The New World Order

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Summary

- New World Order is primarily an attempt to expand LIO into Middle East
  - Where Europe has turned inward, U.S. has turned outward
- Site specific assets — and opportunity for more — make Middle East “ripe for rule.”
- Highly unequal societies permit indirect rule through Western-oriented elites
President George H.W. Bush

“A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace...Today that new world is struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we’ve known....There is no substitute for American leadership.”

Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order....”

- Phrase introduced by Gorbachev to refer to superpower cooperation. Taken up by Bush in Persian Gulf War 1991.
New World Order: What it Means

- Unchallenged U.S. primacy
- Soviet-American cooperation, especially in the United Nations
  - Augmented by new great powers Germany and Japan
- Increasing economic and political integration
  - NATO and EU enlargement already envisioned
- Future threat was not East-West but resurgent nationalism/religiosity in poorly governed spaces
- Assertion of moral authority and shared responsibility
- Primary area of interest is the Middle East
Alternative Views

- Right: Unipolarity would be fleeting. U.S. was only binding itself through institutions that it would regret
- Right: Human nature competitive, would see Clash of Civilizations
- Left: Outline for a new imperialism
- Center: Opportunity for the global flowering of the Liberal International Order
  - UN “freed” to be a constructive force
U.S. Ambition in the Middle East

- **1944: Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement**
  - FDR: “Persian oil is yours. We share the oil of Iraq and Kuwait. As for Saudi Arabia, it’s ours.”

- **1956: Suez Canal Crisis**
  - Egypt nationalizes the Canal
  - Britain, France, and Israel invade Egypt to retake the Canal
  - U.S. asserts regional dominance by forcing allies to withdraw

- **1957: Eisenhower Doctrine:** the U.S. “regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East.

- **1968: Britain withdraws “East of Suez”**
U.S. Rules/Aspirations in the Middle East

- Integrity of territorial borders
- Peaceful settlement of disputes
- Protection of U.S. investments (largely oil)
- Security of supply and stable oil prices
- Access for U.S. military forces when necessary
- Democracy and economic liberalization when possible
Rogues and Friends

- Rules are fundamentally oriented towards maintaining status quo
  - No great ideological divide in region
  - Different regional aspirations

- Divide countries by
  - Rogues: Syria, Libya, Iran, Iraq (1990-2003)
  - Friends: Israel, Egypt (after 1973), Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, UAE

- U.S. seeks regime change in former, supports latter
Why Attempt Informal Empire?

- Large site-specific assets at risk
  - Largely oil investments
- Pro-American elites, dependent on oil exports and access to financial markets, but domestically weak
- Willing to compromise on foreign policy to earn U.S. backing
  - To support friendly regimes, need military access to region, creating “secondary” specific investments
U.S. Interventions

- 1949: CIA backed coup in Syria
- 1953: CIA backed coup in Iran
- 1956: CIA planned coup in Syria (aborted)
- 1958: U.S. Marines deployed to Lebanon
- 1957-58: CIA plans to overthrow Nassar
- 1960: U.S. assists Iraqi Kurds
- 1963: U.S. supports coup by Ba’ath in Iraq
- Continuing support to King of Jordan, Shah of Iran, Saudi royal family, opposition to pro-Soviet regimes in Syria and Egypt
Indirect Rule in the Middle East

- U.S. supports Anwar Sadat after 1973 war
  - Restores diplomatic relations 1974
  - “Outbids” Soviet Union in aid
  - Camp David Accords makes peace with Israel (1979)
  - Egypt second largest non-NATO recipient of military aid
  - Egypt becomes “Major non-NATO ally” (1989)
- Sadat assassinated in 1981
Indirect Rule in the Middle East

- Hosni Mubarak assumes presidency, rules Egypt until 2011
  - Military officer, promoted to Vice President in 1975
- Beneficiary of U.S. military and financial support;
- In return, backed Persian Gulf War, maintains peace with Israel, cooperates militarily with U.S., suppresses militant Islamic groups
- Our SOB: Rigged elections, governed autocratically, engaged in both government and personal corruption
Indirect Rule in the Middle East

- Arab Spring drives ailing Mubarak from power
- Mohamed Morsi, a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, elected (June 2012)
  - Constitutional reforms ratified by voters
  - Essentially 5 nationwide votes affirm Morsi
Indirect Rule in the Middle East

Abdel Fattah el-Sisi (Commander in Chief of Egyptian Armed Forces) leads coup against Morsi (July 2013)

- Sisi elected in March 2014 in less than free and fair elections
- U.S. chooses not to describe as coup but as a restoration of democracy; quickly restarted foreign and military aid
So, why does this matter for the New World Order

- Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait (August 1990) immediately recognized as an opportunity by U.S. for more assertive role
  - Establishes rules
  - Demonstrates U.S. commitment and credibility
- Gorbachev agrees that Soviet Union will stay out
Backdrop to New World Order: The Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988

- **Origins**
  - Long standing dispute over control of the Shatt al-Arab waterway on the border.
  - Iran weakened by the 1979 Revolution.
- U.S. supported Iraq. With complicity of U.S., Iraq used chemical weapons against Iranian troops and civilians.
- Total casualties est. 1m.
- Iraq deeply indebted. Price of oil declining due to Kuwait’s “excess” pumping.
New World Order in Action: Persian Gulf War (1990-91)

- UN Resolutions: 660 (condemns invasion), 661 (sanctions Iraq), 662 (annexation illegal), 664 (demands foreign nationals be allowed to leave), 665 (naval blockade), 666 (humanitarian need), 667 (condemns Iraq’s treatment of diplomatic personnel in Kuwait), 669 (permits other countries to lodge complaints about blockade), 670 (broadens sanctions), 674 (affirms condemnation), 677 (condemns Iraq’s destruction of Kuwaiti documents), 686 (ends war and imposes inspections)

- Resolution 678 (Nov. 1990) demands withdrawal by Jan. 15, 1991, and authorizes “all necessary means” to enforce
The Persian Gulf War

- U.S. immediately opens negotiations with Saudi Arabia
  - Emphasizes threat that Iraq might expand conflict
  - Commits to overturning invasion if Saudis are willing to allow deployment of U.S. forces on Saudi territory
  - Agree to form coalition

![Map of the Persian Gulf War](image)
The Persian Gulf War

- In January 1991, U.S. leads 34 countries to restore sovereignty to Kuwait. Victory declared after Iraqi forces expelled from Kuwait.
- Decision not to “go to Baghdad”
- Casualties: U.S. 382, other coalition 87, Iraqi est. 22,000 - 200,000.
Aftermath of Persian Gulf War

- U.N. Security Council prohibits MWD in Iraq and sets up postwar inspections regime (UNSC Res. 686).


- U.N. also imposes sanctions designed to topple Saddam Hussein. Significant costs to general population.
New World Order

- Strong action against violations of international norms
  - Territorial integrity
  - Disputes should be resolved by peaceful means
- U.S. leadership
- Consensus decision-making within the United Nations
- But new, more expansive role in stabilizing the Middle East