

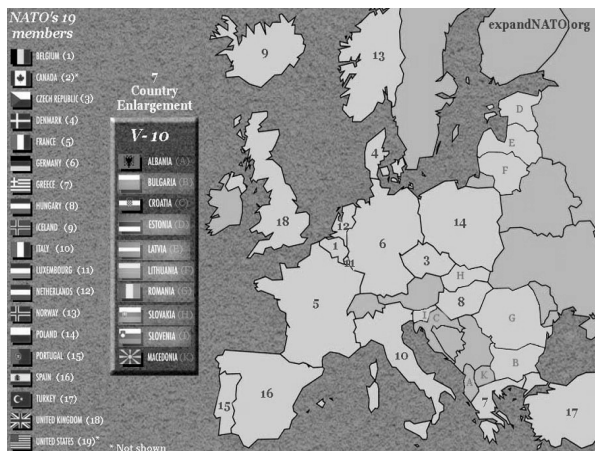
Post 9-11 Geopolitics

"In the counsels of Government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the Military Industrial Complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced Power exists, and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes."

- President Dwight Eisenhower, January 1961

Geopolitics Review

1. Mahan, Mackinder, Ratzel, Kjellen, Haushofer
2. Kennan, Truman, Spykman, Cline, Cohen
 - Two paradigms
3. Post-Cold War (1991 – 9-11-2001)



3. Post-Cold War geopolitics (cont.)

Competing geopolitical codes: lack of "vision"

1. Eagle Triumphant / Anti-Imperialism: containment of Russia and China
2. Noblesse Oblige: humanitarian interventions in Somalia, Haiti
3. Declinist: share effort in Bosnia, Kosovo
4. Contingency: "ad hoc" response to Al Qaeda attacks on embassies, lack of staying-power in Somalia
5. U.S. First: anti-internationalism, opposition to intervention except on behalf of key allies (Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Israel)
6. World of Regions?

Outline Post 9-11 Geopolitics: Unilateralism

1. Containment of regional powers: traditional state-to-state geopolitics (Russia, China, India)
2. Energy Security for U.S. / World
 - Chokepoints and Pipelines
 - Diversification of U.S. supplies
 - Iraq
3. Prevent WMD proliferation
4. War on Terror: aggressive pursuit of Al Qaeda - a globalist strategy to destroy a non-state actor
 - Network of bases in strategic locations
 - Pre-emptive strikes (Israeli model)
 - High level of global engagement
5. Roll-back Islamic Fundamentalism
 - Iraq

Post 9-11 Ideology: PNAC

- The ideology driving current U.S. geopolitics derives from the Project for the New American Century: 1997
- Attacks on 9-11 created an opportunity for the PNAC
- PNAC argues that "American foreign and defense policy is adrift" and calls for "a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity... At present the United States faces no global rival. America's grand strategy should aim to preserve and extend this advantageous position as far into the future as possible."

PNAC Goals

- The establishment of Pax Americana
- First step: the removal of Saddam Hussein and the establishment of an American protectorate in Iraq. The purpose of this is threefold:
 1. To acquire control of the oil fields to fund the entire enterprise
 2. To fire a warning shot across the bows of every leader in the Middle East
 3. To establish in Iraq a military staging area for the eventual invasion and overthrow of several Middle Eastern regimes, including some that are allies of the United States.

Origin of PNAC

- In 1991, Paul Wolfowitz objected to what he considered the premature ending of the Iraq War. In 1992, he wrote the Pentagon's Defense Planning Guide, which was leaked to *The New York Times*. In this document, he outlined plans for military intervention in Iraq as an action necessary to assure "access to vital raw material, primarily Persian Gulf oil" and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and threats from terrorism.
- "The primary goal of U.S. policy should be to prevent the rise of any nation that could challenge the United States."

PNAC Members

- Vice President Dick Cheney, one of the PNAC founders, served as Secretary of Defense for Bush Sr.
- I. Lewis Libby, Cheney's top national security assistant
- Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, also a founding member, along with four of his chief aides including
- Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, the ideological father of the group
- Eliot Abrams, member of Bush's National Security Council, pardoned by Bush Sr. in the Iran/Contra scandal
- John Bolton, Undersecretary for Arms Control and International Security in the Bush administration
- Richard Perle, former Reagan administration official and present Chairman of the powerful Defense Policy Board
- Bruce Jackson, Chairman of PNAC, former vice president of weapons manufacturer Lockheed-Martin

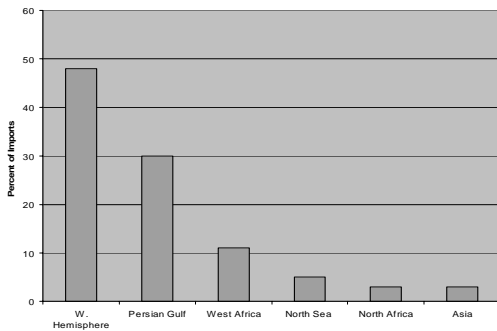
2. U.S. Energy Security

- From where does the U.S. get its Oil?
 1. Domestic production
 2. Imported oil
 3. Shifting geographies of supply

U.S. Oil Imports from the Middle East: 1977 vs. 1996 (millions of barrels per day)

Country	1977	1996
UAE	0.335	0.003
Saudi Arabia	1.380	1.363
Qatar	0.067	0
Kuwait	0.048	0.236
Libya	0.723	0
Iraq	0.074	0
Iran	0.535	0
Bahrain	0.010	0
TOTAL	3.172	1.602

U.S. Imports by Region: 2001



From where will the U.S. get its oil in the future?

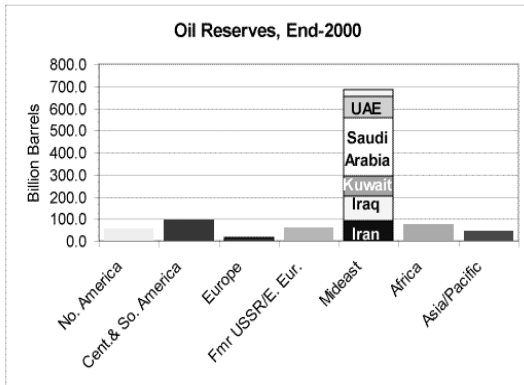
1. Declining domestic production
2. Increasing competition in the world energy market (esp. China, India)
3. Declining reserves outside Persian Gulf

Country of Origin	1986	1986	2002	2002
	mbpd	%	mbpd	%
Canada	0.8	5.0	1.9	9.8
Venezuela	0.8	4.9	1.4	7.3
Mexico	0.7	4.3	1.5	7.7
Saudi Arabia	0.7	4.2	1.5	7.8
Nigeria	0.4	2.7	0.6	3.0
Britain	0.3	2.1	0.5	2.5
Iraq	0.1	0.5	0.5	2.3
Others	2.4	15.0	3.5	17.7
USA	10.1	62.0	8.3	42.0
Total Consumption	16.3	100.0	19.7	100.0

Increasing Competition in World Energy Market

- India and China are growing energy consumers
- Each have over 1 billion people
- Over half the population in each country lives on less than \$2 a day
- “God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism after the manner of the West... It took Britain half the resources of the planet to achieve this prosperity. How many planets will a country like India require?”

- Mahatma Gandhi



Strategies for Energy Security

1. Police chokepoints and pipelines: need navy and network of military bases
 - Colombia, Georgia, Afghanistan, Kosovo
- Diversify U.S. supplies
 - Western hemisphere, North Sea, Western Africa
1. Invade Iraq: most strategic location, and widely regarded as rogue state (even by Arabs)
 - Secure Iraqi oil
 - Platform for influencing all Middle East

3. Prevent Proliferation of WMD

- Aggressively prevent any new country from developing nuclear weapons: especially Iraq and Iran
- The most strategic weapon in world: the only weapon that levels the playing field, and prevents U.S. from invading
 - Iraq vs. North Korea
 - Afghanistan vs. Pakistan
 - Former Yugoslavia

4. War on Terror

- The attack on 9-11 was the key event that opened the door for the PNAC
- Al Qaeda hurt the U.S. economy badly, must be stopped: non-state actor > new tactics
 1. Network of bases in strategic locations:
 - Africa: Sao Tome, Djibouti
 - Caucasus: Georgia
 - Middle East: Kuwait, Qatar, Iraq
 - C. Asia: Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan
 - S.E. Asia: Philippines
 2. Pre-emptive strikes (Israeli model: 1981 strike), violating state's sovereignty (Yemen)
 3. High level of global engagement, intelligence sharing
 4. Infringe domestic civil liberties: Patriot Act

5. Roll-back Islamic Fundamentalism

Divide and Conquer Islamic world

1. Create economic and military dependence within small Gulf States, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, Philippines
2. Invade key states
 - Afghanistan: impacts throughout C. Asia (IMU)
 - Iraq: surround and threaten Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria
3. Direct military aid to friendly governments
 - Military aid and training for Philippines

Conclusions

- "War on terror" has replaced "containment of communism" as the public face of U.S. geopolitics
 1. Oversimplified and sanitized
 2. Synonymous with "patriotism" and therefore unquestionable
- The horror of the 9-11 attacks and the need for "security" can be used to mask other agendas
 1. Propagation of the U.S. military industrial complex
 2. Oil dependence disguised as "energy security"
 3. Establishment of Pax Americana, i.e. the American Empire
