

To be friend of US 'fatal': *Expert*

US keeping to Netanyahu's Clean Break plan



By Jeffrey D. Sachs
Renowned economist

S P E E C H

A packed house in the European Parliament on February 19, 2025, heard American Professor Jeffrey Sachs outline the cold realities of US power, and Europe's subordination to it. At an event titled "The Geopolitics of Peace," hosted by former UN Assistant Secretary General and current BSW MEP Michael von der Schulenburg, Professor Sachs warned the audience, "To be an enemy of the United States is dangerous, but to be a friend is fatal," and urged Europe to have a "real" and independent foreign policy — "A foreign policy that is realistic, that understands Russia's situation, that understands Europe's situation, and that understands what America is and what it stands for." What follows is a short version of his comments edited for clarity.

US foreign policy

When the Soviet Union ended in 1991, the view that we [the US] run the show became even more exaggerated. Cheney, Wolfowitz, and many other names that you will have come to know literally believed this is now a US world, and we will do as we want. We will clean up the former Soviet Union. We will take out any remaining Soviet-era allies. Countries like Iraq, Syria, and so forth will go. And we've been experiencing this foreign policy for now essentially 33 years. Europe has paid a heavy price for this because Europe has not had any foreign policy during this period that I can figure out. No voice, no unity, no clarity, no European interests, only American loyalty.

There were moments where there were disagreements and, I think, very wonderful disagreements. The last time of significance was 2003 in the lead-up to the Iraq war when France and Germany said we don't support the United States going around the UN Security Council for this war. That war was directly concocted by Netanyahu and his colleagues in the US Pentagon. I'm not saying that it was a link or mutuality. I'm saying it was a war carried out for Israel. It was a war that Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith coordinated with Netanyahu. And that was the last time that Europe had a voice. I spoke with European leaders then, and they were very clear, and it was quite wonderful to hear their opposition to an unacceptable war. Europe lost its voice entirely after that, but especially in 2008. What happened after 1991, and to bring us to 2008, is that the United States decided that unipolarity meant that NATO would enlarge somewhere from Brussels to Vladivostok, step by step.

NATO expansion

There would be no end to the eastward enlargement of NATO. This would be the US unipolar world. If you play the game of Risk as a child like I did, this is the US idea: to have the piece on every part of the board. Any place without a US military base is an enemy, basically. Neutrality is a dirty word in the US political lexicon. Neutrality is perhaps the dirtiest word according to the US mindset. If you're an enemy, we know you're an enemy. If you are neutral, you are a subversive because you're really against us, but just not telling us. You're only pretending to be neutral. So, this was indeed the mindset, and the decision was taken formally in 1994 when President Clinton signed off on NATO enlargement to the east. However, an understanding was reached that NATO will not move one inch eastward. And it was explicit, and it is in countless documents. Just look up the National Security Archive of George Washington Univer-



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sity, and you can get dozens of documents. It's a website called "What Gorbachev Heard About NATO." Take a look, please, because everything you're told by the US about this promise is a lie, but the archives are perfectly clear.

So, the decision was taken by Clinton in 1994 to expand NATO all the way to Ukraine. This is a long-term US project. This is not due to one administration or another. This is a US government project that started more than 30 years ago. In 1997, Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote The Grand Chessboard, describing the NATO enlargement eastward. So, this project began in earnest in 1994, and we have had a continuity of government policy for 30 years until maybe yesterday, perhaps. A thirty-year project. Ukraine and Georgia were the keys to the project. Why? Because America learned everything it knows from the British. We are the wannabe British Empire. And what the British Empire understood in 1853, with Lord Palmerston [together with Napoleon III], is that you surround Russia in the Black Sea, and you deny Russia access to the Eastern Mediterranean. What you're watching is an American project to do the same in the 21st century. The US idea was that there would be Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Georgia all in NATO; That would deprive Russia of any international status by blocking the Black Sea and essentially by neutralizing Russia as little more than a local power. Brzezinski is clear about this geography.

And so, NATO enlargement, as you know, started in 1999 with Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic. Russia was extremely unhappy about it, but these were countries still far from Russia's border. Russia protested, but, of course, to no avail.

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Netanyahu's idea was and is that there will be one state, thank you, it will be Israel, Israel will control all the territory from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, and if anyone objects, we will overthrow them. Well, not Israel, exactly, but more specifically our friend, the United States. Now, the only wrinkle is that maybe the US will "own Gaza" instead of Israel owning Gaza. Netanyahu's idea has been around at least for 25 years. It goes back to a document called "Clean Break" that Netanyahu and his American political team put together in 1996 to end the idea of the two-state solution. You can also find that document online.

Then George Bush Jr. came into office. When 9/11 occurred, President Putin pledged all support to the US. And then the US decided around September 20, 2001, that it would launch seven wars in five years!

You can listen to General Wesley Clark on video speak about that. He was NATO's Supreme Commander in 1999. He went to the Pentagon around September 20, 2001. He was handed a piece of paper explaining the prospect of seven US wars of choice. These were, in fact, Netanyahu's wars.

The US government plan was partly to clean up [remove] old Soviet allies and partly to take out supporters of Hamas and Hezbollah. Netanyahu's idea was and is that there will be one state, thank you, it will be Israel, Israel will control all the territory from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, and if anyone objects, we will overthrow them. Well, not Israel, exactly, but more specifically our friend, the United States. That's been US policy until this morning. We don't know whether it

will change. Now, the only wrinkle is that maybe the US will "own Gaza" [according to President Trump] instead of Israel owning Gaza.

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So, these are long-term US projects. It's wrong to ask, "Is it Clinton? Is it Bush? Is it Obama?" That's the boring way to look at American politics, as a day-to-day or year-to-year game. Yet that's not what American politics is.

After 1999, the next round of NATO enlargement came in 2004 with seven more countries: the three Baltic states, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovenia, and Slovakia. At this point, Russia was pretty upset. This second wave of NATO enlargement was a complete violation of the post-war order agreed at the time of German reunification. Essential-

ly, it was a fundamental trick, or defection, of the US from a cooperative arrangement with Russia.

As everybody recalls, because we just had the Munich Security Conference last week, President Putin went to the MSC in 2007 to say, "Stop, enough is enough." Of course, the US did not listen. In 2008, the United States jammed down Europe's throat its long-standing project to enlarge NATO to Ukraine and to Georgia. This is a long-term project.

As you know, Viktor Yanukovich was elected as president of Ukraine in 2010 on the platform of Ukraine's neutrality. Russia had no territorial interests or designs in Ukraine at all. I know. I was there off and on during these years. What Russia was negotiating during 2010 was a 25-year lease to 2042 for Sevastopol naval base. That's it. There were no Russian demands for Crimea or for the Donbas. Nothing like that at all. The idea that Putin is reconstructing the Russian empire is childish propaganda. Excuse me. Yet the United States decided that Yanukovich must be overthrown because he favored neutrality and opposed NATO enlargement. It's called a regime change operation.

Maidan Revolution, its aftermath

Now, in 2014, the US worked actively to overthrow Yanukovich. Everybody knows the phone call intercepted by my Columbia University colleague, Victoria Nuland, and the US ambassador, Peter Pyatt. You don't get better evidence. The Russians intercepted her call, and they put it on the Internet. Listen to it.

At the end of 2021, Putin put on the table a last effort to reach a modus operandi with the US, in two security agreement drafts, one with Europe and one with the United States. He put the Russia-US draft agreement on the table on December 15, 2021. Following that, I had an hour-long call with [National Security Advisor] Jake Sullivan in the White House, begging, "Jake, avoid the war. You can avoid the war. All



World-renowned economist Jeffrey D. Sachs (R) addresses the European Parliament on February 19, 2025.
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