ORGANIZED CRIME AND THE NATION-STATE

GEOPOLITICS AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

De Leon Petta Gomes da Costa



Organized Crime and the Nation-State

Geopolitics is an increasingly important tool to understand national and international relations.

This book unravels how organized crime is not just a marginal problem but part of a bigger geopolitical and asymmetrical warfare strategy. It seeks to establish a direct relationship between Nation States and organized crime groups. Many States have been using criminal and terrorist organizations as a policy for issues of national sovereignty or as a tool to strengthen a nation's geopolitical position. This book demonstrates how national states are utilizing criminal organizations in covert operations and "dirty jobs" such as espionage, proxy war, arms trafficking and sabotage. Examples from the United States, China and the Soviet Union are explored, providing both an historical and contemporary analysis, from World War II through to the Cold War and to the present day. The book brings together perspectives from international relations and criminology drawing on insights from a variety of sources, including public documents and interviews.

De Leon Petta Gomes da Costa is a Professor of International Security in Rio Branco College, Brazil, specializing in Geopolitics, Organized Crime and nonconventional warfare. He was also a Visiting Researcher at Virginia Commonwealth University, USA and Honorary Researcher at Hong Kong University.



Organized Crime and the Nation-State

Geopolitics and National Sovereignty

De Leon Petta Gomes da Costa



First published 2019 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 De Leon Petta Gomes da Costa

The right of De Leon Petta Gomes da Costa to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-38734-8 (hbk) ISBN: 978-0-429-42631-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon, UK

Contents

	List of figures	vi
	Acknowledgments	vii
	List of abbreviations	viii
	Introduction	1
1	Geopolitics and organized crime: Delimiting the geopolitical subject and its relation to organized crime	4
2	Filling vacuums: Bourdieu and Alinsky meet Ratzel and Kissinger	13
3	Cooperation between nation-states and organized crime	27
4	China and its invisible hand	46
5	Soviet Union and Russia: The use of underground forces	63
6	Conclusions and final considerations	79
	Bibliography Index	87 95

Figures

2.1	The chart of state relations with non-state actors	21
3.1	United States in World War II theater	30
3.2	Mediterranean scenario	31
3.3	United States in Cold War scenario	38
3.4	United States and the new underground battlefront	43
3.5	United States and Iranian proxy war on Iraq	44
4.1	China and secret societies in World War II	49
4.2	China and Taiwan proxy war	53
4.3	KMT invasion to Yunnan	54
4.4	China and the underground battle for Asia	59
5.1	Soviet Union and its sponsored terrorism	69
5.2	Soviet Union geopolitical retreat	73
5.3	Afghan scenario	74
5.4	Russia and its proxy conflicts	77
5.4	Russia and its proxy conflicts	

Acknowledgments

I have dedicated this book to the two most important people in my life, my mother Marta de Petta and my wife Eliana Harue Endo da Costa, for their patience and endless support.

Unlike the research for my Masters Degree, it would have been impossible to complete this book without the help of many people across the world. I thank the people who gave me interviews, shared contacts, reviewed my work, hosted me, gave me important directions and tips, had patience with my mistakes, taught me, reviewed my book, dealt with bureaucracies of different countries and opened doors to make this research possible. In Brazil I would like to thank Federal Appellate Judge Dr. Fausto Martin de Sanctis, Mr. Percival de Souza, my colleague and friend Mr. Danilo Rogério de Sousa.

In the United States I would like to thank Ms. Tina M Braden, Prof. Dr. William W Newman, Mr. David Cariens, Dr. Louise I Shelley, Mr. David Kaplan, Mr. Jim E. Moody, Dr. Marianna Kudlyak, Prof. Dr. Eugene P. Trani, Prof. Dr Krishna K. Tummala and the Virginia Commonwealth University staff.

In Hong Kong, Prof. Dr. Peng Wang, Mr David Hodson, Prof. Dr. T Wing Lo, Prof. Dr. Simon Shen, Mr. Tin Cheung, Prof. Dr. Shiu Hing Sonny Lo, Ms. Sharon Ingrid Kwok, Mr. James Pomfret and the Hong Kong University staff.

Very special thanks to both supervisors in my internships, Prof. Dr. Carolin Görzig (now in Germany) and Prof. Dra. Karen Ann Joe Laidler in Hong Kong, who literally saved this work. Also to the International Geographical Union (IGU), University of São Paulo staff, especially CCInt-FFLCHand some friends and supporters around the world who unfortunately cannot be identified.

To FAPESP grant # 2013/20955-5 (São Paulo Research Foundation), for the financial and institutional support while opening several gates of knowledge for me.

I apologize if I forgot to mention anyone. Any shortcomings in this book are obviously my own.

Abbreviations

14K	Triad group based in Hong Kong
ASALA	Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
ATF	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives
AUC	Autodefensas Unidas de Colômbia
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPC	Communist Party of China
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
DGSE	Directorate-General for External Security
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FSLN	Sandinista National Liberation Front (Spanish: Frente Sandinista de
	Liberación Nacional
GRU	Main Intelligence Directorate (Russian: Glavnoye Razvedyvatel'noye
	Upravleniye)
IBMND	Intelligence Bureau of the Ministry of National Defense
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti
KMT	Kuomintang
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MI6	Secret Intelligence Service (Military Intelligence Section 6)
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organization
NKVD	People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (Russian: Narodnyi Komissariat
	Vnutrennikh Del)
NSA	National Security Agency
NSB	National Security Bureau of the Republic of China
NSC	National Security Council
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PCC	Primeiro Comando da Capital
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PKK Kurdistan Workers' Party PLA People's Liberation Army PLO Palestine Liberation Organization PRC People's Republic of China RAF Red Army Faction (German: Rote Armee Fraktion) UK United Kingdom UN United Nations United Revolutionary Front of East Turkestan URFET United States of America US USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Military-Labour People's Revolutionary Party (Russian: Voenno-VTNRP Trudovaya Narodnaya Revolyutsionnaya Partiya)

