The New World Order

PS 142A
Lecture 13.1
Summary

- New World Order is primarily an attempt to expand the LIO into the Middle East
  - Where Europe turned inward, U.S. 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....” (1990)

- 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....” (1991)
New World Order: What it Meant

- 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 Foreign Policy Strategies

- Right: Human nature competitive, would see Clash of Civilizations
  - Unipolarity would be fleeting. U.S. should use power to shape the world according to its own interests
  - U.S. was only binding itself through institutions that it would regret

- Left: Opportunity for a new multilateral and principled foreign policy protecting human rights and spreading democracy
  - Opportunity for global flowering of the Liberal International Order

- Few seriously considered saving the “peace dividend”
U.S. Ambition in the Middle East

- **1930s:** First U.S. investments in Saudi Arabia
- **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”
Why Attempt Informal Empire?

- Regional instability threatens peace and security
  - Regional states have capacity to oppose and disrupt the LIO and world more generally
  - Yet, their interests are not aligned with those of U.S. or LIO

- Large site-specific assets at risk
  - Large oil investments
  - Bases
Foreign Direct Investment Continues

Direct investment position of the United States in the Middle East from 2000 to 2018
(in billion U.S. dollars, on a historical-cost basis)
As of 2015, the United States controlled approximately 800 bases outside the fifty U.S. states and Washington, D.C. The sheer number of bases as well as the secrecy and lack of transparency of the overseas base network make any graphic depiction challenging. This map reflects the bases relative number and positioning given the best available information. Key sources: Department of Defense, "Base Structure Report Fiscal Year 2014 Baseline"; Robert E. Hackney, Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200-2000; Michael J. Loomis et al., "Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces"; Chalmers Johnson, The Sorrows of Empire; Nick Turse, TomDispatch.com; Craig Whitlock, Washington Post; Globalsecurity.org; news reports.

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U.S. Aspirations in the Middle East under the NWO

- 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—though religious differences matter
  - Different regional aspirations

- U.S. divides countries by
  - Rogues: Egypt (before 1973), Syria, Libya, Iran (after 1979), Iraq (1990-2003)
  - Friends: Israel, Iran (before 1979), Egypt (after 1973), Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Kuwait, UAE

- U.S. seeks regime change in former, supports latter
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
The Making of a Rogue State

- 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
  - Saddam Hussein reclassified as a rogue and sets up decade of conflict
- 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. supports Iraq.
  - With complicity of U.S., Iraq uses chemical weapons against Iranian troops and civilians.
- Total casualties est. 1m.
- Iraq deeply indebted. Price of oil declining due to Kuwait’s “excess” pumping.
Invasion of Kuwait

- Aug. 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invade
  - “Green light” from U.S. Ambassador

- Aug. 5: Bush declares this “shall not stand”

- Objectives
  - Unconditional withdrawal
  - Restoration of monarchy
  - Security of Saudi Arabia
  - Protect lives of U.S. citizens
New World Order in Action: The UN and Persian Gulf War

- 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
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.
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Indirect Rule

- Pro-American elites, dependent on oil exports and access to financial markets, but domestically weak
  - Also, military regimes that lack popular support
- Willing to compromise on foreign policy to earn U.S. backing
  - To support friendly regimes, U.S. needs military access to region, creating “secondary” specific investments
Indirect Rule in Egypt

- U.S. supports Anwar Sadat after 1973 war
  - “Outbids” Soviet Union in aid
  - Camp David Accords makes peace with Israel (1979)
- Sadat assassinated in 1981
Indirect Rule in Egypt

- Hosni Mubarak assumes presidency, rules Egypt until 2011
  - Military officer, promoted to Vice President in 1975
- Beneficiary of U.S. military and financial support
  - Since 1980, over $70b in aid
  - Egypt second largest non-NATO recipient of military aid
- Egypt becomes “Major non-NATO ally” (1989)
- In return, backs 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 Egypt

- 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 nation-wide votes affirm Morsi
Indirect Rule in Egypt

- 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 restarts foreign and military aid
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
- Primary means of Informal Empire is (once again) indirect rule