections to Kissinger include: Richard Allen, NSA under Reagan, who worked for Kissinger in the Nixon administration; William P. Clark, NSA under Reagan, who worked for Kissinger's former aide, Alexander Haig at the State Department; Robert McFarlane, also NSA under Reagan, worked with Kissinger in the Nixon administration; John Poindexter, also NSA for Reagan, was McFarlane's deputy; Frank Carlucci, also NSA in the Reagan administration, worked for Kissinger in the Nixon administration; Colin Powell, NSA for Reagan (and Secretary of State for George W. Bush), worked for Carlucci as his deputy; Anthony Lake, Clinton's NSA, worked directly for Kissinger; Samuel Berger, also NSA for Clinton, was Lake's deputy; Condoleezza Rice, NSA for George W. Bush, worked on Scowcroft's NSC staff; and Stephen Hadley also worked for Kissinger directly.[3]

The foreign policy establishment consists of the top officials of the key government agencies concerned with managing foreign policy (State Department, Pentagon, CIA, NSC), drawing upon officials from within the think tank community, where they become well acquainted with corporate and financial elites, and thus, become familiar with the interests of this group of people. Upon leaving high office, these officials often return to leadership positions within the think tank community, join corporate boards, and/or establish their own international advisory firms where they charge hefty fees to provide corporations and banks with strategic advice and use of their international political contacts (which they acquired through their time in office). Further, these individuals also regularly appear in the media to provide commentary on international affairs as 'independent experts' and are routinely recruited to serve as 'outside' advisors to presidents and other high-level officials.

No less significant in assessing influence within the foreign policy establishment is the relative proximity - and relationships - individuals have with deeply entrenched power structures, notably financial and corporate dynasties. Arguably, both Kissinger and Brzezinski are two of the most influential individuals within the foreign policy elite networks. Certainly of no detriment to their careers was the fact that both cultivated close working and personal relationships with what can be said to be America's most powerful dynasty, the Rockefeller family.

Dynastic Influence on Foreign Policy

At first glance, this may appear to be a rather obscure addition to this report, but dynastic power in modern state-capitalist societies is largely overlooked, misunderstood, or denied altogether, much like the concept of 'empire' itself. The lack of discourse on this subject - or the relegation of it to fringe 'conspiratorial' views - is not reason enough to ignore it. Far from assigning a conspiratorial or 'omnipotent' view of power to dynastic elements, it is important to place them within a social and institutional analysis, to understand the complexities and functions of dynastic influence within modern society.

Dynastic power relies upon a complex network of relationships and interactions between institutions, individuals, and ideologies. Through most of human history - in most places in the world - power was wielded by relatively few people, and often concentrated among dynastic family structures, whether ancient Egypt, imperial Rome, ancient China, the Ottoman Empire or the European monarchs spreading their empires across the globe. With the rise of state-capitalist society, dynastic power shifted from the overtly political to the financial and economic spheres. Today's main dynasties are born of corporate or banking power, maintained through family lines and extended through family ties to individuals, institutions, and policymakers. The Rockefellers are arguably the most influential dynasty in the United States, but comparable to the Rothschilds in France and the UK, the Wallenbergs in Sweden, the Agnellis in Italy, or the Desmarais family in Canada. These families are themselves connected through institutions such as the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission, among others. The power of a corporate-financial dynasty is not a given: it must be maintained, nurtured, and strengthened, otherwise it will be overcome or made obsolete.

The Rockefeller family has existed at the center of American power for over a century. Originating with the late 19th century 'Robber Baron' industrialists, the Rockefellers established an oil empire, and subsequently a banking empire. John D. Rockefeller, who had a personal fortune surpassing \$1 billion in the first decade of the 20th century, also founded the University of Chicago, and through the creation and activities of the Rockefeller Foundation (founded in 1913), helped engineer higher education and the social sciences. The Rockefeller family - largely acting through various family foundations - were also pivotal in the founding and funding of several prominent think tanks, notably the Council on Foreign Relations, the Asia Society, Trilateral Commission, the Group of Thirty, and the Bilderberg Group, among many others.

The patriarch of the Rockefeller family today is David Rockefeller, now in his late 90s. To understand the influence wielded by unelected bankers and billionaires like Rockefeller, it would be useful to simply examine the positions he has held throughout his life. From 1969 until 1980, he was the chairman and CEO of Chase Manhattan Bank and from 1981 to 1999 he was the chairman of the International Advisory Committee of Chase Manhattan, at which time it merged with another big bank to become JPMorgan Chase, of Rockefeller served as a member of the International Advisory Council from 2000 to 2005. David Rockefeller was a founding member of the Bilderberg Group in 1954, at which he remains on the Steering Committee; he is the former chairman of Rockefeller Group, Inc. (from 1981-1995), Rockefeller Center Properties (1996-2001), and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, at which he remains as an advisory trustee. He is chairman emeritus and life trustee of the Museum of Modern Art, and the founder of the David Rockefeller Fund and the International Executive Service Corps.

David Rockefeller was also the chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations from 1970 to 1985, of which he remains to this day as honorary chairman; is chairman emeritus of the board of trustees of the University of Chicago; honorary chairman, life trustee and chairman emeritus of the Rockefeller

University Council, and is the former president of the Harvard Board of Overseers. He was co-founder of the Global Philanthropists Circle, is honorary chairman of the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy (CECP) and is an honorary director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics. David Rockefeller was also the co-founder (with Zbigniew Brzezinski) of the Trilateral Commission in 1973, where he served as North American Chairman until 1991, and has since remained as honorary chairman. He is also the founder and honorary chairman of the Americas Society and the Council of the Americas.

It should not come as a surprise, then, that upon David Rockefeller's 90th birthday celebration (held at the Council on Foreign Relations) in 2005, then-president of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn delivered a speech in which he stated that, "the person who had perhaps the greatest influence on my life professionally in this country, and I'm very happy to say personally there afterwards, is David Rockefeller, who first met me at the Harvard Business School in 1957 or '58." He went on to explain that in the early 20th century United States, "as we looked at the world, a family, the Rockefeller family, decided that the issues were not just national for the United States, were not just related to the rich countries. And where, extraordinarily and amazingly, David's grandfather set up the Rockefeller Foundation, the purpose of which was to take a global view." Wolfensohn continued:

So the Rockefeller family, in this last 100 years, has contributed in a way that is quite extraordinary to the development in that period and has given ample focus to the issues of development with which I have been associated. In fact, it's fair to say that there has been no other single family influence greater than the Rockefeller's in the whole issue of globalization and in the whole issue of addressing the questions which, in some ways, are still before us today. And for that David, we're deeply grateful to you and for your own contribution in carrying these forward in the way that you did. [4]

Wolfensohn of course would be in a position to know something about the influence of the Rockefeller family. Serving as president of the World Bank from 1995 to 2005, he has since founded his own private firm, Wolfensohn & Company, LLC., was been a longtime member of the Steering Committee of the Bilderberg Group, an honorary trustee of the Brookings Institution, a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Wolfensohn's father, Hyman, was employed by James Armand de Rothschild of the Rothschild banking dynasty (after whom James was named), and taught the young Wolfensohn how to "cultivate mentors, friends and contacts of influence." [5] In his autobiography of 2002, *Memoirs*, David Rockefeller himself wrote:

For more than a century, ideological extremists at either end of the political spectrum have seized upon well-publicized incidents such as my encounter with Castro to attack the Rockefeller family for the inordinate influence they claim we wield over American political and economic institutions. Some even believe we are part of a secret cabal working against the best interests of

the United States, characterizing my family and me as 'internationalists' and of conspiring with others around the world to build a more integrated global political and economic structure--one world, if you will. If that's the charge, I stand guilty, and I am proud of it. [6]

In the United States, the Rockefeller family has maintained a network of influence through financial, corporate, educational, cultural, and political spheres. It serves as a logical extension of dynastic influence to cultivate relationships among the foreign policy elite of the U.S., notably the likes of Kissinger and Brzezinski.

Intellectuals, 'Experts,' and Imperialists *Par Excellence*: Kissinger and Brzezinski

Both Kissinger and Brzezinski served as professors at Harvard in the early 1950s, as well as both joining the Council on Foreign Relations around the same time, and both also attended meetings of the Bilderberg Group (two organizations which had Rockefellers in leadership positions). Kissinger was a director at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund from 1956 until 1958, and thereafter became an advisor to Nelson Rockefeller. Kissinger was even briefly brought into the Kennedy administration as an advisor to the State Department, while Brzezinski was an advisor to the Kennedy campaign, and was a member of President Johnson's Policy Planning Council in the State Department from 1966 to 1968. When Nixon became president in 1969, Kissinger became his National Security Advisor, and eventually also took over the role of Secretary of State.

In 1966, prior to entering the Nixon administration, Henry Kissinger wrote an article for the journal *Daedalus* in which he proclaimed the modern era as "the age of the expert," and went on to explain: "The expert has his constituency - those who have a vested interest in commonly held opinions; elaborating and defining its consensus at a high level has, after all, made him an expert." [7] In other words, the "expert" serves entrenched and established power structures and elites ("those who have a vested interest in commonly held opinions"), and the role of such an expert is to define and elaborate the "consensus" of elite interests. Thus, experts, as Henry Kissinger defines them, serve established elites.

In 1970, Brzezinski wrote a highly influential book, *Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era*, which attracted the interest of Chase Manhattan Chairman (and Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations) David Rockefeller. The two men then worked together to create the Trilateral Commission, of which Kissinger became a member. Kissinger remained as National Security Advisor for President Ford, and when Jimmy Carter became President (after Brzezinski invited him into the Trilateral Commission), Brzezinski became his National Security Advisor, also bringing along dozens of other members of the Trilateral Commission into the administration's cabinet.

In a study published in the journal *Polity* in 1982, researchers described what amounted to modern Machiavellis who "whisper in the ears of princes," notably, prominent academic-turned policymakers like Walt Rostow, Henry Kissinger, and Zbigniew Brzezinski. The researchers constructed a 'survey' in 1980 which was distributed to a sample of officials in the State Department, CIA, Department of Defense and the National Security Council (the four government agencies primarily tasked with managing foreign policy), designed to assess the views of those who implement foreign policy related to how they measure influence held by academics. They compared their results with a similar survey conducted in 1971, and found that in both surveys, academics such as George Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger, and Zbigniew Brzezinski were listed as among the members of the academic community who most influenced the thinking of those who took the survey. In the 1971 survey, George Kennan was listed as the most influential, followed by Hans Morgenthau, John K. Galbraith, Henry Kissinger, E.O. Reischauer and Zbigniew Brzezinski; in the 1980 survey, Henry Kissinger was listed as the most influential, followed by Hans Morgenthau, George Kennan, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Stanley Hoffmann. [8]

Of the fifteen most influential scholars in the 1980 survey, eleven received their highest degree from a major East Coast university, eight held a doctorate from Harvard, twelve were associated with major East Coast universities, while seven of them had previously taught at Harvard. More than half of the top fifteen scholars had previously held prominent government positions, eight were members of the Council on Foreign Relations, ten belonged to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and eight belonged to the American Political Science Association. Influence tended to sway according to which of the four government agencies surveyed was being assessed, though for Kissinger, Morgenthau and Brzezinski, they "were equally influential with each of the agencies surveyed." The two most influential academic journals cited by survey responses were *Foreign Affairs* (run by the Council on Foreign Relations), read by more than two-thirds of those who replied to the survey, and *Foreign Policy*, which was read by more than half of respondents. [9]

In a 1975 report by the Trilateral Commission on *The Crisis of Democracy*, co-authored by Samuel Huntington, a close associate and friend of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the role of intellectuals came into question, noting that with the plethora of social movements and protests that had emerged from the 1960s onwards, intellectuals were asserting their "disgust with the corruption, materialism, and inefficiency of democracy and with the subservience of democratic government to 'monopoly capitalism'." Thus, noted the report: "the advanced industrial societies have spawned a stratum of value-oriented intellectuals who often devote themselves to the derogation of leadership, the challenging of authority, and the unmasking and delegitimation of established institutions, their behavior contrasting with that of the also increasing numbers of technocratic policy-oriented intellectuals." [10] In other words, intellectuals were increasingly failing to serve as "experts" (as Henry Kissinger defined it), and were increasingly challenging authority and institutionalized power structures instead of serving them, unlike "technocratic and policy-oriented intellectuals."

The influence of "experts" and "technocratic policy-oriented intellectuals" like Kissinger and Brzezinski was not to dissipate going into the 1980s. Kissinger then joined the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), taught at Georgetown University, and in 1982, founded his own consulting firm, Kissinger Associates, co-founded and run with General Brent Scowcroft, who was the National Security Advisor for President Ford, after being Kissinger's deputy in the Nixon administration. Scowcroft is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, CSIS, and The Atlantic Council of the United States, which also includes Kissinger and Brzezinski among its leadership boards. Scowcroft also founded his own international advisory firm, the Scowcroft Group, and also served as National Security Advisor to President George H.W. Bush.

Kissinger Associates, which included not only Henry Kissinger and Brent Scowcroft, but also Lawrence Eagleburger, Kissinger's former aide in the Nixon administration, and Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs in the Reagan administration, and briefly as Deputy Secretary of State in the George H.W. Bush administration. These three men, who led Kissinger Associates in the 1980s, made a great deal of money advising some of the world's leading corporations, including ITT, American Express, Coca-Cola, Volvo, Fiat, and Midland Bank, among others. Kissinger Associates charges corporate clients at least \$200,000 for "offering geopolitical insight" and "advice," utilizing "their close relationships with foreign governments and their extensive knowledge of foreign affairs." [11]

While he was Chairman of Kissinger Associates, advising corporate clients, Henry Kissinger was also appointed to chair the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America by President Reagan from 1983 to 1985, commonly known as the Kissinger Commission, which provided the strategic framework for Reagan's terror war on Central America. As Kissinger himself noted in 1983, "If we cannot manage Central America... it will be impossible to convince threatened nations in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage the global equilibrium." [12] In other words, if the United States could not control a small region south of its border, how can it be expected to run the world?

Between 1984 and 1990, Henry Kissinger was also appointed to Reagan's (and subsequently Bush Sr.'s) Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, an organization that provides "advice" to the President on intelligence issues, which Brzezinski joined between 1987 and 1989. Brzezinski also served as a member of Reagan's Chemical Warfare Commission, and from 1987 to 1988, worked with Reagan's U.S. National Security Council-Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, alongside Henry Kissinger. The Commission's report, *Discriminate Deterrence*, issued in 1988, noted that the United States would have to establish new capabilities to deal with threats, particularly in the 'Third World,' noting that while conflicts in the 'Third World' "are obviously less threatening than any Soviet-American war would be," they still "have had and will have an adverse cumulative effect on U.S. access to critical regions," and if these effects cannot be managed, "it will gradually undermine America's ability to defend its interest in the most vital regions, such as the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean and the Western Pacific." [13]

Over the following decade, the report noted, "the United States will need to be better prepared to deal with conflicts in the Third World" which would "require new kinds of planning." If the United States could not effectively counter the threats to U.S. interests and allies, notably, "if the warfare is of low intensity and protracted, and if they use guerrilla forces, paramilitary terrorist organizations, or armed subversives," or, in other words, revolutionary movements, then "we will surely lose the support of many Third World countries that want to believe the United States can protect its friends, not to mention its own interests." Most 'Third World' conflicts are termed "low intensity conflict," referring to "insurgencies, organized terrorism, [and] paramilitary crime," and therefore the United States would need to take these conflicts more seriously, noting that within such circumstances, "the enemy" is essentially "omnipresent," meaning that the enemy is the population itself, "and unlikely ever to surrender." [14]

From Cold War to New World Order: 'Containment' to 'Enlargement'

At the end of the Cold War, the American imperial community of intellectuals and think tanks engaged in a process that continues to the present day in attempting to outline a geostrategic vision for America's domination of the world. The Cold War had previously provided the cover for the American extension of hegemony around the world, under the premise of 'containing' the Soviet Union and the spread of 'Communism.' With the end of the Cold War came the end of the 'containment' policy of foreign policy. It was the task of 'experts' and 'policy-oriented intellectuals' to assess the present circumstances of American power in the world and to construct new strategic concepts for the extension and preservation of that power.

In 1990, George H.W. Bush's administration released the *National Security Strategy of the United States* in which the Cold War was officially acknowledged as little more than a rhetorical deception. The document referenced U.S. interventions in the Middle East, which were for decades justified on the basis of 'containing' the perceived threat of 'communism' and the Soviet Union. The report noted that, "even as East-West tensions diminish, American strategic concerns remain." Threats to America's "interests" in the region, such as "the security of Israel and moderate Arab states" - otherwise known as ruthless dictatorships - "as well as the free flow of oil - come from a variety of sources." Citing previous military interventions in the region, the report stated that they "were in response to threats to U.S. interests that could not be laid at the Kremlin's door." In other words, all the rhetoric of protecting the world from communism and the Soviet Union was little more than deception. As the *National Security Strategy* noted: "The necessity to defend our interests will continue." [15]

When Bush became president in 1989, he ordered his national security team - headed by Brent Scowcroft - to review national security policy. Bush and Scowcroft had long discussed - even before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait - the notion that the U.S. will have to make its priority dealing with "Third World bullies" (a euphemism referring to U.S. puppet dictators who stop following orders). At the end of the

Cold War, George Bush declared a 'new world order,' a term which was suggested to Bush by Brent Scowcroft during a discussion "about future foreign-policy crises." [16]

Separate from the official *National Security Strategy*, the internal assessment of national security policy commissioned by Bush was partly leaked to and reported in the media in 1991. As the *Los Angeles Times* commented, the review dispensed with "sentimental nonsense about democracy." [17] The *New York Times* quoted the review: "In cases where the U.S. confronts much weaker enemies, our challenge will be not simply to defeat them, but to defeat them decisively and rapidly... For small countries hostile to us, bleeding our forces in protracted or indecisive conflict or embarrassing us by inflicting damage on some conspicuous element of our forces may be victory enough, and could undercut political support for U.S. efforts against them." [18] In other words, the capacity to justify and undertake large-scale wars and ground invasions had deteriorated substantially, so it would be necessary to "decisively and rapidly" destroy "much weaker enemies."

Zbigniew Brzezinski was quite blunt in his assessment of the Cold War - of which he was a major strategic icon - when he wrote in a 1992 article for *Foreign Affairs*, the journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, that the U.S. strategic discourse of the Cold War as a battle between Communist totalitarianism and Western democracy was little more than rhetoric. In Brzezinski's own words: "The policy of liberation was a strategic sham, designed to a significant degree for domestic political reasons... the policy was basically rhetorical, at most tactical." [19] In other words, it was all a lie, carefully constructed to deceive the American population into accepting the actions of a powerful state in its attempts to dominate the world.

In 1992, the *New York Times* leaked a classified document compiled by top Pentagon officials (including Paul Wolfowitz and Dick Cheney) devising a strategy for America in the post-Cold War world. As the *Times* summarized, the Defense Policy Guidance document "asserts that America's political and military mission in the post-cold-war era will be to ensure that no rival superpower is allowed to emerge in Western Europe, Asia or the territories of the former Soviet Union." The document "makes the case for a world dominated by one superpower whose position can be perpetuated by constructive behavior and sufficient military might to deter any nation or group of nations from challenging American primacy." [20]

In the Clinton administration, prominent "policy-oriented intellectuals" filled key foreign policy positions, notably Madeleine Albright, first as ambassador to the UN and then as Secretary of State, and Anthony Lake as National Security Advisor. Anthony Lake was a staffer in Kissinger's National Security Council during the Nixon administration (though he resigned in protest following the 'secret' bombing of Cambodia). Lake was subsequently recruited into the Trilateral Commission and was then appointed as policy planning director in Jimmy Carter's State Department under Secretary of State (and Trilateral Commission/Council on Foreign Relations member) Cyrus Vance. Richard Holbrooke and Warren

Christopher were also brought into the Trilateral Commission, then to the Carter administration, and resurfaced in the Clinton administration. Holbrooke and Lake had even been college roommates for a time. Madeleine Albright had studied at Columbia University under Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was her dissertation advisor. When Brzezinski became National Security Adviser in the Carter administration, he brought in Albright as a special assistant. [21]

Anthony Lake was responsible for outlining the 'Clinton Doctrine,' which he elucidated in a 1993 speech at Johns Hopkins University, where he stated: "The successor to a doctrine of containment must be a strategy of enlargement - enlargement of the world's free community of market democracies." This strategy "must combine our broad goals of fostering democracy and markets with our more traditional geostrategic interests," noting that, "[o]ther American interests at times will require us to befriend and even defend non-democratic states for mutually beneficial reasons." [22] In other words, nothing has changed, save the rhetoric: the interest of American power is in "enlarging" America's economic and political domination of the world.

In 1997, Brzezinski published a book outlining his strategic vision for America's role in the world, entitled *The Grand Chessboard*. He wrote that "the chief geopolitical prize" for America was 'Eurasia,' referring to the connected landmass of Asia and Europe: "how America 'manages' Eurasia is critical. Eurasia is the globe's largest continent and is geopolitically axial. A power that dominates Eurasia would control two of the world's three most advanced and economically productive regions. A mere glance at the map also suggests that control over Eurasia would almost automatically entail African subordination." [23] The "twin interests" of the United States, wrote Brzezinski, were, "in the short-term preservation of its unique global power and in the long-run transformation of it into increasingly institutionalized global cooperation." Brzezinski then wrote:

To put it in a terminology that hearkens back to the more brutal age of ancient empires, the three grand imperatives of imperial geostrategy are to prevent collusion and maintain security dependence among the vassals, to keep tributaries pliant and protected, and to keep the barbarians from coming together. [24]

The officials from the George H.W. Bush administration who drafted the 1992 Defense Policy Guidance report spent the Clinton years in neoconservative think tanks, such as the Project for the New American Century (PNAC). Essentially using the 1992 document as a blueprint, the PNAC published a report in 2000 entitled *Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces, and Resources for a New Century*. In contrast to previous observations from strategists like Brzezinski and Scowcroft, the neocons were not opposed to implementing large-scale wars, declaring that, "the United States must retain sufficient forces able to rapidly deploy and win multiple simultaneous large-scale wars." The report stated that there was a "need to retain sufficient combat forces to fight and win, multiple, nearly simultaneous

major theatre wars" and that "the Pentagon needs to begin to calculate the force necessary to protect, independently, US interests in Europe, East Asia and the Gulf at all times." [25]

Drafted by many of the neocons who would later lead the United States into the Iraq war (including Paul Wolfowitz), the report recommended that the United States establish a strong military presence in the Middle East: "the United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein." [26]

When the Bush administration came to power in 2001, it brought in a host of neoconservatives to key foreign policy positions, including Paul Wolfowitz, Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney. As one study noted, "among the 24 Bush appointees who have been most closely identified as neocons or as close to them, there are 27 links with conservative think tanks, 19 with their liberal counterparts and 20 with 'neocon' think tanks," as well as 11 connections with the Council on Foreign Relations. [27]

The 2002 U.S. National Security Strategy announced by the Bush administration, thereafter referred to as the "Bush doctrine," which included the usual rhetoric about democracy and freedom, and then established the principle of "preemptive war" and unilateral intervention for America's War of Terror, noting: "the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively. The United States will not use force in all cases to preempt emerging threats, nor should nations use preemption as a pretext for aggression. Yet in an age where the enemies of civilization openly and actively seek the world's most destructive technologies, the United States cannot remain idle while dangers gather." [28] The doctrine announced that the U.S. "will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, [but] we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defense by acting preemptively against terrorists." [29]

A fusion of neoconservative and traditional liberal internationalist "policy-oriented intellectuals" was facilitated in 2006 with the release of a report by the Princeton Project on National Security (PPNS), *Forging a World of Liberty Under Law: U.S. National Security in the 21st Century*, co-directed by G. John Ikenberry and Anne-Marie Slaughter. Ikenberry was a professor at Princeton and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He had previously served in the State Department Policy Planning staff in the administration of George H.W. Bush, was a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Anne-Marie Slaughter was Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, has served on the board of the Council on Foreign Relations, the New America Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, New American Security, the Truman Project, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and has also served on the boards of McDonald's and Citigroup, as well as often being a State Department adviser.

While the Bush administration and the neoconservatives within it had articulated a single vision of a 'global war on terror,' the objective of the Princeton Project's report was to encourage the strategic acknowledgement of multiple, conflicting and complex threats to American power. Essentially, it was a project formed by prominent intellectual elites in reaction to the myopic and dangerous vision and actions projected by the Bush administration; a way to re-align strategic objectives based upon a more coherent analysis and articulation of the interests of power. One of its main critiques was against the notion of "unilateralism" advocated in the Bush Doctrine and enacted with the Iraq War. The aim of the report, in its own words, was to "set forth agreed premises or foundational principles to guide the development of specific national security strategies by successive administrations in coming decades." [30]

The Honourary Co-Chairs of the Project report were Anthony Lake, Clinton's former National Security Adviser, and George P. Shultz, former U.S. Secretary of Labor and Secretary of the Treasury in the Nixon administration, U.S. Secretary of State in the Reagan administration, president of Bechtel Corporation, and was on the International Advisory Council of JP Morgan Chase, a director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics, a member of the Hoover Institution, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and was on the boards of a number of corporations.

Among the co-sponsors of the project (apart from Princeton) were: the Brookings Institution, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Centre for International Governance Innovation, Oxford, Stanford, the German Marshall Fund, and the Hoover Institution, among others. Most financing for the Project came from the Woodrow Wilson School/Princeton, the Ford Foundation, and David M. Rubenstein, one of the world's richest billionaires, co-founder of the global private equity firm the Carlyle Group, on the boards of Duke University, the Brookings Institution, the Council on Foreign Relations, President of the Economic Club of Washington, and the International Business Council of the World Economic Forum. [31]

Among the "experts" who participated in the Project were: Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Eliot Cohen, Francis Fukuyama, Leslie Gelb, Richard Haas, Robert Kagan, Jessica Tuchman Matthews, Joseph S. Nye, James Steinberg, and Strobe Talbott, among many others. Among the participating institutions were: Princeton, Harvard, Yale, CSIS, the Brookings Institution, Council on Foreign Relations, Carnegie Endowment, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, World Bank, the State Department, National Security Council, Citigroup, Ford Foundation, German Marshall Fund, Kissinger Associates, the Scowcroft Group, Cato Institute, Morgan Stanley, Carlyle Group. Among the participants in the Project were no less than 18 members of the Council on Foreign Relations, 10 members of the Brookings Institution, 6 members of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and several representatives from foreign governments, including Canada, Australia, and Japan. [32]

The Road to "Hope" and "Change"

After leaving the Clinton administration, Madeleine Albright founded her own consulting firm in 2001, The Albright Group, since re-named the Albright Stonebridge Group, co-chaired by Albright and Clinton's second National Security Adviser Samuel Berger, advising multinational corporations around the world. Albright is also chair of Albright Capital Management LLC, an investment firm which focuses on 'emerging markets.' Albright is also on the board of directors of the Council on Foreign Relations, is a professor at Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, chairs the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the Pew Global Attitudes Project, and is president of the Truman Scholarship Foundation. She is also on the board of trustees of the Aspen Institute, a member of the Atlantic Council, and in 2009 was recruited by NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen to chair the 'group of experts' tasked with drafting NATO's New Strategic Concept for the world.

Kissinger, Scowcroft, and Albright are not the only prominent "former" statespersons to have established consulting firms for large multinational conglomerates, as the far less known Brzezinski Group is also a relevant player, "a consulting firm that provides strategic insight and advice to commercial and government clients," headed by Zbig's son, Ian Brzezinski. Ian is a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council and also sits on its Strategic Advisors Group, having previously served as a principal at Booz Allen Hamilton, a major global consulting firm. Prior to that, Ian Brzezinski was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Europe and NATO Policy in the Bush administration, from 2001 to 2005, and had previously served for many years on Capitol Hill as a senior staff member in the Senate. Zbigniew Brzezinski's other son, Mark Brzezinski, is currently the U.S. Ambassador to Sweden, having previously been a corporate and securities associate at Hogan & Hartson LLP, after which he served in Bill Clinton's National Security Council from 1999 to 2001. Mark Brzezinski was also an advisor to Barack Obama during his first presidential campaign starting in 2007. Among other notable advisors to Obama during his presidential campaign were Susan Rice, a former Clinton administration State Department official (and protégé to Madeleine Albright), as well as Clinton's former National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. [33]

No less significant was the fact that Zbigniew Brzezinski himself was tapped as a foreign policy advisor to Obama during the presidential campaign. In August of 2007, Brzezinski publicly endorsed Obama for president, stating that Obama "recognizes that the challenge is a new face, a new sense of direction, a new definition of America's role in the world." He added: "Obama is clearly more effective and has the upper hand. He has a sense of what is historically relevant and what is needed from the United States in relationship to the world." [34] Brzezinski was quickly tapped as a top foreign policy advisor to Obama, who delivered a speech on Iraq in which he referred to Brzezinski as "one of our most outstanding thinkers." [35] According to an Obama campaign spokesperson, Brzezinski was primarily brought on to advise Obama on matters related to Iraq. [36]

Thus, it would appear that Brzezinski may not have been exaggerating too much when he told the Congressional publication, *The Hill*, in January of 2013 that, "I really wasn't at all conscious of the fact that the defeat of the Carter administration somehow or another affected significantly my own standing... I just kept doing my thing minus the Office of the National Security Adviser in the White House." While Brzezinski had advised subsequent presidents Reagan and Bush Sr., and had close ties with key officials in the Clinton administration (notably his former student and NSC aide Madeleine Albright), he was "shut out of the George W. Bush White House" when it was dominated by the neoconservatives, whom he was heavily critical of, most especially in response to the Iraq War. [37]

In the first four years of the Obama administration, Brzezinski was much sought out for advice from Democrats and Republicans alike. On this, he stated: "It's more a case of being asked than pounding on the doors... But if I have something to say, I know enough people that I can get in touch with to put [my thoughts] into circulation." When Afghan President Hamid Karzai visited Washington, D.C. in early 2013, Brzezinski was invited to a special dinner hosted by the Afghan puppet leader, of which he noted: "I have a standard joke that I am on the No. 2 or No. 3 must-visit list in this city... That is to say, if a foreign minister or an ambassador or some other senior dignitary doesn't get to see the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Adviser, then I'm somewhere on that other list as a fallback." [38]

Today, Zbigniew Brzezinski is no small player on the global scene. Not only is he an occasional and unofficial adviser to politicians, but he remains in some of the main centers of strategic planning and power in the United States. Brzezinski's background is fairly well established, not least of all due to his role as National Security Adviser and his part in the creation of the Trilateral Commission with David Rockefeller in 1973. Brzezinski was also (and remains) a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and was a director of the CFR from 1972 to 1977. Today, he is a member of the CFR with his son Mark Brzezinski and his daughter Mika Brzezinski, a media personality on CNBC. Brzezinski is a Counselor and Trustee of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and he is also co-Chair (with Carla A. Hills) of the Advisory Board of CSIS, composed of international and US business leaders and current and former government officials, including: Paul Desmarais Jr. (Power Corporation of Canada), Kenneth Duberstein (Duberstein Group), Dianne Feinstein (U.S. Senator), Timothy Keating (Boeing), Senator John McCain, Senator John D. Rockefeller IV, and top officials from Chevron, Procter & Gamble, Raytheon, Lockheed Martin, Exxon Mobil, Toyota, and United Technologies. [39]

And now we make our way to the Obama administration, the promised era of "hope" and "change;" or something like that. Under Obama, the two National Security Advisors thus far have been General James L. Jones and Tom Donilon. General Jones, who was Obama's NSA from 2009 to 2010, previously and is now once again a trustee with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Just prior to becoming National Security Advisor, Jones was president and CEO of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Institute for 21st Century Energy, after a career rising to 32nd commandant of the Marine Corps and

commander of U.S. European Command. He was also on the boards of directors of Chevron and Boeing, resigning one month prior to taking up his post in the Obama administration.

Shortly after Jones first became National Security Advisor, he was speaking at a conference in February of 2009 at which he stated (with tongue-in-cheek), "As the most recent National Security Advisor of the United States, I take my daily orders from Dr. Kissinger, filtered down through General Brent Scowcroft and Sandy Berger... We have a chain of command in the National Security Council that exists today." [40] Although said in jest, there is a certain truth to this notion. Yet, Jones only served in the Obama administration from January 2009 to October of 2010, after which he returned to more familiar pastures.

Apart from returning as a trustee to CSIS, Jones is currently the chairman of the Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security and is on the board and executive committee of the Atlantic Council (he was previously chairman of the board of directors from 2007 to 2009). Jones is also on the board of the East-West Institute, and in 2011 served on the board of directors of the military contractor, General Dynamics. General Jones is also the president of his own international consulting firm, Jones Group International. The Group's website boasts "a unique and unrivaled experience with numerous foreign governments, advanced international relationships, and an understanding of the national security process to develop strategic plans to help clients succeed in challenging environments." A testimonial of Jones' skill was provided by Thomas Donohue, the president and CEO of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce: "Few leaders possess the wisdom, depth of experience, and knowledge of global and domestic economic and military affairs as General Jones." [41]

Obama's current NSA, Thomas E. Donilon, was previously deputy to General James Jones, and worked as former Assistant Secretary of State and chief of staff to Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Clinton's administration. From 1999 to 2005, he was a lobbyist exclusively for the housing mortgage company Fannie Mae (which helped create and pop the housing bubble and destroy the economy). Donilon's brother, Michael C. Donilon, is a counselor to Vice President Joseph Biden. Donilon's wife, Cathy Russell, is chief of staff to Biden's wife, Jill Biden. [42] Prior to joining the Obama administration, Thomas Donilon also served as a legal advisor to banks like Goldman Sachs and Citigroup. [43]

CSIS: The 'Brain' of the Obama Administration

While serving as national security advisor, Thomas Donilon spoke at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in November of 2012. He began his speech by stating that for roughly half a century, CSIS has been "the intellectual capital that has informed so many of our national security policies, including during the Obama administration... We've shared ideas and we've shared staff." [44]

Indeed, CSIS has been an exceptionally influential presence within the Obama administration. CSIS launched a Commission on 'Smart Power' in 2006, co-chaired by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and Richard Armitage, with the final report delivered in 2008, designed to influence the next president of the United States on implementing "a smart power strategy." Joseph Nye is known for - among other things - developing the concept of what he calls "soft power" to describe gaining support through "attraction" rather than force. In the lead-up to the 2008 presidential elections, Nye stated that if Obama became president, it "would do more for America's soft power around the world than anything else we could do." [45]

Joseph Nye is the former Dean of the Kennedy School, former senior official in the Defense and State Departments, former Chair of the National Intelligence Council, and a highly influential political scientist who was rated in a 2008 poll of international relations scholars as "the most influential scholar in the field on American foreign policy," and was also named as one of the top 100 global thinkers in a 2011 *Foreign Policy* report. Nye is also Chairman of the North American Group of the Trilateral Commission, is on the board of directors of the Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the board of trustees of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and a former director of the Institute for East-West Security Studies, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, and a former member of the advisory committee of the Institute of International Economics.

Richard Armitage, the other co-chair of the CSIS Commission on Smart Power, is the President of Armitage International, a global consulting firm, and was Deputy Secretary of State from 2001-2005 in the George W. Bush administration, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs in the Reagan administration, and is on the boards of ConocoPhillips, a major oil company, as well as ManTech International and Transcu Group, and of course, a trustee at CSIS.

In the Commission's final report, *A Smarter, More Secure America*, the term 'smart power' was defined as "complementing U.S. military and economic might with greater investments in soft power," recommending that the United States "reinvigorate the alliances, partnerships, and institutions that serve our interests," as well as increasing the role of "development in U.S. foreign policy" which would allow the United States to "align its own interests with the aspirations of people around the world." Another major area of concern was that of "[b]ringing foreign populations to our side," which depended upon "building long-term, people-to-people relationships, particularly among youth." Further, the report noted that "the benefits of free trade must be expanded" and that it was America's responsibility to "establish global consensus and develop innovative solutions" for issues such as energy security and climate change. [46]

The forward to the report was authored by CSIS president and CEO, John Hamre, who wrote: "We have all seen the poll numbers and know that much of the world today is not happy with American leadership," with even "traditional allies" beginning to question "American values and interests, wondering whether they are compatible with their own." Hamre spoke for the American imperial

establishment: "We do not have to be loved, but we will never be able to accomplish our goals and keep Americans safe without mutual respect." What was needed, then, was to utilize their "moment of opportunity" in order "to strike off on a big idea that balances a wiser internationalism with the desire for protection at home." In world affairs, the center of gravity, wrote Hamre, "is shifting to Asia." Thus, "[a]s the only global superpower, we must manage multiple crises simultaneously while regional competitors can focus their attention and efforts." What is required is to strengthen "capable states, alliances, partnerships, and institutions." Military might, noted Hamre, while "typically the bedrock of a nation's power," remains "an inadequate basis for sustaining American power over time." [47]

In their summary of the report, Nye and Armitage wrote that the ultimate "goal of U.S. foreign policy should be to prolong and preserve American preeminence as an agent for good." The goal, of course, was to 'prolong and preserve American preeminence,' whereas the notion of being 'an agent for good' was little more than a rhetorical add-on, since for policy-oriented intellectuals like those at CSIS, American preeminence is inherently a 'good' thing, and therefore preserving American hegemony is - it is presumed - by definition, being 'an agent for good.' Nye and Armitage suggested that the U.S. "should have higher ambitions than being popular," though acknowledging, "foreign opinion matters to U.S. decision-making," so long as it aligns with U.S. decisions, presumably. A "good reputation," they suggested, "brings acceptance for unpopular ventures." This was not to mark a turn away from using military force, as was explicitly acknowledged: "We will always have our enemies, and we cannot abandon our coercive tools." Using "soft power," however, was simply to *add* to America's arsenal of military and economic imperialism: "bolstering soft power makes America stronger." [48]

Power, they wrote, "is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get a desired outcome," noting the necessity of "hard power" - military and economic strength - but, while "[t]here is no other global power... American hard power does not always translate into influence." While technological advances "have made weapons more precise, they have also become more destructive, thereby increasing the political and social costs of using military force." Modern communications, they noted, "diminished the fog of war," which is to say that they have facilitated more effective communication and management in war-time, "but also heightened the atomized political consciousness," which is to say that it has allowed populations all over the world to gain access to information and communication outside the selectivity of traditional institutions of power. [49]

These trends "have made power less tangible and coercion less effective." The report noted: "Machiavelli said it was safer to be feared than to be loved. Today, in the global information age, it is better to be both." Thus, "soft power... is the ability to attract people to our side without coercion," making "legitimacy" the central concept of soft power. As such, if nations and people believe "American objectives to be legitimate, we are more likely to persuade them to follow our lead without using threats and bribes." Noting that America's "enemies" in the world are largely non-state actors and groups who "control no territory, hold few assets, and sprout new leaders for each one that is killed,"

victory becomes problematic: "Militaries are well suited to defeating states, but they are often poor instruments to fight ideas." Thus, victory in the modern world "depends on attracting foreign populations to our side," of which 'soft power' is a necessity. [50]

Despite various "military adventures in the Western hemisphere and in the Philippines" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "the U.S. military has not been put in the service of building a colonial empire in the manner of European militaries," the report read, acknowledging quite plainly that while not a formal colonial empire, the United States was an imperial power nonetheless. Since World War II, "America has sought to promote rules and order in a world in which life continues to be nasty, brutish, and short for the majority of inhabitants." While "the appeal of Hollywood and American products can play a role in inspiring the dreams and desires of others," soft power is not merely cultural, but also promotes "political values" and "our somewhat reluctant participation and leadership in institutions that help shape the global agenda." However, a more "interconnected and tolerant world" is not something everyone is looking forward to, noted the authors: "ideas can be threatening to those who consider their way of life to be under siege by the West," which is to say, the rest of the world. Smart power, then, "is neither hard nor soft - it is the skillful combination of both," and "means developing an integrated strategy, resource base, and tool kit to achieve American objectives, drawing on both hard and soft power." [51]

Other members of the CSIS Commission on Smart Power included: Nancy Kassebaum Baker, former US Senator and member of the advisory board of the Partnership for a Secure America; General Charles G. Boyd, former president and CEO of the Business Executives for National Security, former director of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR); as well as Maurice Greenberg, Thomas Pickering, David Rubenstein and Obama's newest Secretary of Defense, Chuck Hagel.

It's quite apparent that members of the CSIS Commission and CSIS itself would be able to wield significant influence upon the Obama administration. Joseph Nye has even advised Hillary Clinton while she served as Secretary of State. [52] Perhaps then, we should not be surprised that at her Senate confirmation hearing in January of 2009, Clinton declared the era of "rigid ideology" in diplomacy to be at an end, and the foreign policy of "smart power" to be exercised, that she would make decisions based "on facts and evidence, not emotions or prejudice." [53]

Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Clinton declared: "We must use what has been called smart power, the full range of tools at our disposal - diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural - picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation." She quoted the ancient Roman poet Terence, "in every endeavor, the seemly course for wise men is to try persuasion first," then added: "The same truth binds wise women as well." [54]

While Joseph Nye had coined the term "soft power" in the 1990s, Suzanne Nossel coined the term "smart power." Nossel was the chief operating officer of Human Rights Watch, former executive at media conglomerate Bertelsmann, and was a former deputy to UN Ambassador Richard Holbrooke in the Clinton administration. She coined the term "smart power" in a 2004 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, after which time Joseph Nye began using it, leading to the CSIS Commission on Smart Power. At the Senate hearing, Senator Jim Webb stated, "the phrase of the week is 'smart power'." Nossel commented on Clinton's Senate hearing: "Hillary was impressive... She didn't gloss over the difficulties, but at the same time she was fundamentally optimistic. She's saying that, by using all the tools of power in concert, the trajectory of American decline can be reversed. She'll make smart power cool." [55]

Following the first six months of the Obama administration, Hillary Clinton was to deliver a major foreign policy speech to the Council on Foreign Relations, where she would articulate "her own policy agenda," focusing on the strengthening of "smart power." One official involved in the speech planning process noted that it would include discussion on "U.S. relations with [and] management of the great powers in a way that gets more comprehensive." The speech was long in the making and was being overseen by the director of the State Department's Policy Planning Council, Anne-Marie Slaughter. [56]

Slaughter was director of Policy Planning in the State Department from 2009 to 2011, where she was chief architect of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, designed to better integrate development into U.S. foreign policy, with the first report having been released in 2010. She is also a professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton, was co-Chair of the Princeton Project on National Security, former Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, served on the boards of the Council on Foreign Relations (2003-2009), the New America Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, New American Security, the Truman Project, and formerly with CSIS, also having been on the boards of McDonald's and Citigroup. Slaughter is currently a member of the Aspen Strategy Group, the CFR, a member of the board of directors of the Atlantic Council and has been named on *Foreign Policy's* Top 100 Global Thinkers for the years 2009-2012.

In preparation for her speech at the Council on Foreign Relations, according to the *Washington Post* blog, Plum Line, Clinton "consulted" with a "surprisingly diverse" group of people, including: Henry Kissinger, George Schultz, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Paul Farmer, Joseph Nye, Francis Fukuyama, Brent Scowcroft, Strobe Talbott (president of the Brookings Institution), John Podesta, and Richard Lugar, as well as Defense Secretary Robert Gates, then-National Security Advisor General James Jones, and President Obama himself. [57]

When Clinton began speaking at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C., she stated: "I am delighted to be here in these new headquarters. I have been often to, I guess, the mother ship in New York City, but it's good to have an outpost of the Council right here down the street from the State

Department. We get a lot of advice from the Council, and so this will mean I won't have as far to go to be told what we should be doing and how we should think about the future." Many in the world do not trust America to lead, explained Clinton, "they view America as an unaccountable power, too quick to impose its will at the expense of their interests and our principles," but, Clinton was sure to note: "they are wrong." The question, of course, was "not whether our nation can or should lead, but how it will lead in the 21st century," in which "[r]igid ideologies and old formulas don't apply." Clinton claimed that "[l]iberty, democracy, justice and opportunity underlie our priorities," even though others "accuse us of using these ideals to justify actions that contradict their very meaning," suggesting that "we are too often condescending and imperialistic, seeking only to expand our power at the expense of others." [58]

These perceptions, explained Clinton, "have fed anti-Americanism, but they do not reflect who we are." America's strategy "must reflect the world as it is, not as it used to be," and therefore, "[i]t does not make sense to adapt a 19th century concert of powers, or a 20th century balance of power strategy." Clinton explained that the strategy would seek to tilt "the balance away from a multi-polar world and toward a multi-partner world," in which "our partnerships can become power coalitions to constrain and deter [the] negative actions" of those who do not share "our values and interests" and "actively seek to undermine our efforts." In order to construct "the architecture of global cooperation," Clinton recommended "smart power" as "the intelligent use of all means at our disposal, including our ability to convene and connect... our economic and military strength," as well as "the application of old-fashioned common sense in policymaking... a blend of principle and pragmatism." Noting that, "our global and regional institutions were built for a world that has been transformed," Clinton stated that "they too must be transformed and reformed," referencing the UN, World Bank, IMF, G20, OAS, ASEAN, and APEC, among others. This "global architecture of cooperation," said Clinton, "is the architecture of progress for America and all nations." [59]

Just in case you were thinking that the relationship between CSIS and the Obama administration was not strong enough, apparently both of them thought so too. CSIS wields notable influence within the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, which is chaired by the president and CEO of CSIS, John Hamre. A former Deputy Defense Secretary in the Clinton administration, Hamre is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group, sits on the board of defense contractors such as ITT, SAIC, and the Oshkosh Corporation, as well as MITRE, a "not-for-profit" corporation which "manages federally funded research and development centers." The Defense Policy Board provides the Secretary of Defense, as well as the Deputy Secretary and Undersecretary of Defense "with independent, informed advice and opinion on matters of defense policy;" from outside 'experts' of course. [60]

Also on the board is Sam Nunn, the chairman of CSIS, co-chair and CEO of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), former U.S. Senator from 1972-1996, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and currently on the boards of General Electric, the Coca-Cola Company, Hess Corporation, and was recently on the boards of Dell and Chevron. Other CSIS trustees and advisors who sit on the Defense Policy Board are

Harold Brown, Henry Kissinger, James Schlesinger, Brent Scowcroft, General Jack Keane, and Chuck Hagel. [61]

Harold Brown was the Secretary of Defense in the Carter administration, honorary director of the Atlantic Council, member of the boards of Evergreen Oil and Philip Morris International, former partner at Warburg Pincus, director of the Altria Group, Trustee of RAND Corporation, and member of the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations. James Schlesinger was the former Defense Secretary in the Nixon and Ford administrations, Secretary of Energy in the Carter administration, was briefly director of the CIA, a senior advisor to Lehman Brothers, Kuhn, Loeb Inc., and was on George W. Bush's Homeland Security Advisory Council. He is currently chairman of the MITRE Corporation, a director of the Sandia National Corporation, a trustee of the Atlantic Council and is a board member of the Henry M. Jackson Foundation.

Brent Scowcroft, apart from being Kissinger's deputy in the Nixon administration, and the National Security Advisor in the Ford and Bush Sr. administrations (as well as co-founder of Kissinger), is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, the Atlantic Council, and founded his own international advisory firm, the Scowcroft Group. General Jack Keane, a senior advisor to CSIS, is the former Vice Chief of Staff of the US Army, current Chairman of the board for the Institute for the Study of War; Frank Miller, former Defense Department official in the Reagan, Bush Sr., and Clinton administrations, served on the National Security Council in the George W. Bush administration, joined the Cohen Group in 2005, currently a Principal at the Scowcroft Group, and serves on the U.S.-European Command Advisory Group, is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Director of the Atlantic Council, and he serves on the board of EADS-North America (one of the world's leading defense contract corporations).

Kissinger's record has been well-established up until present day, though he has been a member of the Defense Policy Board since 2001, thus serving in an advisory capacity to the Pentagon for both the Bush and Obama administrations, continues to serve on the steering committee of the Bilderberg meetings, is a member of the Trilateral Commission and he is currently an advisor to the board of directors of American Express, on the advisory board of the RAND Center for Global Risk and Security, honorary chairman of the China-United States Exchange Foundation, the board of the International Rescue Committee, and is on the International Council of JPMorgan Chase.

Another member of the Policy Board who was a trustee of CSIS was Chuck Hagel, who is now Obama's Secretary of Defense. Prior to his new appointment, Hagel was a US Senator from 1997 to 2009, after which he was Chairman of the Atlantic Council, on the boards of Chevron, Zurich's Holding Company of America, Corsair Capital, Deutsche Bank America, MIC Industries, was an advisor to Gallup, member of the board of PBS, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and was a member of the CSIS

Commission on Smart Power. Hagel also served on Obama's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, an outside group of 'experts' providing strategic advice to the president on intelligence matters.

Other members of the Defense Policy Board (who are not affiliated with CSIS) are: J.D. Crouch, Deputy National Security Advisor in the George W. Bush administration, and is on the board of advisors of the Center for Security Policy; Richard Danzig, Secretary of the Navy in the Clinton administration, a campaign advisor to Obama, and is the current Chairman of the Center for a New American Security; Rudy de Leon, former Defense Department official in the Clinton administration, a Senior Vice President at the Center for American Progress, and is a former vice president at Boeing Corporation; John Nagl, president of the Center for a New American Security, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; William Perry, former Secretary of Defense in the Clinton administration, who now sits on a number of corporate boards, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, on the board of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), and has served on the Carnegie Endowment; Sarah Sewall, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Assistance in the Clinton administration, on the board of Oxfam America, and was a foreign policy advisor to Obama's election campaign; and Larry Welch, former Chief of Staff of the US Air Force in the Reagan administration. More recently added to the Defense Policy Board was none other than Madeleine Albright.

Imperialism Without Imperialists?

The 'discourse' of foreign affairs and international relations failing to adequately deal with the subject of empire is based upon a deeply flawed perception: that one cannot have an empire without imperialists, and the United States does not have imperialists, it has *strategists, experts, and policy-oriented intellectuals*. Does the United States, then, have an empire without *imperialists*? In the whole history of imperialism, that would be a unique situation.

Empires do not happen by chance. Nations do not simply trip and stumble and fall into a state of imperialism. Empires are planned and directed, maintained and expanded. This report aimed to provide some introductory insight into the institutions and individuals who direct the American imperial system. The information - while dense - is far from comprehensive or complete; it is a sample of the complex network of imperialism that exists in present-day United States. Regardless of which president or political party is in office, this highly integrated network remains in power.

This report, produced exclusively for the Hampton Institute, is to serve as a reference point for future discussion and analysis of 'geopolitics' and foreign policy issues. As an introduction to the institutions and individuals of empire, it can provide a framework for people to interpret foreign policy differently, to question those quoted and interviewed in the media as 'experts,' to integrate their understanding of think tanks into contemporary politics and society, and to bring to the surface the names, organizations and ideas of society's ruling class.

It is time for more of what the Trilateral Commission dismissively referred to as "value-oriented intellectuals" - those who question and oppose authority - instead of more policy-oriented *imperialists*. The Geopolitics Division of the Hampton Institute aims to do just that: to provide an intellectual understanding and basis for opposing empire in the modern world.

Empires don't just happen; they are constructed. They can also be deconstructed and dismantled, but that doesn't just *happen* either. Opposing empire is not a passive act: it requires dedication and information, action and reaction. As relatively privileged individuals in western state-capitalist societies, we have both the *opportunity* and the *responsibility* to understand and oppose what our governments do abroad, how they treat the people of the world, how they engage with the world. It is *our* responsibility to do something, precisely because we have the *opportunity* to do so, unlike the majority of the world's population who live in abject poverty, under ruthless dictators that we arm and maintain, in countries we bomb and regions we dominate. We exist in the epicenter of empire, and thus: *we are the only ones capable of ending empire*.

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Empire Under Obama, Part One:

Political Language and the 'Mafia Principles' of International Relations



In the first part of this essay series on 'Empire Under Obama,' I will aim to establish some fundamental premises of modern imperialism, or what is often referred to as 'international relations,' 'geopolitics,' or 'foreign policy.' Specifically, I will refer to George Orwell's writing on 'political language' in order to provide a context in which the discourse of imperialism may take place out in the open with very little comprehension on the part of the public which consumes the information; and further, to draw upon Noam Chomsky's suggestion of understanding international relations as the application of 'Mafia Principles' to foreign policy. This part provides some background on these issues, and future parts to this essay series will be examining the manifestation of empire in recent years.

On August 21, the Syrian government of Bashar al-Assad was accused of using chemical weapons on its own population, prompting Western countries - led by the United States - to declare their intention to bomb Syria to somehow save it from itself. The reasons for the declared intention of launching air strikes on Syria was to punish the Syrian government, to uphold international law, and to act on the 'humanitarian' values which the West presumably holds so dear.

George Orwell discussed this in his 1946 essay, *Politics and the English Language*, written two years prior to the publication of *1984*. In his essay, Orwell wrote that, "the English language is in a bad way" and that language is ultimately "an instrument which we shape for our own purposes." The decline of language, noted Orwell, "must ultimately have political and economic causes... It becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts." Still, Orwell suggested, "the process is reversible." [1] To reverse the process, however, we must first understand its application and development.

When it comes to words like "democracy," Orwell wrote: "It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic we are praising it: consequently the defenders of every kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using that word if it were tied down to any one meaning. Words of this kind are often used in a consciously dishonest way. That is, the person who uses them has his own private definition but allows his hearer to think he means something quite different." [2]

In our time, wrote Orwell, "political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible. Things like the continuance of British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan, can indeed be defended, but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face, and which do not square with the professed aims of political parties." Thus, he noted, "political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness." Orwell provided some examples: "Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*." This type of "phraseology is needed if one wants to name things without calling up mental pictures of them." [3] Today, we use words like *counterinsurgency* and *counterterrorism* to describe virtually the same processes.

Thus, noted Orwell: "The great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms... All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred, and schizophrenia... But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought. A bad usage can be spread by tradition and imitation even among people who should and do know better." Political language, wrote Orwell, "is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind." [4]

These critiques are arguably more valid today than when Orwell wrote them some 67 years ago. Today, we not only use political language to discuss 'democracy' and 'liberty,' but to justify war and atrocities based upon our 'humanitarian' interests and 'values.' I have previously discussed the uses and abuses of political language in the context of the European debt crisis, using words like 'austerity,' 'structural reform,' 'labour flexibility' and 'economic growth' to obfuscate the reality of the power interests and effects of the policies put in place, spreading poverty, misery and committing 'social genocide.' [5]

When it comes to empire, language is equally - if not more - deceptive; hiding immoral, ruthless and destructive interests and actions behind the veil of empty words, undefined concepts, and make-believe 'values.' I firmly believe that in order to understand the world - that is, to gain a more realistic understanding and view of how the global social, political and economic order actually functions - we need to speak more plainly, directly, and honestly to describe and dissent against this system. If we truly want a world without war, destruction, empire and tyranny, we *must* speak honestly and openly about these concepts. If we adopt the language of deception to describe that which we are given no accurate words to describe, we run a fool's errand.

In other words, if you are against war and empire in principle, yet engage in the concocted debates surrounding whatever current war is being pushed for, debating the merits of the one of usually two positions fed to the populace through the media, punditry and pageantry of modern political life, then you simply reinforce that which your own personal values may find so repulsive. If you are not *given* a language with which to understand issues and the world in a meaningful way, then you are curtailed in your ability to *think* of the world in a non-superficial way, let alone articulate meaningful positions. By simply adopting the political language which makes up the 'discourse of empire' - allowing for politicians, pundits, intellectuals and the media to justify and disagree to various degrees on the objectives and actions of empire - your thoughts and words become an extension of that discourse, and perpetuate its perverse purposes.

In the recent context of Syria, for example, those who are 'in principle' against war, and hold personal values akin to those 'humanitarian' values which are articulated by the political elites in the name of justifying war, may then be succumbed into the false debate over - "what is the best course of action?" - "to bomb or not to bomb?" - and while the horror of chemical weapons use may trigger an impulse to want to end such usage, the media and political classes have framed the debate as such: should we let *Syria* get away with using chemical weapons? Should provide *more* support to the 'rebels'? How should we try to *end* the conflict in Syria?

This is a false debate and empty, for it poses answers as questions instead of questions looking for answers. In other words, the question is not - "*what can we do to help Syria?*" - the question is: "*what have we done in Syria?*" When you ask that question, the answer is not appealing, as the strategy of the West - and specifically the United States - has been to prolong the civil war, not stop it. Thus, when you have asked the right questions, and sought more meaningful answers, then you can ask - "*what can we do to help Syria?*" - and the answer becomes simpler: *stop supporting civil war*. But one must first learn to ask the right questions instead of choosing from one among many pre-packaged "solutions."

Mark Twain once wrote, "If you don't read the newspaper, you're unformed. If you read the newspaper, you're misinformed." If you view yourself as 'politically conscious' or 'engaged,' and yet, you engage only with thoughts and words presented to you by the corporate-owned media and politicians - who allow for a very limited spectrum of variation in views - you're not "politically conscious," but rather, politically comatose. Though your own personal values, interests and intentions may be honourable and sincere, they are made superficial by adopting superficial language and thoughts.

To rectify this, we must speak and think honestly about empire. To think and speak honestly, we must look at the world for what it is, not to see what we *want* to see, that which supports our pre-conceived notions and biases, but to see what we want to change. We have at our fingertips more access to

information than ever before in human history. We have the ability to gather, examine and draw explanations from this information to create a more coherent understanding of the world than that which we are presented with through the media and political pandering. In establishing a more accurate - and ever-evolving - understanding of the world, we are able to reveal the lies and hypocrisy of those individuals, institutions and ideologies that uphold and direct the world we live in. The hypocrisy of our self-declared values and intentions is exposed through looking at the real actions and effects of the policies we pursue under the guise of political language.

If the effects of our actions do not conform to the values we articulate as we undertake them, and yet, neither the language nor the policies and effects change to remedy these inconsistencies, we can come to one of two general conclusions. One, is that our political leaders are simply insane, as Einstein defined it - "doing the same thing over and over again expecting different results" - or; they are liars and deceivers, using words for which they hold personal definitions which are not articulated to the populace, attempting to justify the indefensible, to promote the perverse and serve interests which the general population may find deplorable. While I think that - in many cases - it would be presumptive to rule out insanity altogether, it strikes me as more plausible that it is the latter.

Put in different terms, politicians - if they rise high enough to be in positions in which they become advocates and actors in the propagation of empire - are high-functioning sociopaths: they deceive and manipulate for their own selfish interests, hold no hesitations to act immorally and knowingly cause the suffering and destruction of others. Imagine what our world would look like if serial killers were running countries, corporations, banks and other dominant institutions. I imagine that our world would look exactly at it is, for those who run it have the same claims to moral superiority as your average serial killer; they simply chose another path, and one which leads to the deaths of far more people than any serial killer has ever - or could ever - achieve.

So, let's talk about Empire.

Mafia Principles and Western 'Values'

Renowned linguist, scholar and dissident Noam Chomsky has aptly articulated Western - and notably American - foreign policy as being based upon 'Mafia Principles' in which "defiance cannot be tolerated." Thus, nations, people and institutions which "defy" the American-Western Empire must be "punished," lest other nations and peoples openly defy the empire. This principle holds that if a smaller, seemingly more insignificant global actor is able to "successfully defy" the empire, then anyone could, and others would likely follow.[6]

Thus, for the empire to maintain its 'hegemony' - or global influence - it must punish those who detract from its diktats, so that others would not dare defy the empire. As Chomsky has suggested, this is akin to the way the Mafia would punish even the smallest of vendors who did not pay their dues, not because of financial loss to the 'Godfather,' but because it sends a message to all who observe: if you defy the Godfather, you will be punished.

Extending this analogy to 'international relations,' we can conclude that the United States is the 'Godfather' and the other major Western states - notably Britain, France, and Germany - are akin to the Mafia 'capos' (high-level bosses). Then you have China and Russia, who are significant crime bosses in

their own right, though far from holding anywhere near the same weight of influence as the 'Godfather.' Think of them as separate crime families; usually working with the Godfather, as there is a relationship of co-dependency between them all: the Godfather needs their support, and they need the Godfather's support in order for all parties to have a significant influence in their criminal racketeering and illicit markets.

As with any crime families, however, cooperation is often coupled with competition. When the Godfather steps on the personal turf of the other crime families - such as Syria in relation to Russia and China - then the other families push back, seeking to maintain their own turf and thus, maintain their leverage when it comes to power and profits.

Now, for those who believe American and Western political leaders when they discuss 'values' that they uphold, such as 'democracy', 'liberty', the 'rule of law', or any other 'humanitarian' notions of life, justice and peace, I have two words for you: *grow up*. The Western world has no precedent for upholding values or acting on the basis of 'morality.' One of the central issues we face when dealing with modern empire is that we have very little means - or practice - in communicating honestly about the nature of the world, or our role within it. Language is undermined and inverted, even destroyed altogether. Waging war in the name of 'peace' undermines any meaningful concept of peace which we may hold. Supporting coups in the name of democracy reveals an empty and inverted concept of what we may typically think of as democracy. Yet, this is common practice for the West.

When Cuba had its revolution in 1959, bringing Castro to power on a little island just south of the United States, overthrowing the previous American-supported dictator, the U.S. implemented a policy of covert, military and economic warfare against the tiny and desperately poor nation. The main reasoning was not necessarily that Cuba had become 'Communist', per se, but rather, as a 1960 U.S. National Intelligence Estimate noted, Cuba had provided "a highly exploitable example of revolutionary achievement and successful defiance of the U.S." [7] For the 'Godfather,' such an example of "successful defiance" could spur other nations to attempt to defy the U.S. Thus, Cuba had to be made an example of.

When the Eisenhower administration imposed economic sanctions upon Cuba (which have been extended through every subsequent administration to present day), the objective was articulated within internal government documents of the National Security Council (NSC) and other U.S. agencies responsible for the maintenance and expansion of American imperialism (such as the State Department, CIA, Pentagon, etc.).

Noting that the sanctions "would have a serious effect on the Cuban people," denying them medical equipment, food, goods and necessities, President Eisenhower explained that the "primary objective" of the sanctions was "to establish conditions which bring home to the Cuban people the cost of Castro's policies," and that, if Cubans were left hungry, "they will throw Castro out." Under the Kennedy administration, a top State Department official stated that, "every possible means should be undertaken promptly to weaken the economic life of Cuba... to bring about hunger, desperation and [the] overthrow of the government." [8]

In other words, the intentions of sanctions are to punish populations in order to undermine support for regimes that "successfully defy" the empire. No concerns are paid to the actual suffering of human beings, though, as these policies are articulated by the political class - and their supporters in the media

and intellectual establishment - they were justified on the basis of a grand struggle between the "democratic" West and the "threat" of totalitarian Communism, of upholding "values" and supporting "freedom" of peoples everywhere.

Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State and National Security Advisor, was appointed by President Reagan in the early 1980s to chair the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America (known as the 'Kissinger Commission') which was created to assess the strategic threat and interests to the United States in Central America, as many nations had been experiencing revolutions, leftist insurgencies against U.S.-backed dictators, and large social movements. The Reagan administration's response was to undertake a massive war of terror in Central America, killing hundreds of thousands and decimating the region for decades. Kissinger provided the imperial justification for the U.S. to punish the tiny Central American countries for their "defiance" of the Godfather, when he wrote in 1983, "If we cannot manage Central America... it will be impossible to convince threatened nations in the Persian Gulf and in other places that we know how to manage the global equilibrium." [9] In other words, if the Empire could not control a tiny little region just south of its border, how could it be expected to wield influence elsewhere in the world?

Henry Kissinger and former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski co-chaired President Reagan's U.S. National Security Council-Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, outlining U.S. imperial strategy and interests over the long term, publishing the report, *Discriminate Deterrence*, in 1988. They wrote that the U.S. would continue to have to intervene in conflicts across much of the Third World, because they "have had and will have an adverse cumulative effect on U.S. access to critical regions," and if such effects cannot be managed, "it will gradually undermine America's ability to defend its interest in the most vital regions, such as the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean and the Western Pacific." [10]

Noting that most Third World conflicts were "insurgencies, organized terrorism, [and] paramilitary crime," which included "guerrilla forces" and "armed subversives," referring to revolutionary and resistance movements, the U.S. would have to acknowledge that within such "low intensity conflicts," the "enemy" is essentially "omnipresent," meaning that the U.S.-designated enemy is essentially the population itself, or a significant portion of it, and thus, "unlikely ever to surrender." But it would be necessary for the U.S. to intervene in such wars, the report noted, because if they did not do so, "we will surely lose the support of many Third World countries that want to believe the United States can protect its friends, not to mention its own interests." [11]

In other words, if the U.S. does not intervene to crush insurgencies, uprisings, rebellions or generally steer the direction of 'internal conflicts' of Third World nations, then its proxy-puppet governments around the world will lose faith in the ability of the Godfather/Empire to support them in maintaining their dictatorships and rule over their own populations if they ever get into trouble. It would also damage the 'faith' that the Godfather's 'capos' (or Western imperial allies like France and Britain) would have in the U.S.'s ability to serve their imperial interests. If client states or imperial allies lose faith in the Godfather, then the U.S. likely won't remain the Godfather for long.

An internal assessment of national security policy undertaken by the Bush administration in 1991 was leaked to the media, which quoted the report's analysis of U.S. imperial policy for the future: "In cases where the U.S. confronts much weaker enemies, our challenge will be not simply to defeat them, but to

defeat them decisively and rapidly... For small countries hostile to us, bleeding our forces in protracted or indecisive conflict or embarrassing us by inflicting damage on some conspicuous element of our forces may be victory enough, and could undercut political support for U.S. efforts against them." [12] In other words, the weaker the "enemy," the more "decisive and rapid" must be their defeat, so as not to "embarrass" the empire and undermine its reputation for maintaining power and punishing those who defy its power. Imagine a small-time crook standing up to the Godfather in defiance: his punishment must not only be quick, but it must be severe, as this sends a message to others.

It has since been acknowledged by top imperial strategists and government agencies that the Cold War was little more than a rhetorical battle between two behemoths to advance their own imperial interests around the world. Samuel Huntington, one of the most influential political scientists of the latter 20th century, closely tied to the American imperial establishment and served in high-level government positions related to the running of foreign policy, commented in a 1981 discussion, when reflecting upon the "lessons of Vietnam," that "an additional problem" for strategists when they decide that there is a conflict in which "you have to intervene or take some action," he noted, "you may have to sell it in such a way as to create the misimpression that it is the Soviet Union that you are fighting... That is what the United States has been doing ever since the Truman Doctrine [of 1947]." [13]

In other words, the concern of the 'Cold War' was not really the Soviet Union, it was the populations across the 'Third World' who were seeking independence and an end to imperialism. However, to intervene in wars where the interests were about repressing popular uprisings, revolutions, crushing independence movements, maintaining imperial domination and subjugation, one cannot - if you proclaim to be a 'free' and 'democratic' society upholding grand 'values' - articulate accurately these interests or the reasons for intervening. Thus, as Huntington noted, the United States would "create the misimpression that it is the Soviet Union that you are fighting." So long as the domestic population was made to fear some outside malevolent enemy - formerly the Soviet Union and today 'terrorism' - then strategists manage to justify and undertake all sorts of atrocities in the name of fighting "communism" or now "terrorism."

When the Cold War was coming to an official end and the Soviet Union was collapsing in on itself, President George H.W. Bush's administration released the *National Security Strategy of the United States* in 1990 in which it was acknowledged that following decades of justifying military intervention in the Middle East on the basis of a Cold War struggle between democracy and communism, the actual reasons for intervention "were in response to threats to U.S. interests that could not be laid at the Kremlin's door." Further, while the Soviet Union collapses, "American strategic concerns remain" and "the necessity to defend our interests will continue." [14]

In 1992, Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote an article for the establishment journal, *Foreign Affairs*, in which he bluntly assessed the reality of the 'Cold War' battle between America and the USSR - between the causes of democratic 'liberation' versus totalitarian communism - writing: "The policy of liberation was a strategic sham, designed to a significant degree for domestic political reasons... the policy was basically rhetorical, at most tactical." [15]

America's imperial interests had long been established within internal government documents. In a 1948 State Department Policy Planning document, it was acknowledged that at the time the United States controlled half the world's wealth with only 6.3% of the world's population, and that this disparity would

create "envy and resentment." The task for American in the world, then, was "to dispense with all sentimentality and day-dreaming," and instead focus "on our immediate national objectives," which were defined as managing foreign policy in such a way as "to maintain this position of disparity without positive detriment to our national security." With such an objective in mind, noted the report, "We need not deceive ourselves that we can afford today the luxury of altruism and world-benefaction." [16]

In other words, to maintain the "disparity" between America's wealth and that of the rest of the world, there was no point in pretending that their interests were anything otherwise. Imperial planners were direct in suggesting that "we need not deceive ourselves" about their objectives, but this did not imply that they did not have to deceive the American population, for whom internal documents were not meant to be read.

In the Middle East, imperial interests were bluntly articulated by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, who defined the region as "an area in which the United States has a vital interest." The oil wealth of Saudi Arabia and the region as a whole was said to "constitute a stupendous source of strategic power, and one of the greatest material prizes in world history," and that controlling the oil would imply "substantial control of the world." [17]

Threats to these interests were quick to arise in the form of Arab Nationalism - or "independent nationalism" - most effectively represented by Gamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt, where nations sought to pursue a policy both foreign and domestic in their own interests, to more closely address the concerns of their own populations rather than the interests of the Godfather, and to take a 'neutral' stance in the Cold War struggle between the US and USSR.

A 1958 National Security Council report noted that, "In the eyes of the majority of Arabs the United States appears to be opposed to the realization of the goals of Arab nationalism," and rather, that the US was simply "seeking to protect its interests in Near East oil by supporting the status quo" of strong-armed ruthless dictators ruling over repressed populations. This, the report noted, was an accurate view that Arab peoples held of the U.S., stating that, "our economic and cultural interests in the area have led not unnaturally to close U.S. relations with elements in the Arab world whose primary interest lies in the maintenance of relations with the West and the status quo in their countries." Further, because the U.S. was so closely allied with the traditional colonial powers of the region - France and Britain - "it is impossible for us to avoid some identification" with colonialism, noted the report, especially since "we cannot exclude the possibility of having to use force in an attempt to maintain our position in the area." [18]

Thus, a key strategy for the U.S. should be to publicly proclaim "support for the ideal of Arab unity," but to quietly "encourage a strengthening of the ties among Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq," all ruthless tyrants, in order to "counterbalance Egypt's preponderant position of leadership in the Arab world." Another strategy to "combat radical Arab nationalism and to hold Persian Gulf oil by force if necessary" would be "to support Israel as the only strong pro-West power." [19]

In Latin America, long considered by U.S. imperial planners as America's 'backyard,' the "threat" was very similar to that posed by Arab nationalism. A 1953 National Security Council memo noted that there was "a trend in Latin America toward nationalistic regimes maintained in large part by appeals to the masses of the population," and that, "there is an increasing popular demand for immediate improvement in the low living standards of the masses." For the U.S., it would be "essential to arrest the

drift in the area toward radical and nationalistic regimes" which was "facilitated by historic anti-U.S. prejudices and exploited by Communists." To handle this "threat," the NSC recommended that the United States support "the development of indigenous military forces and local bases" to encourage "individual and collective action against internal subversive activities by communists and other anti-U.S. elements." In other words: the U.S. must support repression of foreign populations.[20]

American strategy thus sought to oppose "radical and nationalistic regimes" - defined as those who successfully defy the U.S. and its Mafia capos - and to "maintain the disparity" between America's wealth and that of the rest of the world, as well as to continue to control strategically important resources and regions, such as oil and energy sources. America was not alone in this struggle for global domination, as it had its trusted Mafia capo "allies" like Britain, France, Germany, and to a lesser extent, Japan, at its side. Concurrently, other large powers like Russia and China would engage in bouts of cooperation and competition for extending and maintaining influence in the world, with occasional conflicts arising between them.

The International Peace Research Institute (IPRI) in Oslo, Norway, compiled a dataset for assessing armed conflict in the world between 1946 and 2001. For this time period, IPRI's research identified 225 conflicts, 163 of which were internal conflicts, though with "external participants" in 32 of those internal conflicts. The number of conflicts in the world rose through the Cold War, and accelerated afterward.[21] The majority of conflicts have been fought in three expansive regions: from Central America and the Caribbean into South America, from East Central Europe through the Balkans, Middle East and India to Indonesia, and the entire continent of Africa.[22]

Another data set was published in 2009 that revealed much larger numbers accounting for "military interventions." During the Cold War era of 1946 to 1989 - a period of 44 years - there were a recorded 690 interventions, while the 16-year period from 1990 and 2005 had recorded 425 military interventions. Intervention rates thus "increased in the post-Cold War era." As the researchers noted, roughly 16 foreign military interventions took place every year during the Cold War, compared to an average of 26 military interventions per year in the post-Cold War period.[23]

Interventions by "major powers" (the US, UK, France, Soviet Union/Russia, and China) increased from an average of 4.3 per year during the Cold War to 5.6 per year in the post-Cold War period. Most of these interventions were accounted for by the United States and France, with France's numbers coming almost exclusively from its interventions in sub-Saharan Africa. During the Cold War period, the five major powers accounted for almost 28% of all military interventions, with the United States in the lead at 74, followed by the U.K. with 38, France with 35, the Soviet Union with 25, and China with 21.[24]

In the post-Cold War period (1990-2005), the major powers accounted for 21.2% of total military interventions, with the United States in the lead at 35, followed by France with 31, the U.K. with 13, Russia with 10, and China with 1. Interventions by Western European states increased markedly in the post-Cold War period, "as former colonial powers increased their involvement in Sub-Saharan Africa," not only by France, but also Belgium and Britain.[25]

Meanwhile, America's actual share of global wealth has been in almost continuous decline since the end of World War II. By 2012, the United States controlled roughly 25% of the world's wealth, compared with roughly 50% in 1948.[26] The rich countries of the world - largely represented by the G7 nations of the U.S., Japan, Germany, the UK, France, Italy and Canada - had for roughly 200 years controlled the

majority of the world's wealth.[27] In 2013, the 34 "advanced economies" of the world (including the G7, the euro area nations, and Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea) were surpassed for the first time by the other 150 nations of the world referred to as "emerging" or "developing" economies.[28]

Thus, while the American-Western Empire may be more globally expansive - or technologically advanced - than ever before, the world has itself become much more complicated to rule, with the 'rise' of the East (namely, China and India), and increased unrest across the globe. As Zbigniew Brzezinski noted in 2009, the world's most powerful states "face a novel reality: while the lethality of their military might is greater than ever, their capacity to impose control over the politically awakened masses of the world is at a historic low. To put it bluntly: in earlier times, it was easier to control one million people than to physically kill one million people; today, it is infinitely easier to kill one million people than to control one million people." [29]

Notes

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Empire Under Obama, Part Two:

Barack Obama's Global Terror Campaign

Under the administration of Barack Obama, America is waging a global terror campaign through the use of drones, killing thousands of people, committing endless war crimes, creating fear and terror in a program expected to last several more decades. Welcome to Obama's War OF Terror.

When Obama became President in 2009, he faced a monumental challenge for the extension of American and Western imperial interests. The effects of eight years under the overt ruthless and reckless behaviour of the Bush administration had taken a toll on the world. With two massive ground wars and occupations under way in Iraq and Afghanistan, Western military forces were stretched thin, while the world's populations had grown increasingly wary and critical of the use of military force, both at home and abroad. Just as Brzezinski had articulated: "while the lethality of their military might is greater than ever, their capacity to impose control over the politically awakened masses of the world is at a historic low."^[1]

When it came to the 'War on Terror,' Obama implemented his electoral visions of "hope" and "change" in the only way he knows: change the rhetoric, not the substance, and *hope* to hell that the Empire can continue extending its influence around the world. As such, Obama quickly implemented a policy change, dropping the term "war on terror" and replacing it with the equally - if not more - meaningless term, "overseas contingency operations."^[2]

A major facet of Obama's foreign policy strategy has been the implementation of an unprecedented global terror war with flying killer robots ("drones") operated by remote control. By 2011, the *Washington Post* reported that no president in U.S. history "has ever relied so extensively on the secret killing of individuals to advance the nation's security goals."^[3]

Every Tuesday, a counterterrorism meeting takes place in the White House Situation Room among two dozen security officials where they decide who - around the world - they are going to illegally bomb and kill that week, drawing up the weekly "kill list" (as it is called).^[4]

By October of 2012, Obama's "kill list" had evolved into a "next-generation targeting list" now officially referred to as the "disposition matrix," in yet another effort to demean the English language.^[5] The "disposition matrix"/kill list establishes the names of "terror suspects" who the Obama administration

wants to 'dispose' of, without trial, beyond the rule of law, in contravention of all established international law, and in blatant war crimes that kill innocent civilians.

Obama administration officials believe that the use of global drone terror warfare and "kill lists" are likely to last at least another decade, with one top official commenting, "We can't possibly kill everyone who wants to harm us... It's a necessary part of what we do... We're not going to wind up in 10 years in a world of everybody holding hands and saying, 'We love America'." [6] Indeed, quite true. That's one of the actual repercussions - believe it or not - of waging a massive global assassination program against people around the world: they tend to not "love" the country bombing them.

But the Obama administration warned the world that as of 2012, the U.S. had only reached the "mid-point" in the global war on [read: *of*] terror, with Obama's assassination program having already killed more than 3,000 people around the world, more than the number of people killed on 9/11. [7] As Glenn Greenwald noted, this represented "concerted efforts by the Obama administration to fully institutionalize - to make officially permanent - the most extremist powers it has exercised in the name of the war on terror." [8]

But in case you had any moral 'qualms' about bombing and murdering hundreds of innocent children in multiple countries around the world with flying robots, don't worry: as Joe Klein of *Time Magazine* noted, "the bottom line in the end is - whose 4-year-old gets killed? What we're doing is limiting the possibility that 4-year-olds here will get killed by indiscriminate acts of terror." [9]

Quite right. After all, "indiscriminate acts of terror" are only okay when the United States - or the "international community" - does it. But when the U.S. spreads terror, death and destruction around the world, this is referred to as a "war *on* terror," instead of the more accurate "war *of* terror." It could be argued that as a rule of thumb, whenever the United States declares a "war" *ON* something, simply remove the word 'on' and replace it with 'of', and suddenly, everything starts to make more sense. After all, whenever the U.S. declares a war "on" something (drugs, poverty, terror), the result is that there is a great deal more of whatever it is being 'targeted', and that U.S. policies themselves facilitate the exponential growth of these so-called 'targets.' Hence, the "war on terror" is truly more accurately described as a "war *of* terror," since that is the result of the actual policies undertaken in the name of such a war.

A major NYU School of Law and Stanford University Law School research report was published in September of 2012 documenting the civilian terror inflicted by Obama's global assassination-terror campaign. While the Obama administration has claimed that drones are "surgically precise" and "makes the US safer," the report countered that this was completely "false." The report noted that Obama's drone war often uses the strategy of hitting the same target multiple times, thus killing rescuers and humanitarian workers who go to help the injured. [10]

This is referred to as a "double-tap" strategy, and according to the FBI and Homeland Security, this is a tactic which is regularly used in "terrorist attacks" to target "first responders as well as the general population." Obama's drones not only target rescuers, but also frequently bomb the funerals of previous drone victims. According to the United Nations, such tactics "are a war crime." [11] Even the NYU/Stanford Law School report identified the drone program as a terror campaign when it noted that the effects of the drone program are that it "terrorizes men, women, and children." [12]

John O. Brennan, who served as Obama's chief counterterrorism adviser (and is now the director of the CIA), was the main advocate of the drone program inside the Obama administration. In 2011, he reassured the American people that, "in the last year, there hasn't been a single collateral death because of the exceptional proficiency, [and] precision of the capabilities that we've been able to develop," and added that, "if there are terrorists who are within an area where there are women and children or others, you know, we do not take such action that might put those innocent men, women and children in danger." [13] That sounds pretty impressive, though unfortunately, it's an absurd lie.

The *New York Times* noted that Obama's method for counting civilian deaths caused by drone strikes was "disputed" (to say the least), because it "counts all military-age males in a strike zone as combatants," thus radically underreporting the level of civilian deaths. The "logic" of this view is that "people in an area of known terrorist activity, or found with a top Qaeda operative, are probably up to no good." This "counting method," noted the *NYT*, "may partly explain the official claims of extraordinarily low collateral deaths." Some administration officials outside the CIA have complained about this method, referring to it as "guilty by association" which results in "deceptive" estimates. One official commented, "It bothers me when they say there were seven guys, so they must all be militants... They count the corpses and they're not really sure who they are." [14]

In 2011, it was reported that drone strikes in Pakistan had killed 168 children, according to the Bureau of Investigative Journalism. [15] In Afghanistan, officials note that civilians are killed not only by Taliban attacks but also increasingly by drone attacks, with Afghan president Hamid Karzai condemning the attacks which kill women and children as being "against all international norms." [16] Afghanistan was in fact the epicenter of the U.S. drone war, even more so than Pakistan, with the CIA having launched upwards of 333 drone strikes in the country over the course of 2012, the highest total ever. [17] The U.S. strategy in Afghanistan has evolved into "a new and as yet only partially understood doctrine of secret, unaccountable and illegal warfare," which is "destroying the West's reputation," noted the *Telegraph* in 2012. [18] And considering the already-existing "reputation" of the West in the rest of the world, that's quite an impressive feat.

From 2004 to 2012, between 2,400 and 3,100 people were reported to have been killed by U.S. drone strikes, including at least 800 innocent civilians (as a low estimate). As Seumas Milne reported in

the *Guardian*, the drone strikes "are, in reality, summary executions and widely regarded as potential war crimes by international lawyers." [19]

The UN warned in June of 2012 that drone strikes may constitute "war crimes," and that the use of drone strikes and "targeted killings" has been found to be "immensely attractive" to other states in the world, and thus, such practices "weaken the rule of law," as they "fall outside the scope of accountability." A Pakistani Ambassador declared that, "We find the use of drones to be totally counterproductive in terms of succeeding in the war against terror. It leads to greater levels of terror rather than reducing them." Ian Seiderman, the director of the International Commission of Jurists noted that as a result of the global drone war, "immense damage was being done to the fabric of international law." [20]

Robert Grenier, former head of the CIA's counter-terrorism center from 2004 to 2006, commented that the United States was "creating a situation where we are creating more enemies than we are removing from the battlefield," adding that, "If you strike them indiscriminately you are running the risk of creating a terrific amount of popular anger," and that the strikes could even create "terrorist safe havens." [21]

In testimony before the U.S. Congress in April of 2013, a Yemeni man who had studied in the United States explained that his community in Yemen - a small village - knew about the United States primarily through stories of his own experiences living there (which were positive), but their positive association with America changed following U.S. drone strikes, commenting: "Now... when they think of America, they think of the fear they feel at the drones over their heads. What the violent militants had failed to achieve, one drone strike accomplished in an instant." [22]

U.S. drone bases operate out of multiple countries, including Afghanistan, Djibouti, Turkey, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Seychelles, and Saudi Arabia. Drones have conducted "surveillance missions" in Libya, Iran, Turkey, Mexico, Colombia, Haiti, and North Korea. Drone strikes have taken place in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Somalia, [23] and there have even been reports of drone strikes taking place in the Philippines. [24] The U.S. has also considered undertaking drone strikes in the African country of Mali. [25]

In February of 2013, the United States sent 100 U.S. troops to Mali to set up a drone base for operations in Western Africa. [26] The U.S. began operating drones out of Mali right away, as "north and west Africa [were] rapidly emerging as yet another front in the long-running US war against terrorist networks," giving the Pentagon "a strategic foothold in West Africa," with Niger bordering Mali, Nigeria and Libya, which was already the target of a French-British-American war in 2011. [27]

In September of 2011, Anwar al-Awlaki, an American "suspected terrorist" in Yemen had his name added to Obama's "kill list" and was murdered in a drone bombing, with Obama reportedly saying that making the decision to kill him was "an easy one." [28] Two weeks later, Abdulrahman al-Awlaki, the 16-year-old son of Anwar, also born in America but at the time living in Yemen, was then killed with a drone strike. Obama's former White House Press Secretary and then-reelection campaign adviser Robert Gibbs was asked how the U.S. justified killing the 16-year-old boy, with the journalist commenting, "It's an American citizen that is being targeted without due process, without trial. And, he's underage. He's a minor." Gibbs replied that the boy "should have [had] a far more responsible father." Gibbs also noted, "When there are people who are trying to harm us, and have pledged to bring terror to these shores, we've taken that fight to them." [29] Pretty simple: America has decided to take the "terror" to "them."

At his first inaugural address as President in 2009, Barack Obama said: "To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect." Less than two-and-a-half years later, favourable views of the United States in the Middle East had "plummeted... to levels lower than they were during the last year of the Bush administration." A 2013 Gallup poll found that 92% of Pakistanis disapproved of U.S. leadership, with only 4% approving, "the lowest approval rating Pakistanis have ever given." While there was "substantial affection" for American culture and people in the Muslim world, according to the poll, the problem was U.S. policies. Even a Pentagon study undertaken during the Bush administration noted: "Muslims do not 'hate our freedom,' but rather, they hate our policies," specifically, "American direct intervention in the Muslim world," which, the Pentagon noted, "paradoxically elevate[s] stature of and support for Islamic radicals." [30]

A June 2012 poll of public opinion sought to gauge the level of support for U.S. drone strikes among 20 countries: the U.S., Britain, Germany, Poland, France, India, Italy, Czech Republic, China, Lebanon, Mexico, Spain, Japan, Brazil, Russia, Tunisia, Turkey, Egypt, Jordan and Greece. The poll found that 17 of the countries had a "clear majority" opposed to drone strikes, while only the U.S. had a "clear majority" (62%) in support. [31]

In May of 2013, Michael Sheehan, the assistant secretary of defense for special operations and low-intensity conflict testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee where he was asked how long the 'war on terrorism' will last, to which he replied: "At least 10 to 20 years," with a Pentagon spokesperson later clarifying that he meant that, "the conflict is likely to last 10 to 20 more years from today - atop the 12 years that the conflict has already lasted." [32] In other words, according to the Pentagon, the world has at least one-to-two more decades of America's *global terror war* to look forward to.

So, if America was actually waging a war *on* terror which sought to *reduce* the threat of terror, then why would it be undertaking policies that actively - and knowingly - *increase* the threat and levels of terrorism? Well the answer is perhaps shockingly simple: America is not attempting to reduce terror.

Quite the contrary, America is not only increasing the threat of terror, but is doing so by *waging terror* against much of the world. So this begs the question: what is the *actual* purpose of Obama's drone terror campaign?

Akbar Ahmed, the Islamic Studies chair at American University and former Pakistani high commissioner to Britain, explained in a May 2013 op-ed in the *New York Times* that the drone war in Pakistan was producing "chaos and rage" as it was "destroying already weak tribal structures and throwing communities into disarray," threatening the Pakistani government and fueling hatred of America, and that this was also occurring in Afghanistan, Somalia, and Yemen, other major target nations of Obama's terror campaign.[33]

Many of these tribal societies had struggled for autonomy under colonial governments (usually run by the British), and then struggled against the central governments left by the British and other colonial powers. These tribal societies have subsequently come under attack by the Taliban and al-Qaeda (whose growth was developed by the US in cooperation with Saudi Arabia and the Pakistani state), and then they continued to suffer under foreign occupations led by the United States, Britain and other NATO powers in Afghanistan and Iraq, destabilizing the entire Middle East and Central Asia.[34]

Now, these tribal societies are being subjected to Obama's drone campaign of terror, "causing ferocious backlashes against central governments while destroying any positive image of the United States that may have once existed," noted Ahmed. In his op-ed, he concluded: "Those at the receiving end of the strikes see them as unjust, immoral and dishonorable - killing innocent people who have never themselves harmed Americans while the drone operators sit safely halfway across the world, terrorizing and killing by remote control." [35]

So why would the United States knowingly do this, and why target these specific groups? The answer may be that the U.S. is simply targeting so-called "lawless" and "stateless" regions and peoples. In a world where states, corporations, and international organizations rule the day, with the United States perched atop the global hierarchy, the imperial concept of "order" reigns supreme, where the word 'order' is defined as *control*. In a world experiencing increased unrest, protests, rebellions, revolutions and uprisings, "order" is under threat across the globe.

For the American 'Mafia Godfather' Empire, *control* must be established, through whatever means necessary. For, as the ['Mafia Principles'](#) of international relations dictate: if one state, region, or people are able to "successfully defy" the Godfather/Empire, then other states and people might try to do the same. This could potentially set off a "domino effect" in which the U.S. and its Mafia capo Western allies rapidly lose control of the world. Thus, we have witnessed the United States and the West intimately involved in attempting to manage the 'transitions' taking place as a result of the Arab Spring, desperately seeking to not lose control of the incredibly important strategic region of the Arab world.

Meanwhile, the technological capacity of American military force has reached new heights, with the global drone warfare as a major example. It allows the U.S. to reduce its use of large military forces being sent into combat, and thus reduces the domestic political pressure against foreign aggression and warfare. The drone program fits perfectly into Zbigniew Brzezinski's description in 2009 of how the major state powers of the world are at a stage where "the lethality of their military might is greater than ever." Yet, as Brzezinski elaborated, and as is evident in the case of the Arab Spring, the monumental political changes in Latin America over the past decade and a half, and the increased unrest of people around the world, the "capacity to impose control over the politically awakened masses of the world is at a historic low. To put it bluntly: in earlier times, it was easier to control one million people than to physically kill one million people; today, it is infinitely easier to kill one million people than to control one million people"[36]

Thus, we attempt a logical reasoning as to why the U.S. is targeting stateless tribal societies with its global terror campaign: *if you can't control them, kill them*. Such a strategy obviously could not be publicly articulated to the population of a self-declared "democratic" society which congratulates itself on being a beacon for "freedom and liberty." Thus, political language is applied. As [George Orwell wrote](#), political language "is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."

When it comes to Obama's drone terror campaign against stateless tribal societies, the political language is firmly rooted in the "war on terror." These people are deemed to be "terror suspects," and so they are bombed and killed, their families and communities terrorized, and as a result, they become increasingly resentful and hateful toward the United States, thus leading to increased recruitment into terrorist organizations and an increased terror threat to the United States itself. Thus, the policy becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy: in terrorizing and bombing impoverished, stateless, tribal societies in the name of "fighting terror," the U.S. *creates* the terror threat that it uses to justify continued bombing. And thus, the *war of terror* wages on.

Some may find my use of the term "terror campaign" to refer to Obama's drone program as hyperbolic or emotive. But what else are we supposed to call a program that produces "chaos and rage" around the world, creating "more enemies than we are removing" as it "terrorizes men, women and children," so that when people think of America, "they think of the fear they feel at the drones over their heads"? What do you call this when it has been launched against at least seven different countries in the past four years, killing thousands of people - including hundreds of innocent children - and targeting first responders, humanitarian workers, and funerals?

By definition, this is terrorism. Obama's global flying-killer-robot-campaign is the implementation of the most technologically advanced terror campaign in history. The fact that Obama's terror war can continue holding *any* public support - let alone a *majority* of public support - is simply evidence of a

public with little knowledge of the reality of the campaign, or the terror being inflicted upon people all over the world in their name.

If the objective of U.S. policies were to counter or reduce the threat of terror, one would think that the U.S. would then stop *participating* in terror. Obviously, that is not the case. Therefore, the objective is different from that which is articulated. As [Orwell noted](#), "political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible," and that committing such horrific atrocities - such as dropping atomic bombs on cities, supporting genocide, civil wars or, in this case, waging a global campaign of terror - "can indeed be defended," added Orwell, "but only by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face." Thus, "political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness."

As Obama sought to justify his global terror campaign, he claimed that it has "saved lives" (except, presumably, for the thousands of lives it has claimed), that "America's actions are legal," and that, "this is a just war - a war wage proportionally, in last resort, and in self-defense." Perhaps the most poignant statement Obama made during his May 2013 speech was thus: "the decisions that we are making now will define the type of nation - and world - that we leave to our children." [37]

So the question for Americans then, should be this: do you want to live in a nation - and world - which is *defined* by the decision to wage a global campaign of terror upon multiple nations and regions, and tens of thousands of people around the world? Obama clearly has no problem with it, nor does the American foreign policy establishment, nor the media talking heads. But... *do you?*

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Empire Under Obama, Part Three:

America's "Secret Wars" in Over a Hundred Countries Around the World

Obama's global terror campaign is not only dependent upon his drone assassination program, but increasingly it has come to rely upon the deployment of Special Operations forces in countries all over the world, reportedly between 70 and 120 countries at any one time. As Obama has sought to draw down the large-scale ground invasions of countries (as Bush pursued in Afghanistan and Iraq), he has escalated the world of 'covert warfare,' largely outside the oversight of Congress and the public. One of the most important agencies in this global "secret war" is the Joint Special Operations Command, or JSOC for short.

JSOC was established in 1980 following the failed rescue of American hostages at the U.S. Embassy in Iran as "an obscure and secretive corner of the military's hierarchy," noted the *Atlantic*. It experienced a "rapid expansion" under the Bush administration, and since Obama came to power, "appears to be playing an increasingly prominent role in national security" and "counterterrorism," in areas which were "traditionally covered by the CIA." [1] One of the most important differences between these covert warfare operations being conducted by JSOC instead of the CIA is that the CIA has to report to Congress, whereas JSOC only reports its most important activities to the President's National Security Council. [2]

During the Bush administration, JSOC "reported directly" to Vice President Dick Cheney, according to award-winning investigative journalist Seymour Hersh (of the *New Yorker*), who explained that, "It's an executive assassination ring essentially, and it's been going on and on and on." He added: "Under President Bush's authority, they've been going into countries, not talking to the ambassador or the CIA station chief and finding people on a list and executing them and leaving. That's been going on, in the name of all of us." [3]

In 2005, Dick Cheney referred to U.S. Special Forces as "the silent professionals" representing "the kind of force we want to build for the future... a force that is lighter, more adaptable, more agile, and more lethal in action." And without a hint of irony, Cheney stated: "None of us wants to turn over the future of mankind to tiny groups of fanatics committing indiscriminate murder and plotting large-scale terror." [4] Not unless those "fanatics" happen to be wearing U.S. military uniforms, of course, in which case "committing indiscriminate murder and plotting large-scale terror" is not an issue.

The commander of JSOC during the Bush administration - when it served as Cheney's "executive assassination ring" - was General Stanley McChrystal, whom Obama appointed as the top military

commander in Afghanistan. Not surprisingly, JSOC began to play a much larger role in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.[5] In early 2009, the new head of JSOC, Vice Admiral William H. McRaven ordered a two-week 'halt' to Special Operations missions inside Afghanistan, after several JSOC raids in previous months killed several women and children, adding to the growing "outrage" within Afghanistan about civilian deaths caused by US raids and airstrikes, which contributed to a surge in civilian deaths over 2008.[6]

JSOC has also been involved in running a "secret war" inside of Pakistan, beginning in 2006 but accelerating rapidly under the Obama administration. The "secret war" was waged in cooperation with the CIA and the infamous private military contractor, Blackwater, made infamous for its massacre of Iraqi civilians, after which it was banned from operating in the country.[7]

Blackwater's founder, Erik Prince, was recruited as a CIA asset in 2004, and in subsequent years acquired over \$1.5 billion in contracts from the Pentagon and CIA, and included among its leadership several former top-level CIA officials. Blackwater, which primarily hires former Special Forces soldiers, has largely functioned "as an overseas Praetorian guard for the CIA and State Department officials," who were also "helping to craft, fund, and execute operations," including "assembling hit teams," all outside of any Congressional or public oversight (since it was technically a private corporation).[8]

The CIA hired Blackwater to aid in a secret assassination program which was hidden from Congress for seven years.[9] These operations would be overseen by the CIA or Special Forces personnel.[10] Blackwater has also been contracted to arm drones at secret bases in Afghanistan and Pakistan for Obama's assassination program, overseen by the CIA.[11] The lines dividing the military, the CIA and Blackwater had become "blurred," as one former CIA official commented, "It became a very brotherly relationship... There was a feeling that Blackwater eventually become an extension of the agency." [12]

The "secret war" in Pakistan may have begun under Bush, but it had rapidly expanded in the following years of the Obama administration. Wikileaks cables confirmed the operation of JSOC forces inside of Pakistan, with Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani telling the U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Anne Patterson (who would later be appointed as ambassador to Egypt), that, "I don't care if they do it as long as they get the right people. We'll protest in the National Assembly and then ignore it." [13]

Within the first five months of Obama's presidency in 2009, he authorized "a massive expansion of clandestine military and intelligence operations worldwide," granting the Pentagon's regional combatant commanders "significant new authority" over such covert operations.[14] The directive came from General Petraeus, commander of CENTCOM, authorizing Special Forces soldiers to be sent into "both friendly and hostile nations in the Middle East, Central Asia and the Horn of Africa." The deployment of highly trained killers into dozens of countries was to become "systemic and long term," designed to "penetrate, disrupt, defeat or destroy" enemies of the State, beyond the rule of law, no trial

or pretenses of accountability. They also "prepare the environment" for larger attacks that the U.S. or NATO countries may have planned. Unlike with the CIA, these operations do not report to Congress, or even need "the President's approval." But for the big operations, they get the approval of the National Security Council (NSC), which includes the president, as well as most other major cabinet heads, of the Pentagon, CIA, State Department, etc.[15]

The new orders gave regional commanders - such as Petraeus who headed CENTCOM, or General Ward of the newly-created Africa Command (AFRICOM) - authority over special operations forces in the area of their command, institutionalizing the authority to send trained killers into dozens of countries around the world to conduct secret operations with no oversight whatsoever; and this new 'authority' is given to multiple top military officials, who have risen to the top of an institution with absolutely no 'democratic' pretenses. Regardless of who is president, this "authority" remains institutionalized in the "combatant commands."[16]

The combatant commands include: AFRICOM over Africa (est. 2007), CENTCOM over the Middle East and Central Asia (est. 1983), EUCOM over Europe (est. 1947), NORTHCOM over North America (est. 2002), PACOM over the Pacific rim and Asia (est. 1947), SOUTHCOM over Central and South America and the Caribbean (est. 1963), SOCOM as Special Operations Command (est. 1987), STRATCOM as Strategic Command over military operations to do with outer space, intelligence, and weapons (est. 1992), and TRANSCOM handling all transportation for the Department of Defense. The State Department was given "oversight" to clear the operations from each embassy,[17] just to make sure everyone was 'in the loop,' unlike during the Bush years when it was run out of Cheney's office without telling anyone else.

In 2010, it was reported by the *Washington Post* that the U.S. has expanded the operations of its Special Forces around the world, from being deployed in roughly 60 countries under Bush to about 75 countries in 2010 under Obama, operating in notable spots such as the Philippines and Colombia, as well as Yemen, across the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. The global deployment of Special Forces - alongside the CIA's global drone warfare program - were two facets of Obama's "national security doctrine of global engagement and domestic values," in the words of the *Washington Post*, though the article was unclear on which aspect of waging "secret wars" in 75 countries constituted Obama's "values." Commanders for Special Operations forces have become "a far more regular presence at the White House" under Obama than George Bush, with one such commander commenting, "We have a lot more access... They are talking publicly much less but they are acting more. They are willing to get aggressive much more quickly." Such Special Operations forces deployments "go beyond unilateral strikes and include the training of local counterterrorism forces and joint operations with them."[18]

So not only are U.S. forces conducting secret wars within dozens of countries around the world, but they are training the domestic military forces of many of these countries to undertake secret wars internally, and in the interests of the United States Mafia empire.

One military official even "set up a network" of private military corporations that hired former Special Forces and CIA operations to gather intelligence and conduct secret operations in foreign countries to support "lethal action": publicly subsidized, privatized 'accountability.' Such a network was "generally considered illegal" and was "improperly financed." [19] When the news of these networks emerged, the Pentagon said it shut them down and opened a "criminal investigation." Turns out, they found nothing "criminal," because two months later, the operations were continuing and had "become an important source of intelligence." The networks of covert-ops corporations were being "managed" by Lockheed Martin, one of the largest military contractors in the world, while being "supervised" by the Pentagon's Special Operations Command. [20]

Admiral Eric T. Olson had been the head of Special Operations Command from 2007 to 2011, and in that year, Olson led a successful initiative - endorsed by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Mike Mullen and Defense Secretary Robert Gates - to encourage the promotion of top special operations officials to higher positions in the whole military command structure. The "trend" was to continue under the following Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, who previously headed the CIA from 2009 to 2011. [21] When Olson left his position as head of Special Operations Command, he was replaced with Admiral William McRaven, who served as the head of JSOC from 2008 to 2011, having followed Stanley McChrystal.

By January of 2012, Obama was continuing with seeking to move further away from large-scale ground wars such as in Iraq and Afghanistan, and refocus on "a smaller, more agile force across Asia, the Pacific and the Middle East." Surrounded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in full uniforms adorned with medals, along with other top Pentagon officials, President Obama delivered a rare press briefing at the Pentagon where he said that, "our military will be leaner, but the world must know the United States is going to maintain our military superiority." The priorities in this strategy would be "financing for defense and offense in cyberspace, for Special Operations forces and for the broad area of intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance." [22]

In February of 2012, Admiral William H. McRaven, the head of the Special Operations Command, was "pushing for a larger role for his elite units who have traditionally operated in the dark corners of American foreign policy," advocating a plan that "would give him more autonomy to position his forces and their war-fighting equipment where intelligence and global events indicate they are most needed," notably with expansions in mind for Asia, Africa and Latin America. McRaven stated that, "It's not really about Socom [Special Operations Command] running the global war on terrorism... I don't think we're ready to do that. What it's about is how do I better support" the major regional military command structures. [23]

In the previous decade, roughly 80% of US Special Operations forces were deployed in the Middle East, but McRaven wanted them to spread to other regions, as well as to be able to "quickly move his units to potential hot spots without going through the standard Pentagon process governing overseas deployments." The Special Operations Command numbered around 66,000 people, double the number since 2001, and its budget had reached \$10.5 billion, from \$4.2 billion in 2001.[24]

In March of 2012, a Special Forces commander, Admiral William H. McRaven, developed plans to expand special operations units, making them "the force of choice" against "emerging threats" over the following decade. McRaven's Special Operations Command oversees more than 60,000 military personnel and civilians, saying in a draft paper circulated at the Pentagon that: "We are in a generational struggle... For the foreseeable future, the United States will have to deal with various manifestations of inflamed violent extremism. In order to conduct sustained operations around the globe, our special operations must adapt." McRaven stated that Special Forces were operating in over 71 countries around the world.[25]

The expansion of global special forces operations was largely in reaction to the increasingly difficult challenge of positioning large military forces around the world, and carrying out large scale wars and occupations, for which there is very little public support at home or abroad. In 2013, the Special Operations Command had forces operating in 92 different countries around the world, with one Congressional critic accusing McRaven of engaging in "empire building." [26] The expanded presence of these operations is a major factor contributing to "destabilization" around the world, especially in major war zones like Pakistan.[27]

In 2013, McRaven's Special Operations Command gained new authorities and an expanded budget, with McRaven testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee that, "On any day of the year you will find special operations forces [in] somewhere between 70 and 90 countries around the world." [28] In 2012, it was reported that such forces would be operating in 120 different countries by the end of the year.[29]

In December of 2012, it was announced that the U.S. was sending 4,000 soldiers to 35 different African countries as "part of an intensifying Pentagon effort to train countries to battle extremists and give the U.S. a ready and trained force to dispatch to Africa if crises requiring the U.S. military emerge," operating under the Pentagon's newest regional command, AFRICOM, established in 2007.[30]

By September of 2013, the U.S. military had been involved in various activities in Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde Islands, Senegal, Seychelles, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda and Zambia, among others, constructing bases, undertaking "security cooperation engagements, training exercises, advisory deployments, special operations missions, and a growing logistics network." [31]

In short, Obama's global 'war of terror' has expanded to roughly 100 countries around the world, winding down the large-scale military invasions and occupations such as those in Afghanistan and Iraq, and increasing the "small-scale" warfare operations of Special Forces, beyond the rule of law, outside Congressional and public oversight, conducting "snatch and grab" operations, training domestic repressive military forces in nations largely run by dictatorships to undertake their own operations on behalf of the 'Global Godfather.'

Make no mistake: this is global warfare. Imagine for a moment the international outcry that would result from news of China or Russia conducting secret warfare operations in roughly 100 countries around the world. But when America does it, there's barely a mention, save for the passing comments in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* portraying an unprecedented global campaign of terror as representative of Obama's "values." Well, indeed it is representative of Obama's values, by virtue of the fact that he doesn't have any.

Indeed, America has long been the Global Godfather applying the 'Mafia Principles' of international relations, lock-in-step with its Western lackey organized crime 'Capo' states such as Great Britain and France. Yet, under Obama, the president who had won public relations industry awards for his well-managed presidential advertising campaign promising "hope" and "change," the empire has found itself waging war in roughly one hundred nations, conducting an unprecedented global terror campaign, increasing its abuses of human rights, war crimes and crimes against humanity, all under the aegis of the Nobel Peace Prize-winner Barack Obama.

Whether the president is Clinton, Bush, or Obama, the Empire of Terror wages on its global campaign of domination and subjugation, to the detriment of all humanity, save those interests that sit atop the constructed global hierarchy. It is in the interests of the ruling elite that America protects and projects its global imperial designs. It is in the interests of all humanity, then, that the Empire be opposed - and ultimately, deconstructed - no matter who sits in office, no matter who holds the title of the 'high priest of hypocrisy' (aka: President of the United States). It is the Empire that rules, and the Empire that destroys, and the Empire that must, in turn, be demolished.

The world at large - across the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Latin America - suffers the greatest hardships of the Western Mafia imperial system: entrenched poverty, exploitation, environmental degradation, war and destruction. The struggle against the Empire cannot be waged and won from the outside alone. The rest of the world has been struggling to survive against the Western Empire for decades, and, in truth, hundreds of years. For the struggle to succeed (and it *can* succeed), a strong anti-Empire movement must develop within the imperial powers themselves, and most especially within the United States. The future of humanity depends upon it.

Or... we could all just keep shopping and watching TV, blissfully blind to the global campaign of terror and war being waged in our names around the world. Certainly, such an option may be appealing, but ultimately, wars abroad come home to roost. As George Orwell once wrote: "The war is not meant to be won, it is meant to be continuous. Hierarchical society is only possible on the basis of poverty and ignorance. This new version is the past and no different past can ever have existed. In principle the war effort is always planned to keep society on the brink of starvation. The war is waged by the ruling group against its own subjects and its object is not the victory over either Eurasia or East Asia, but to keep the very structure of society intact."

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Empire Under Obama, Part Four:

Counterinsurgency, Death Squads, and the Population as the Target

While the American Empire - and much of the policies being pursued - did not begin under President Obama, the focus of "Empire Under Obama" is to bring awareness about the nature of empire to those who may have - or continue - to support Barack Obama and who may believe in the empty promises of "hope" and "change." Empire is institutional, not individual. My focus on the imperial structure during the Obama administration is not to suggest that it does not predate Obama, but rather, that Obama represents 'continuity' in imperialism, not "change." This part examines the concept of 'counterinsurgency' as a war against the populations of Iraq, Afghanistan and spreading into Pakistan.

Continuity in the imperialistic policies of the United States is especially evident when it comes to the strategy of 'counterinsurgency,' notably in Afghanistan. As examined in [Part 1 of this series](#), language plays a powerful role in the extension and justification of empire. George Orwell noted that political language was "largely the defense of the indefensible," where horrific acts and policies - such as maintaining colonial domination, dropping atomic bombs on cities - can only be defended "by arguments which are too brutal for most people to face." Thus, political language is employed, consisting "largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness." One specific example was provided by Orwell in his essay - *Politics and the English Language* - which holds particular relevance for the present essay: "Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*." Virtually the same process or strategy is today employed using words like *counterinsurgency* or *counterterrorism*. These military strategies are frequently employed, and the words are carelessly thrown around by military officials, politicians, intellectuals and media talking heads, yet little - if any - discussion is given to what they actually mean.

Near the end of the Bush administration in 2008, General David Petraeus was appointed as the Commander of CENTCOM (Central Command), the Pentagon's military command structure over the Middle East and Central Asia, overseeing the two major ground wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2010, Obama had appointed Petraeus as commander of the NATO forces in Afghanistan, and in 2011, he was appointed as CIA Director. Petraeus is a good starting point for the discussion on counterinsurgency.

Petraeus was previously commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, having quickly risen through the ranks to lead Bush's "surge" in 2007. Prior to the surge, Petraeus was initially sent to Iraq in 2004 given the responsibility of training "a new Iraqi police force with an emphasis on counterinsurgency." While in Iraq, Petraeus worked with a retired Colonel named Jim Steele, who was sent to Iraq as a personal envoy of Defense Secretary Rumsfeld. Steele acquired a name for himself in 'counterinsurgency' circles having led the U.S. Special Forces training of paramilitary units in El Salvador in the 1980s, where he turned them into efficient and highly effective death squads waging a massive terror war against the leftist insurgency and the population which supported them, resulting in the deaths of roughly 70,000 people.[1]

Jim Steele had to leave a promising military career after his involvement with the Iran-Contra scandal - trading arms to the Iranians for their war against Iraq to finance the death squads in Central America - and so he naturally turned to the private sector. But he had so impressed a Congressman named Dick Cheney, that when Cheney was Vice President, he and Rumsfeld maintained a cozy relationship with Steele who was then sent to Iraq in 2003 to help train the Iraqi paramilitary forces. Steele, working with David Petraeus and others, helped establish "a fearsome paramilitary force" which was designed to counter the Sunni insurgency which had developed in reaction to the U.S. invasion and occupation, running ruthless death squads which helped plunge the country into a deep civil war. Petraeus' role in helping to create some of Iraq's most feared death squads was revealed in a 2013 *Guardian* investigation.[2]

However, in 2005, the Pentagon had openly acknowledged that it was considering employing "the Salvador option" in Iraq in order "to take the offensive against the insurgents." John Negroponte, who had been the U.S. Ambassador to Honduras when the U.S. was running death squads out of Honduras in Central America was, in 2005, the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq. The Pentagon and the CIA were considering what roles they could play, possibly using U.S. Special Forces, to help train Iraqi "death squads" to hunt down and kill "insurgents." [3]

Within the first three years of the Iraq war and occupation, the British medical journal, *The Lancet*, published research indicating that between 2003 and 2006, an estimated 650,000 - 940,000 Iraqis had died as a result of the war.[4] A survey from 2008 indicated that there had been more than one million deaths in Iraq caused by the war.[5]

This is referred to as a "counterinsurgency" strategy. In 2006, General Petraeus wrote the foreword to the Department of the Army's Field Manual on Counterinsurgency, in which he noted that, "all insurgencies, even today's highly adaptable strains, remain wars amongst the people." [6] A 1962 U.S. counterinsurgency guide for the U.S. war in Vietnam said it even more bluntly when it noted that, "The ultimate and decisive target is the people... Society itself is at war and the resources, motives, and targets of the struggle are found almost wholly within the local population." [7]

At the risk of being redundant, let me put it even more simply: *counterinsurgency* implies a war against the population. An insurgency is an armed rebellion by a significant portion - or sector - of a population against an institutional authority or power structure (usually a state or imperial power). Thus, for the American Empire - adhering to its rigid 'Mafia Principles' of international relations - an 'insurgency' is always a threat to imperial domination: if people are able to resist domestic power structures (say, a specific U.S. ally/client state), then other people around the world may try the same. The United States will seek to *counter* insurgencies for several reasons: to maintain the stability of their ally, to maintain the confidence of other allies, to maintain its reputation as the global hegemon, and to *counter* more direct threats to U.S./Western interests, such as the loss of access to resources or key strategic points, or in the case of U.S. military occupations, to crush any and all resistance.

[In Part 1](#) of this series, I briefly summarized some major strategic reports written by key U.S. imperial planners, such as Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Brent Scowcroft. A 1988 National Security Council-Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy was co-chaired by Kissinger and Brzezinski, and directly acknowledged that most conflicts across the world were "insurgencies, organized terrorism, [and] paramilitary crime," including "guerilla forces" and "armed subversives." The report stated that the U.S. would have to intervene in these "low intensity conflicts" in which the "enemy" was "omnipresent" (or, in other words, in which the target was the population), because if the U.S. did not wage war against armed rebellions or uprisings around the world, "we will surely lose the support of many Third World countries that want to believe the United States can protect its friends, not to mention its own interests."

This is a key example of 'Mafia Principles.' The Mafia is able to expand its influence not simply through coercion, but through offering 'protection.' Thus, businessmen, politicians or other individuals who pay dues to the Mafia are in turn given protection *by* the Mafia. If they are confronted with a problem - competition, threats to their position, etc. - the Mafia will use threats or force in order to protect their patrons.

Take, for example, a corrupt politician (I know, how redundant!) who is in the pocket of the Mafia. A mob boss may ask for a favour - to pass (or block) a particular law - and in turn, the politician gets protection from the mob. Suddenly, an up-and-coming young politician gains in popularity in opposition to the corrupted political figure. The politician asks the mob for some help (after all, the mob doesn't want to lose the person in their pocket for the one who appears to be a wild card), and so the mob attempts to bribe or makes some threats to the aspiring political figure. If the bribes and/or threats don't work, then force may be used. Suddenly, the aspiring political figure was found washed ashore along the city's riverbanks.

This has served several purposes: the politician is kept in the pocket of the Mafia (always easier than trying to find a new point man), the mob maintains its reputation as an organization not to be

challenged or disobeyed (fear plays a essential part in maintaining power), and the politician is more indebted than ever to the mob. Interests are secured, reputations are maintained, and power is strengthened.

An 'insurgency' in a client state or against a Western occupation poses such a threat to the local and international power structures of imperialism. Thus, the Empire must *counter* the insurgency in order to undermine the immediate threat to its forces (or those of its allies/clients), to maintain its reputation as what Obama recently referred to as "the anchor of global security,"[8] and thus, to maintain the confidence of other allies around the world, and to pose a powerful threatening force to other populations which may attempt resistance. Interests are secured, reputations are maintained, and power is strengthened.

The notion that a *counterinsurgency* campaign is targeting a population resisting some form of authority - whether justified or not - and that such a strategy leads to enormous human tragedy, civilian casualties, suffering, chaos, destruction and human social devastation simply is of little significance to those who advocate for such doctrines. If the interest is in maintaining 'power,' the suffering of people is irrelevant. For the Empire, power and profit are what matters, people are incidental, and most often, in the way.

In the midst of the massive civil war in Iraq that Petraeus helped to bring about (with his 'counterinsurgency' operations of building death squads), Bush appointed Petraeus to head the planned "surge" of 20,000 U.S. troops into the country in 2007, which was hailed in the media and by the political class and their intellectual sycophants as a profound success.

By 2008, violence in Iraq was down, and this was of course interpreted as a success of the counterinsurgency/surge strategy. The reality was, as several commentators and analysts have pointed out, that the violence decreased because most of the ethnic cleansing in Iraq had taken place by then, and the Shia had won.[9] One academic study noted that just prior to the surge, there was a massive ethnic cleansing that took place within Iraq, and so by the time the surge began, noted one researcher, "many of the targets of conflict had either been killed or fled the country," and that, "violence has declined in Baghdad because of inter-communal violence that reached a climax as the surge was beginning." The effect of the surge was not to reduce violence, but rather, noted the report: "it has helped to provide a seal of approval for a process of ethno-sectarian neighborhood homogenization that is now largely achieved." [10]

Even General Wesley Clark, former Supreme Commander of NATO who led the NATO war against Yugoslavia in the 1990s, wrote in 2007 that as the surge was taking place, "vicious ethnic cleansing is under way right under the noses of our troops." [11] Upon the disgraced resignation of Petraeus from the position of CIA Director (due to some insignificant political sex scandal) in 2012, the *Washington*

Post reflected on the "surge" strategy back in 2007 which propelled Petraeus "to the top," writing that the surge strategy was "about helping Iraqis." [12] Naturally, such a notion - in the Western media - is a given 'fact' without the need for qualification: we did it, therefore it is 'good'; we did it in Iraq, therefore it was for the benefit of Iraq; we did it *to* Iraqis, therefore it was *for* Iraqis.

Counterinsurgency strategy - or 'COIN' as it is referred to in military parlance - shares a great deal with terrorist strategy, namely that, "the target is the people." The difference, however, is that one is employed by a massive state-military power structure while the other is used by small networks of individuals (often) operating outside of state structures. Both, however, are typically driven by relatively small groups of violent extremists.

Obama briefly appointed General Stanley McChrystal - former commander of the JSOC forces running secret wars around the world - as the head of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan in 2009, who was a strong advocate of "counterinsurgency tactics." [13] In March of 2009, Obama announced his strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan as a dual 'AfPak' strategy, expanding the Afghan war theatre directly into Pakistan, a nation of some 180 million people and armed with nuclear weapons. [14]

The strategy in Afghanistan was expected to drive militants into neighboring Pakistan, likely destabilizing the country. [15] As the Obama administration began its "surge" into Afghanistan in March of 2009, under the leadership of General McChrystal, who formerly ran Cheney's "executive assassination ring," an additional 21,000 troops were sent to the country. The Pakistani military warned the Americans that they were worried that U.S. actions in Afghanistan would not only send an increased level of militants, including the Taliban, into Pakistan's lawless areas, but that it could also "prompt an exodus of refugees from southern Afghanistan." In May of 2009, under U.S. pressure, the Pakistani military launched an offensive against the stateless North West Frontier Province (NWFP), displacing over 2 million people. [16]

This offensive was urged by State Department official Richard Holbrooke, as well as Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral Mike Mullen and General David Petraeus. [17] The *Independent* referred to the displacement which resulted as "an exodus that is beyond biblical," creating roughly 2.4 million internal refugees within the span of a month. Across the world, only Sudan, Iraq and Colombia had larger internal refugee populations. The speed of the "displacement" reached up to 85,000 per day, matched only by the Rwandan genocide in 1994. [18] The refugee crisis had subsequently "inflamed murderous ethnic rivalries" across Pakistan, noted the *Wall Street Journal*. [19] However, by late August, Pakistan had returned roughly 1.3 million of the refugees to the areas from which they were displaced. [20]

In October, Obama sent an additional 13,000 troops to Afghanistan. [21] The Pakistani Prime Minister warned that this would "destabilize his country." [22] In December, Obama announced an intention to

send an additional 30,000 U.S. forces to Afghanistan, bringing the total number of U.S. troops in the country to roughly 100,000.[23]

In a 2009 State Department cable from Pakistan, Anne Patterson reported that U.S. policy and actions in Pakistan "risks destabilizing the Pakistani state, alienating both the civilian government and military leadership, and provoking a broader governance crisis in Pakistan without finally achieving the goal." However, Patterson, seemingly without paradox, wrote that the U.S. strategy was "an important component of dealing with the overall threat" of terrorism.[24]

Further, noted Patterson, the U.S. strategy in relation to Afghanistan, which included supporting an increased role for India, Pakistan's long-standing state-enemy, was pushing the Pakistanis "to embrace Taliban groups all the more closely," and that U.S. arms deals with India "feeds Pakistani establishment paranoia and pushes them close to both Afghan and Kashmir-focused terrorist groups while reinforcing doubts about U.S. intentions." [25]

Another 2009 diplomatic cable from Patterson in Pakistan noted that nuclear proliferations was "a bigger threat than terrorism," while Pakistan had been building nuclear weapons "at a faster rate than any other country in the world," according to a U.S. national intelligence official in 2008. U.S. support for India's nuclear program (which is not a signatory to the NPT), has continued to cause Pakistan to refuse to sign the NPT, and had encouraged Pakistan to instead develop more nuclear weapons. Patterson described the relationship between Pakistan and the U.S. as one of "mutual distrust," explaining that, "the relationship is one of co-dependency we grudgingly admit - Pakistan knows the US cannot afford to walk away; the US knows Pakistan cannot survive without our support." [26]

Patterson noted in a 2009 cable that most Pakistanis view America with "suspicion," and that the Pakistani government was worried about the influx of militants and refugees from the U.S.-NATO war in Afghanistan, and that they would prefer to implement a strategy of "dialogue, deterrence and development" (instead of military operations) in regards to the country's own troubled regions which were becoming hot-beds for the growth of extremist groups. Patterson recommended that the U.S. government instruct the Pakistanis that, "it will be difficult for international donors to support a government that is not prepared to go all-out to defend its own territory." In other words: if Pakistan wants military and economic aid and IMF 'assistance,' it will have to continue military operations.[27]

Fred Branfman, who examined in detail Wikileaks cables related to Pakistan, summarized their findings as thus: "A disastrously bungled U.S. policy toward Pakistan has led a majority of the Pakistani people to see the U.S. as their 'enemy' and strengthened jihadi forces in both the northwest territories and Punjab heartland and thus made it more likely that anti-American forces could obtain Pakistani nuclear materials." As America continues its war in Afghanistan, it will "continue to destabilize the Pakistani state," not to mention, so too will undertaking a 'secret war' inside Pakistan itself.[28]

Since General Petraeus had so much "success" with creating death squads in Iraq, plunging the country into a deeper civil war, supporting the massive ethnic cleansing and undertaking a war against the population ("counterinsurgency" campaign), he was naturally the right choice for Obama to appoint in 2010 when it came to leading the "counterinsurgency" and "surge" into Afghanistan, replacing General McChrystal.

As revealed by Bob Woodward in 2010, under the Obama administration, the CIA was "running and paying for a secret 3,000-strong army of Afghan paramilitaries whose main aim is assassinating Taliban and al-Qaeda operatives not just in Afghanistan but across the border in neighboring Pakistan's tribal areas," likely working "in close tandem" with U.S. Special Forces undertaking "kill-or-capture" missions, all of which is approved by the U.S. and NATO commander in Afghanistan, General David Petraeus.[29]

The Afghan "surge" of the Obama administration was a profound failure. Following the first year of the surge, 2010 was recorded as the "deadliest year" for Afghan civilians since the war and occupation began in 2001, with over 2,700 civilians killed, up 15% from the previous year, according to the UN.[30] In 2011, the death toll reached another record high, with more than 3,000 civilians killed, according to the UN, an 8% increase from the previous year, and the number of deaths caused by suicide bombings increased by 80% from the previous year.[31]

The U.S. troops presence was to be reduced significantly following the formal "withdrawal" in 2014, after which time Obama pledged to keep a "small troops presence" in the country.[32] The remaining force would largely be geared toward "counterterrorism" operations in the country.[33] In June of 2013, the "formal" handing over of security operations from U.S.-NATO forces to Afghan forces was initiated, with a 350,000-strong military and police force trained by NATO and the US to manage internal 'security' against the continued 'insurgency' in the country.[34]

In other words, nearly thirteen years after a U.S.-NATO war and occupation began in Afghanistan, the war will continue indefinitely, and the "target" will remain as the population. In our media, we hear about deaths of "militants" or "Taliban" as if these are easily confirmed card-carrying or uniform-wearing groups and individuals (just as we report in regards to Obama's [global drone bombing terror campaign](#)). Yet, these reports often go unquestioned, much like during the massive counterinsurgency war the U.S. waged in Vietnam, where the majority of the population was largely opposed to the imperial presence of the United States, and where those whom the U.S. killed were given the all-encompassing label of 'Viet Cong' - the "enemy." So long as those who we murder in our foreign occupations are given the correct 'label' (whether Viet Cong, Taliban, al-Qaeda, or the ever-bland 'militants' and 'terrorists'), our continued slaughtering is continuously justified.

Few comments are made about the notion of the right of populations to resist foreign military occupations. Regardless as to whether or not we - as individuals - approve of particular militant groups

in places like Afghanistan or Pakistan, we do not have the 'right' to dictate who rules those nations. And, in fact, our presence strengthens the more extremist, militant, violent and deplorable groups precisely because they are those which are best equipped to resist another - far more - violent, extremist, militant and deplorable group: namely, Western military occupation forces.

Here is a hypothetical: imagine you live in the United States, and the government collapses amid disarray and disagreement (I know, I'm being redundant again!), but then, China suddenly decides to send in its army of 2.2 million forces to occupy the United States in order to act as an "anchor of security" for the world. Imagine Chinese forces installed a puppet government, maintained an occupation for over a decade, and ultimately ruled the country by force. Surely, in the United States, armed resistance would emerge. Yet, who - in the U.S. - are those most likely to resort to armed resistance?

Chances are, such groups would emerge among the militant right-wing Christian groups spread out across much of the country, holding extremist ideologies which much of the population finds deplorable, but also being among the best armed members of the domestic American population. Other gangs and criminal groups would likely flourish, war lords and drug lords would rise to high places (as they have in Afghanistan, Mexico, and Colombia), and then the Chinese would resort to a 'counterinsurgency' strategy, in which the whole population is punished. This would ultimately increase support for the domestic militants, despite their deplorable ideologies, and a subsequent cycle of violence and destruction would likely ensue.

Surely, such a scenario is not desired - at least not by the many Americans I know and consider friends and family - but such is the scenario we impose upon countries and people all across the planet. This insanity must stop. There must be - in the West and most especially within the United States itself - the development of an anti-imperial/anti-empire social movement. It is not only a requirement out of some uncomfortable argument about the 'economic costs' of extending an empire around the world, but it is a moral necessity. As Obama himself stated in September of 2013, "for nearly seven decades the United States has been the anchor of global security." [35] That is seven decades of American imperialism on a truly global scale, for which the populations of the West must now make amends, and that can only be done by *ending the empire*. Nothing less than the absolute abolishment of imperialism - in all its modern forms - is of the utmost human necessity.

We can have destruction, or we can have dignity. We can have hypocrisy, or we can have honesty. We can have fascism, or we can have a future. We can have hatred, or we can have humility. We can have repression, or we can have possibility. We can have war, or we can have no more. We can have Empire, or we can have Humanity. We cannot have both. Clearly, those in power are not equipped with the principles or possible threat of having a 'moral moment' in order to make such decisions: Barack Obama is no exception. Obama is merely the latest political personification of imperial phlegm spewed forth

from the charred chest of the American oligarchy as their chief representative, diligently applying Mafia principles to international relations.

The future of humanity - and the ending of empire - can only exist in hands of humanity itself, not a single human being with concentrated power, but rather, with the actualization - the decentralization - of power among the population.

When Hitler's second in command - Hermann Goering - was asked at the Nuremberg trials about Nazi Germany plunging the world into war, he replied: "Why, of course, the *people* don't want war... Why would some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best that he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece. Naturally, the common people don't want war; neither in Russia nor in England nor in America, nor for that matter in Germany. That is understood. But, after all, it is the *leaders* of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship or a Parliament or a Communist dictatorship... voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country." [36]

It would seem, then, that the only ones qualified to determine foreign policy are those it affects the most - those who are sent off to kill, and those who are targeted to be killed - in short: the population. Peace is possible, if people are empowered. Otherwise, imperialism is inevitable, and extinction is nearly ensured. There is a choice: we can passively accept imperialism and internalize a sense of insignificance and apathy; or, we can acknowledge that the whole global imperial system and structures of domination were established and are maintained precisely because those few in power - the tiny minority of global oligarchs - who rule the world are very well aware that when people work together, locally and globally, change is inevitable. If people were so easily controllable, so automatically apathetic, or inherently insignificant, why are there so many institutions, ideologies, techniques, structures and systems designed to keep people that way?

We can have Empire, or we can have Humanity. The choice is yours.

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