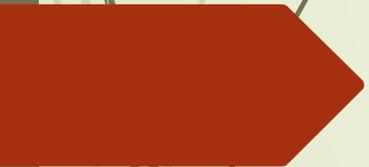


# Welcome to US History Talks

Pax Americana 1993-2000



# Module 6: Master of the World

Talk	Title	Time Period	Date of Talk
44	The Reagan Revolution	1981-1988	October 20th ✓
45	Reagan and the world	1981-1998	November 3rd ✓
46	Master of the World	1998-1992	November 17th ✓
47	US culture and society 1980's: "Me" Decade	1980-1992	December 1st ✓
48	The Clintons Presidency	1992-1998	January 19th ✓
49	Pax Americana 1993-2000	1993-2001	February 2nd
50	US culture and society 1990's: "Celebrity" Decade	1981-2001	February 16th

# Pax Americana 1993-2001

- 
- USA and world of 1990's
  - Collapse of USSR and birth of "Russia"
  - USA and Russia 1993-2000
  - Pax Americana
  - China during the 1990's
  - Summary



# US and World of 1990's

# State of World 1990

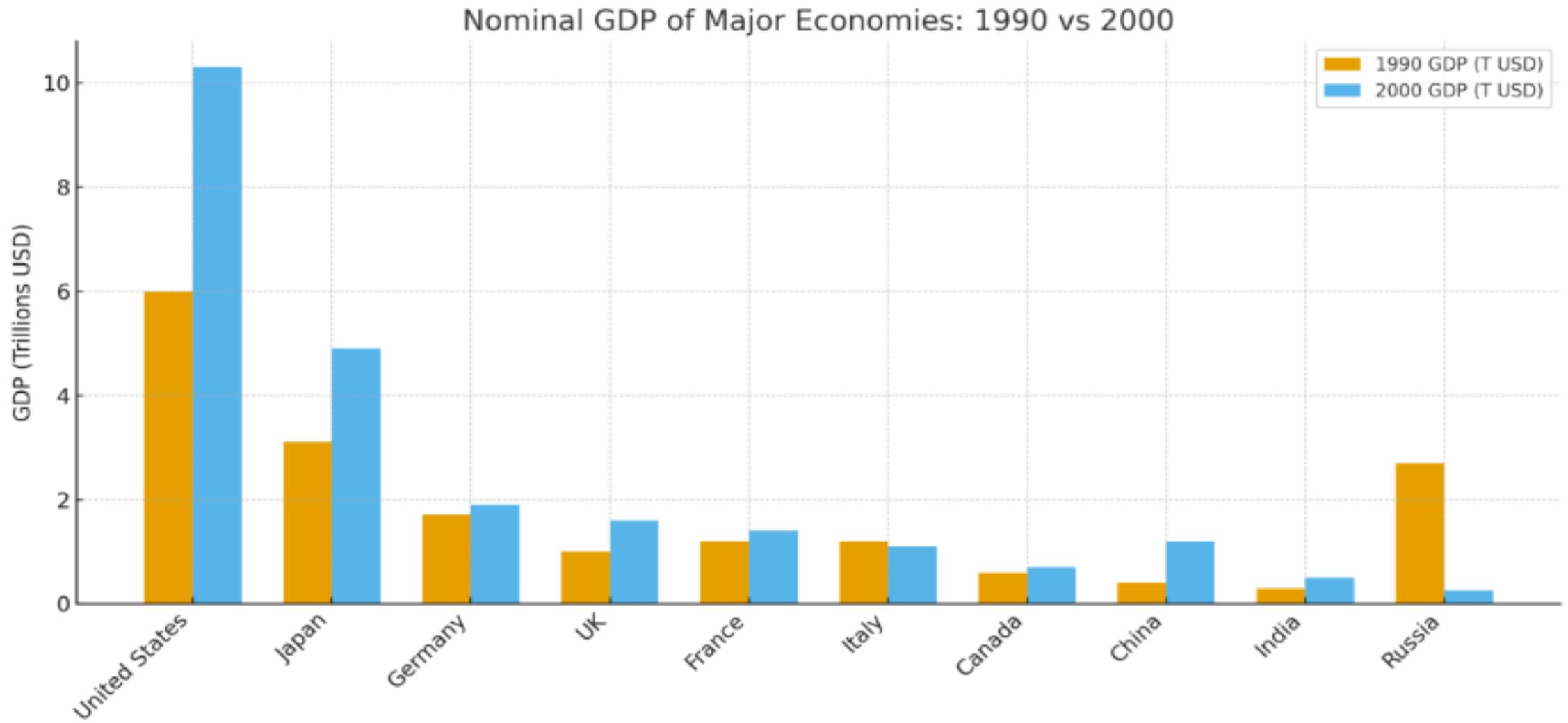
USSR has collapsed.... Superpower rivalry has ended

- Germany re-united and become dominant European economy
- East Europe has been freed from Soviet and seeks to stay that way
- China has crushed democracy movement, focused on economic growth
- Proxy wars ended ( South Africa, Angola, South America, Middle East)

"End of History" (Francis Fukuyama): Democracy and the West triumphant

# USA the undisputed World economic superpower

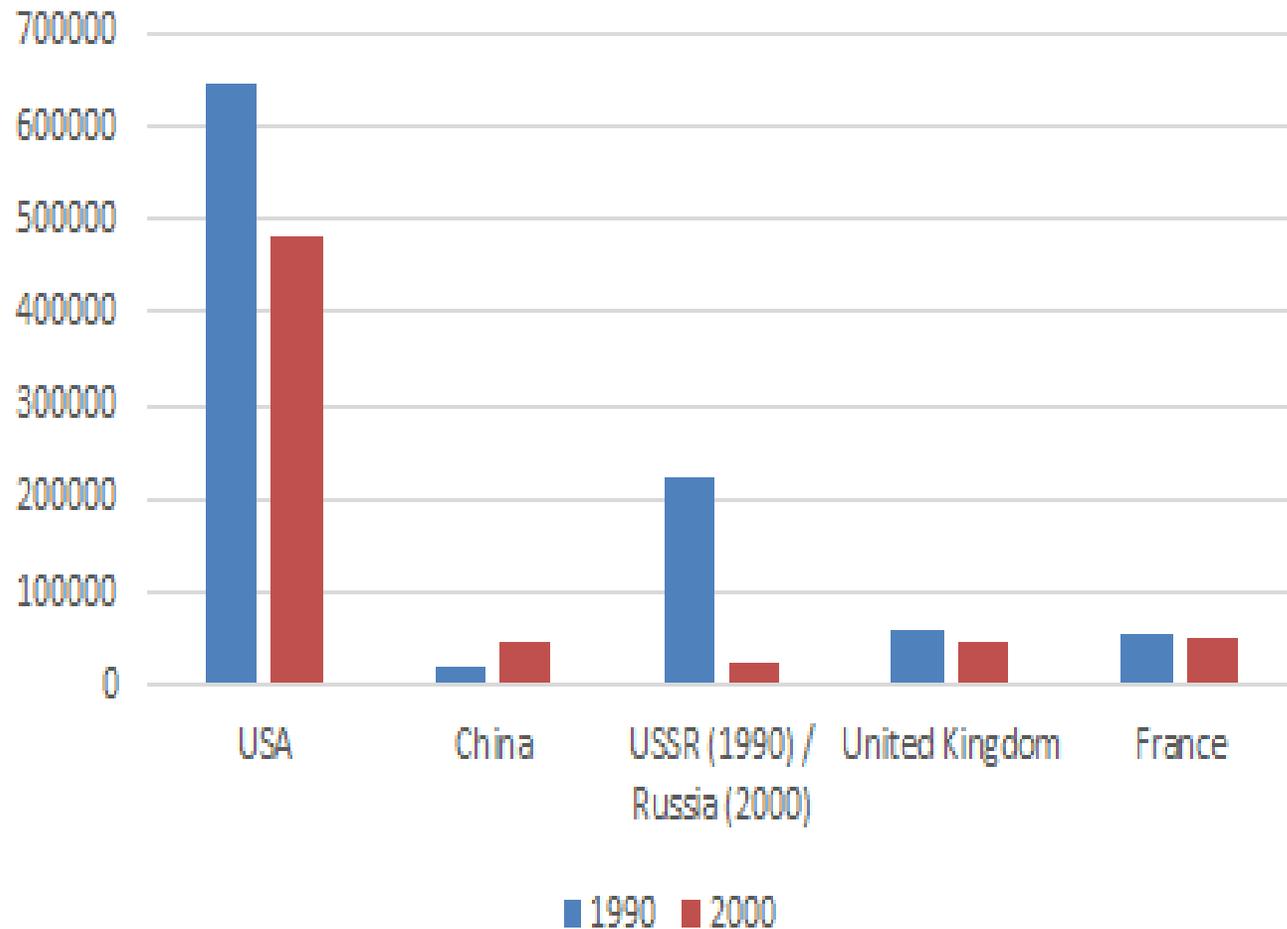
...Russia in collapse, Japan growth slowing, China still insignificant



# US only military superpower

Defense Expenditure \$US 2020

\$ millions

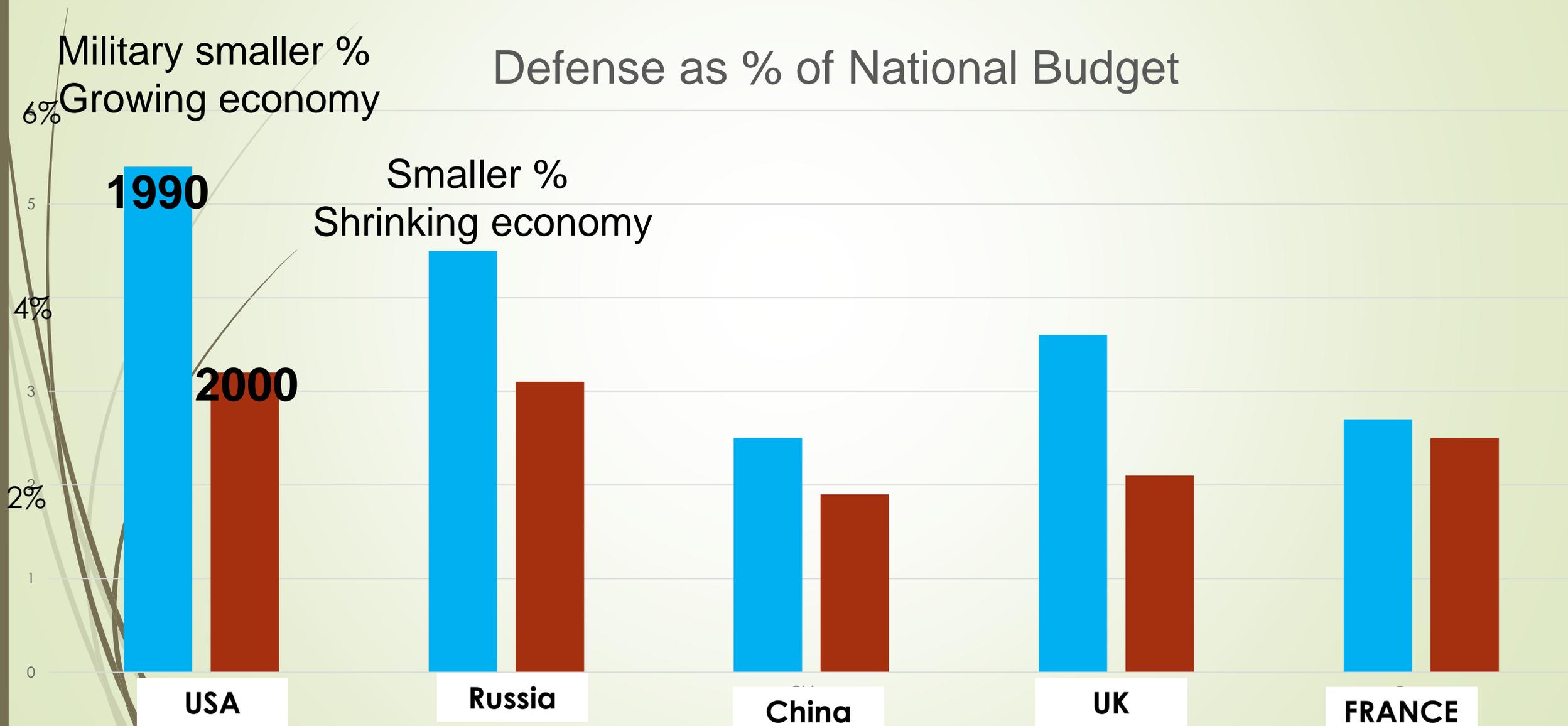


USA Defence expenditure declines  
...absolute decline by 25%  
...relative increase from 65% to 75%  
defense spend of top 5 nations  
...12X budget of France/ UK

USSR/ Russia....collapse by 90%

China only nation to increase  
....13% increase....but impact limited

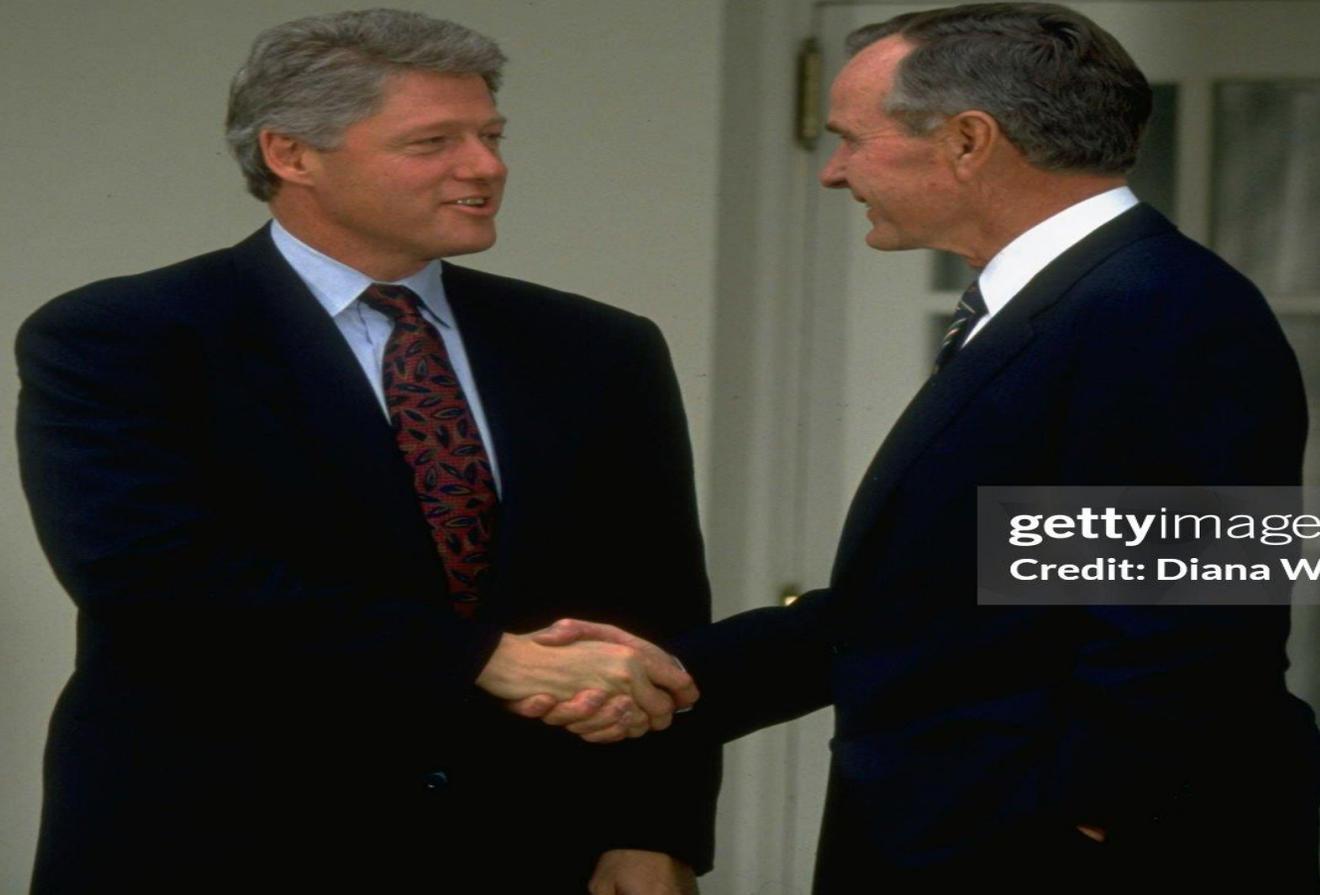
# US Military power affordable and sustainable



# Bill Clinton and International Affairs

- International affairs Low priority to Clinton.....and US public
  - elections won or lost on economics
  - International affairs an extension of domestic politics
- Zero diplomatic experience
  - Student of International Relations LSE London
  - Hitch-hiking across Europe
  - 1970-1992 Local Government of small state
- Delegates international affairs to competent professionals

Bush to Clinton Transition... January 1993  
.....Russia negotiations ongoing  
.....one outstanding issue ...Somalia



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Credit: Diana Walker

# Clinton Administration: International Team first term

Warren Christopher  
(Sec of State 1993-1997)



Madeline Albright  
(Sec of State 1997-2001)



Clinton approach competency  
..... non ideological

Warren Christopher  
....Head of California Bar  
...Deputy Sec of State Carter  
...Orderly transition Europe

Madeline Albright  
...Czech immigrant  
...mother of 2, academic  
...fluent Russian speaker  
...UN Ambassador 92-96  
..First female Sec of State  
..competent/ assertive



First challenge...resolve some loose ends

# First Challenge: Somalia 1992/1993



War Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia  
...rule by warlords  
...Widespread famine

Adopts HW Bush policy  
25,000 US troops join  
40,000 UN troops  
...Army "prove capability to  
do more than war"  
...US must lead UN

Warlords "sign" peace deal  
....UN Peacekeeping force  
... "Operation Restore Hope"  
..30,000 troops, 25,000 US  
.... "Free and fair elections"

# Battle of Mogadishu October 3-4 1993

## Black Hawk Helicopters Mogadishu



Peace treaty collapse

....Warlords disrupt supplies

... attacks on UN

...US generals request action

....arrest warlord leader

Clinton seeks military advice

...."easy operation...go and grab

...Authorises marine attack

Warlords armed latest RPG rock

...shoot down 3 helicopters

Mission change...rescue  
pilots& crew

Street battle...US marines attempt to rescue pilots  
.....failure 18 killed (200+Somalis)  
.....bodies of pilots displayed by warlords



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Credit: MIKE NELSON

# Rwanda Genocide...April 1994

German colony 1890. Belgium 1916  
Priorities rule by minority Tutsi  
“ethnic hostilities”

Independent 1962  
Hutu leadership, Civil war 1990's  
UN sends 2,500 peace keepers to  
-----population 8 million

Political assassination Hutu politician  
...mass media call to kill Tutsi April 1994

US/UN aware mass killing underway  
...10 Belgians murdered.  
.....UN flees...250 soldiers left!

Mass murder campaign..by radio



UN decides not to intervene...US: "no strategic interest"

.....and does nothing

800,000 -1,000,000 Tutsis killed April –July 1994



# Machetes used during genocide



# Clinton and impact Mogadishu & Rwanda

## ➤ Immediate

- US abandons Somalia Peace Mission.....hands over to UN
- Future military intervention requires overwhelming force
- Sense of guilt .....dangers of intervention vs consequences of waiting for UN to act (too little, too late, too slow)

## ➤ Impact on Clinton....focus to top goals

- Prevent nuclear proliferation
- Support Russian transition to democracy and capitalism
- Strengthen UN to achieve consensus driven more ordered world



# Collapse of USSR & birth of new Russia

# The State of Russia ...last days of USSR 1991

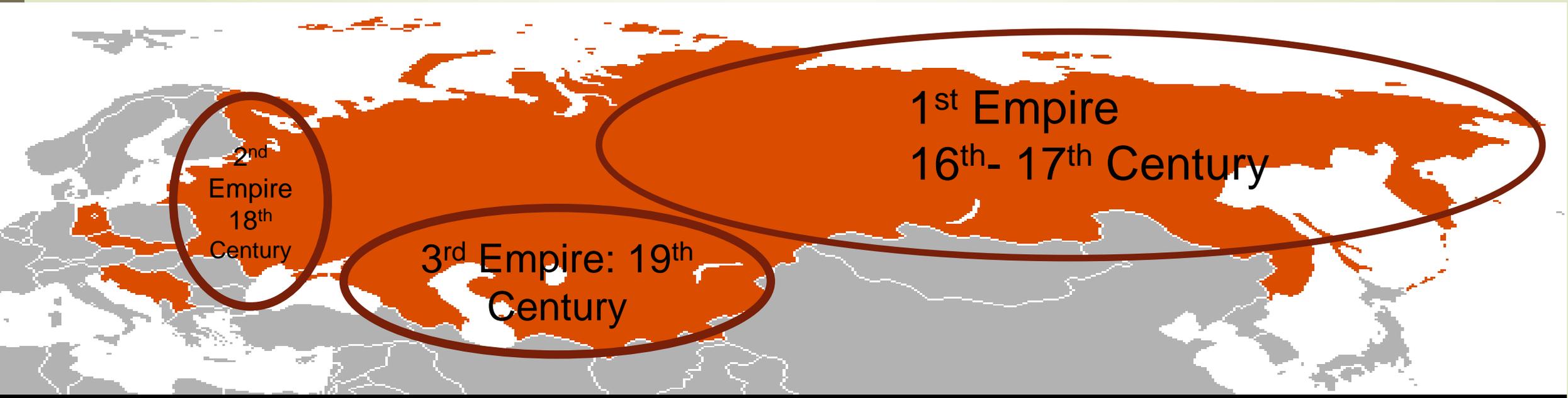
- ▶ Perestroika (Economic reform)s: too little, too late, out of control
  - ▶ Planned economy destroyed before market reforms functional
  - ▶ Regions (Republics) ignore Centre and hoard
- ▶ Glasnost (Freedom of expression):
  - ▶ Mass awareness of economic deterioration
  - ▶ De-legitimisation of authority....Rise of nationalism throughout “Empires”

Gorbachev reforms abject failure...real prospect of mass famine

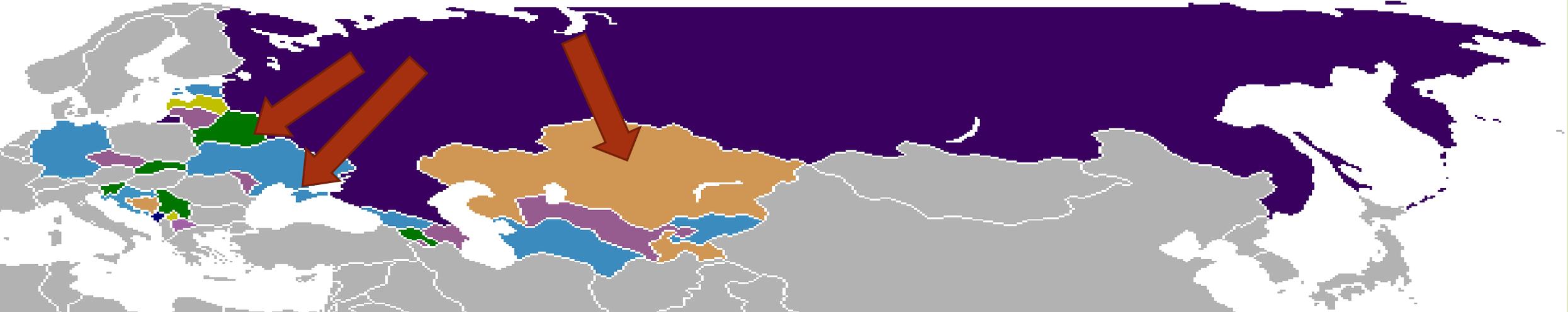
.....USSR dissolved December 1991

.....collapse of the “Empires”

# USSR Disintegration: loss of two empires



Nuclear weapons: Kazakhstan, Belarus, Ukraine



# Russian Republic

Boris Yeltsin 1993



Boris Yeltsin, President  
.... former Moscow Mayor  
...Gorbachev protégé  
...no international  
...no democratic

1991 first democratic elections  
...Yeltsin elected Prime Minister  
..Upper house. State Duma  
...Lower House...Federal Council

Rules and roles unclear  
...zero democratic legacy  
..."cut and paste" design by  
"consultants"...mostly US

# Yegor Gaidar (1956-2009)



Soviet Economist

...liberal market

...leaves Communist Party 1990

...advised by West, IMF

...Prime Minister 1992

Gradual change no option

...Imminent starvation

...money becoming worthless

...Communist resurgence

...nothing to reform

Need foreign capital

...reliance on oil and gas

...confidence of West

# Shock Therapy

## ➤ Impose Shock Therapy transition from Planned to Market Economy

- Immediate abandonment of economic plan and subsidies
- Every business/ farm propelled into competition/ free trade
- Mass stock ownership from State to public
  
- Abandon/ close down Military Industry
  - Defence expenditure collapses
  - Army reduced from 5m to 1.2m, navy from 350 to 150, aircraft 7,800 to 3,000
  
- Introduce modern banking system...instantly
  - Rouble shifted to flexible exchange rates
  - Roubles printed to pay off USSR debt

# “Shock Therapy” impact

## ➤ Economic collapse

- Industries close ...unable to compete vs imports
- GDP falls by 50% ....higher than Great Depression by 1999
- Inflation rises to 2,500%., unemployment rises from zero to 12%

## ➤ Emergence of Ghost and Boom Towns

- Industry dependent cities remove from East collapse
- Moscow/ St Petersburg: "boom towns, Western investment & aid

## ➤ Social collapse

- Life expectancy declined by 5-7 years/ Middle class wiped out
- Culture of national humiliation

# Arrival of McDonalds Moscow 1990



# Booming Moscow



# Firebird night club Moscow 1992



# Dialegev night club Moscow 2006



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Credit: robert wallis

# Reality for the masses rural Russia: Food market mid 1990's



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Credit: ANDRE DURAND

# Reality: Selling shoes



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Credit: Peter Turnley

# Tent City Moscow 1992



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Credit: Peter Turnley

# What now Democracy?

## .....The reality of Russia 1992.....



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Credit: MICHAEL EVSTAFIEV

# Constitutional Crisis of 1993

Russian tanks firing at “White House” Parliament  
...street fight, 148 killed



Parliament revolt vs Yeltsin  
....Communist led  
....bring back USSR

Yeltsin calls in army  
...transition from “standing on ta  
...tanks open fire on “White Hou  
...Parliament surrender

Democratic “experiment” winds  
....transition to dictatorship  
...warnings to East Europe

East European response  
...USSR will re-emerge  
...expand NATO

# Retreat from Democracy 1994-1996

- ▶ Continued economic contraction:
  - ▶ Newly privatized industries unable to compete
  - ▶ Rising unemployment, economy contract 5% per year
  - ▶ Widespread lawlessness...Oligarch boundary wars
- ▶ Continuing existence of Russia itself at risk
  - ▶ Chechnya, Georgia, Armenia civil wars
  - ▶ Emergence of Regional oligarchs...Siberia,
- ▶ 1996 Presidential Election: hybrid democracy
  - ▶ Free speech but Government control of media/ rigged counting
  - ▶ Yeltsin wins 55% vote

National humiliation, poverty, deep distrust, rise of oligarchs

Stock vouchers issued to all employees  
....cashed in for food....scooped by Oligarchs



# The New Elite: transition to “gangsta economy”

## The emerging New team



Roman  
Abramovich



Oleg  
Deripaska



Alisher  
Usmanov



Vladimir  
Potanin



Mikhail  
Prokhorov



Gennady  
Timchenko



Vagit  
Alekperov



Petr Aven



Arkady  
Rotenberg

100 families secure control  
...National assets  
...oil. Gas, fertiliser, media,

## The ugly alliance

...”Red Directors”....Former KGB  
...Regional ex party bosses  
...Organised crime lords  
...ruthless, rule-free

## Yeltsin “President”

...Oligarchs effective rulers

# US Russian Policy 1990's

- Prevent nuclear proliferation (Republics and/or Oligarchs)
- Ramp down US military presence in Europe
- Minimise risk of European wars
- Support transition to Democrat Capitalist State in Russia
  - Financial aid
  - Personal trusted relationship



# USA & Russia 1992-2000

# Vancouver Summit April 1993

...USA as advisor and investor...not rival



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Credit: Diana Walker

# Clinton & Yeltsin Vancouver 1993



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Credit: Wally McNamee

# Clinton and Yeltsin 1993



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Credit: Consolidated News Pictures

# Clinton and Yeltsin Washington 1994 ...a trust based relationship...pizza night





# Clinton quotes about Yeltsin

“I will continue to support President Yeltsin because he is Russia’s best hope for democracy and reform.”

“America has a vital interest in the success of President Yeltsin’s reforms”

“You are doing the right thing and the United States stands with you”

**Supported by agreements and direct aid**

# USA & Russian 1993-1996 Agreements

## Troop reductions

- US military presence in Europe from 350,000 to 100,000 by 2000
- Russian army withdraws from East Europe by 1993
- Reduction of nuclear weapons
  - Nunn Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction
  - 1,000 US, 1,600 USSR Warheads destroyed...US funded
- Eliminate risk of proliferation of nuclear weapons
  - Transfer nuclear weapons Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan
  - Budapest Memorandum 1994 ....Ukraine Assurance of independence

# US Aid to Russia 1990's

Direct aid \$10Bn

- Market reforms
  - Food deliveries
  - Funding for judicial reform
  - Tuberculosis, Orphanage reform
- Loan Agreements \$22Bn via IMF and World Bank
- Training: Judicial systems, Banking, Finance, Police, business
- US aid supplement by aid from Germany £40Bn , EU (\$5B)

# NATO Enlargement

## ➤ US Motives

- Consolidate peace in Europe
- Reduce US defence commitment

## ➤ East European (especially Poland) motives

- Historical memory Russian Empire &, Post WW2 occupation
- Retain benefits from successful transition to capitalism (unlike Russia)
- View Russian “Constitutional Crisis” portent of return of USSR

The chance for European “Settlement” not taken?

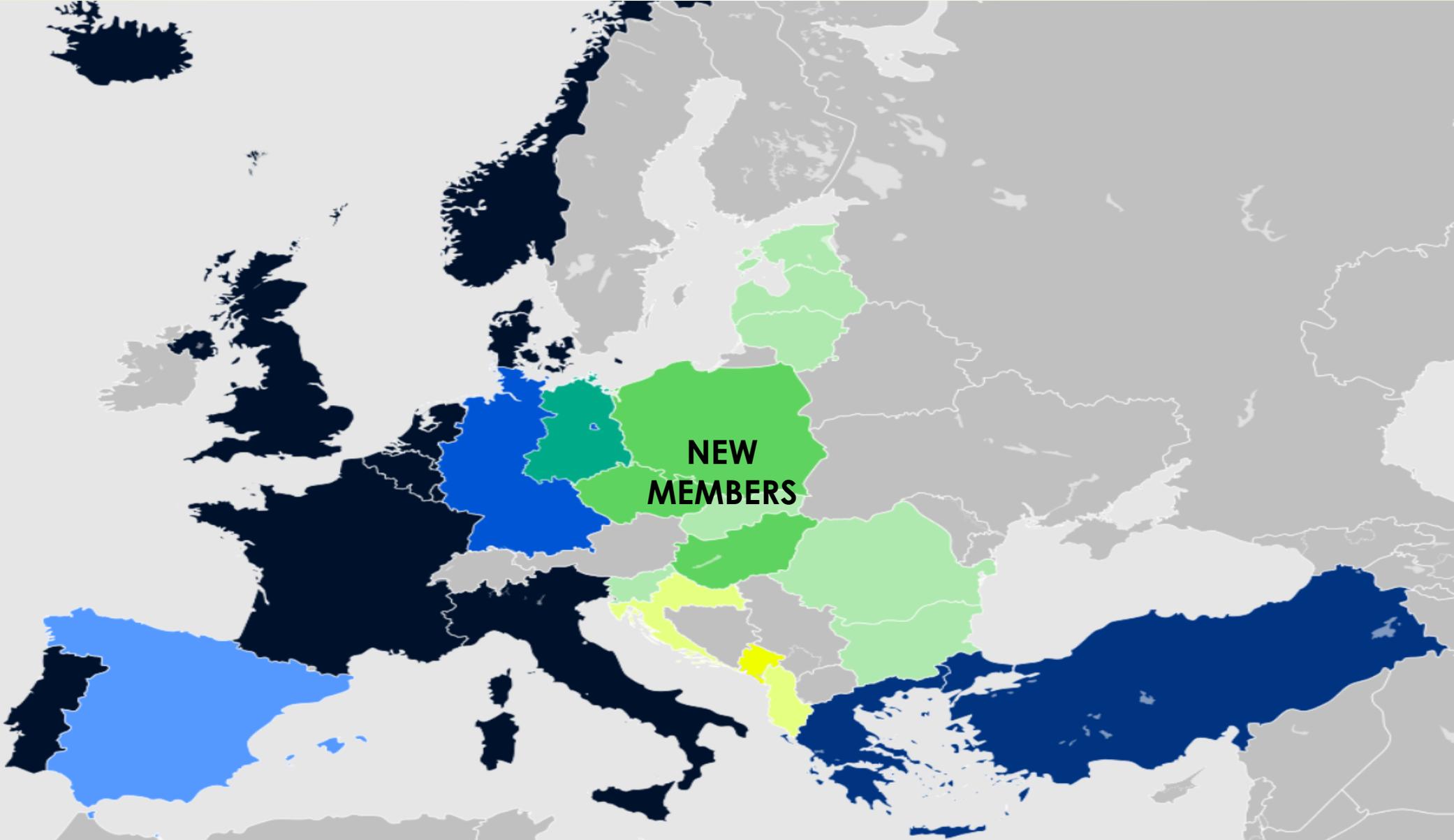
# NATO Enlargement Response

Russians reject proposal 1990-1993:

- US Sec of State Baker “ 1990 “remark”: “NATO would not expand east”
  - Yeltsin: “Agreement would be seen as act of betray by me to Russian people”
  - Yeltsin “Acceptance” 1994+
    - Believes Russia to “move West”. Integrate with Europe
    - Needs continued financial support from USA
  - Clinton creates “Partnership for Peace” 1994
    - Umbrella Organisation to NATO....joint military authority ex Warsaw/NATO
    - US offers Russia membership...seen as “smoke” by Russians
- Rising star in Kremlin ...Vladimir Putin: Act of betrayal”**

# NATO Enlargement 1949-2017

- 1949
- 1952
- 1955
- 1982
- 1990
- 1999
- 2004
- 2009
- 2017

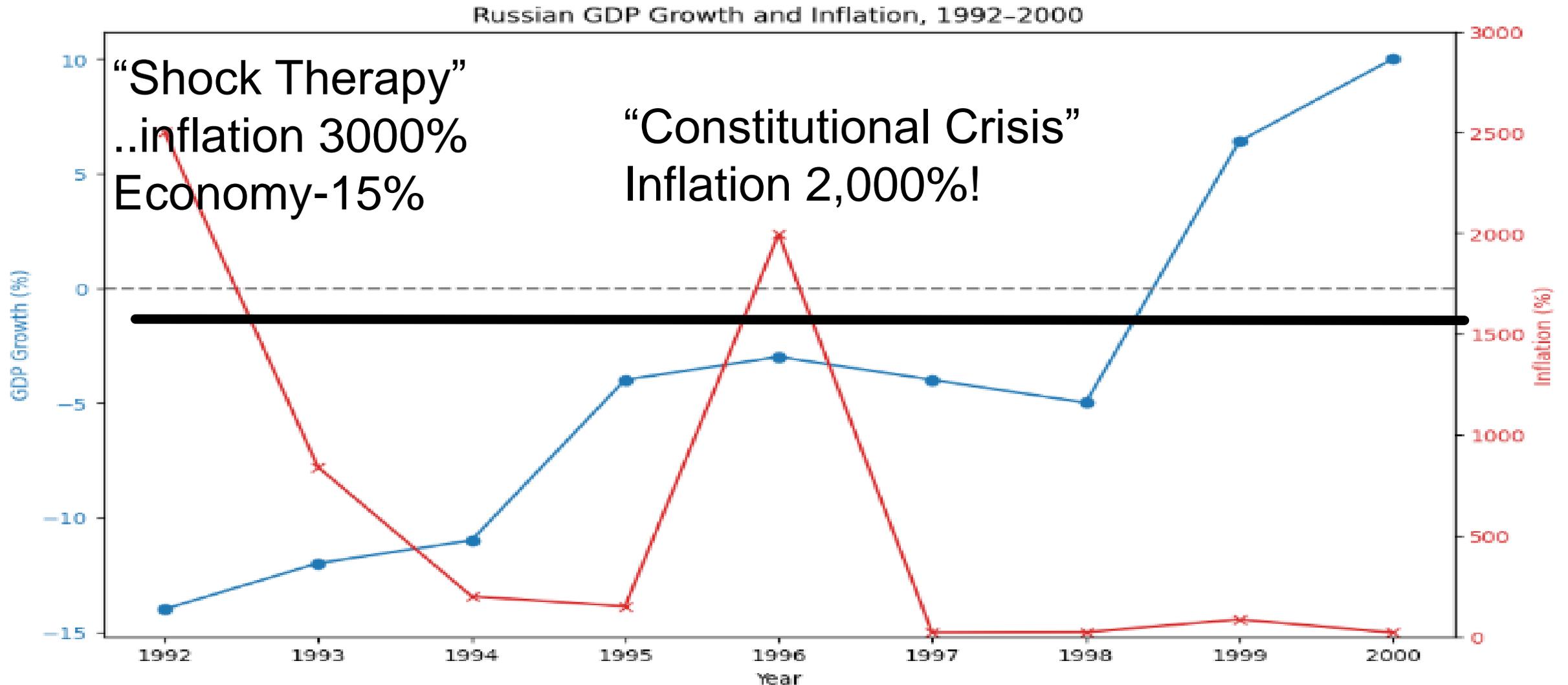


# Russian Default 1998

- ▶ Continued Economic collapse
  - ▶ Taxes not collected/ Industry non competitive
  - ▶ Absence of civil institutions (as in Poland, Bulgaria, Baltics)
  - ▶ Rising domestic debt without means to repay
- ▶ Crisis of 1998
  - ▶ Asian financial crisis....flight of capital to safe economies
  - ▶ Russia default on debt payments/ IMF and US unable to prevent collapse
- ▶ Impact
  - ▶ Inflation rises to 85% ....rouble loses 80% value
  - ▶ Economic contraction INCREASES.
  - ▶ Transition back to resource economy (oil, gas, fertilizer)

Yeltsin...democracy...West.... discredited

# Russia's decade of misery`



# Transfer of power

....Yeltsin “appoints” Putin to succeed Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2000



# Russia post Default 1999-2000

## Economy recovers

- ▶ Price of oil doubles
- ▶ Re-nationalisation of key industries
- ▶ Central Bank controls
  
- ▶ Internal stability established
  - ▶ Oligarchs pay taxes, obey State
  - ▶ Freedom to operate/ regulate competition
  
- ▶ Russia rebuilding

# Clinton attempts to retain friendship

Assesses Putin as merciless autocrat determined to recover “loss”  
....but only when timing right





# Intermission



# PAX Americana



# The Balkans Crisis



# Brief History of the Balkans



A contested land forever  
600AD-1800 3 Way fight  
Ottomans..Muslim  
Russia ...Orthodox  
Austria...Catholic

19th Century: Ottoman decline  
... Orthodox majority countries  
... Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania  
...and Serbia

20th Century  
... Serbia dominant  
....Russia "client"  
... Triggers WW1

# A very brief history of Yugoslavia

Created 1918...avoid war by  
Creating strong state  
....unite south Slavs  
... add Croatia/ Slovenia to  
Weaken Austria (!) and add  
Population (30 million)

United in hatred of each other  
By location/ religion  
Serbia dominate

German invasion 1941  
...Croats/ Slovenes welcome  
...Tito (Croat) leads successful  
Communist resistance

Independent of Russia  
unified by Tito, dies 1980



# First Balkan War(s) 1990-1996

- ▶ Tito dies 1980----Federal Leadership...Serbia dominance/ 1 party state
- ▶ States break apart/ Serbian central state....as USSR collapses
- ▶ Serbia Croatian War 1992-1995
  - ▶ Full scale war
  - ▶ Ethnic cleansing of all by all....but mostly Muslims
- ▶ UN attempted peace...despatch 40,000 soldiers/ 30 Nations
  - ▶ US not involved
  - ▶ Role to “monitor and observe”

# Sbernica Massacre 1995

Dutch soldiers “observing and monitoring”

Multiple massacres  
..both sides  
..Sbernica largest

UN defines Sbernica  
“safe zone”

400 Dutch soldiers  
10,000 Muslim refugees

Serbs advance  
& threaten

Dutch ..ask for air support  
...not allowed to fire  
...”observer and watch”

Serbia separate 8,000  
men and kill them all



# Operation "Deliberate Force"



## Who Flew the Missions?

All Sorties, Aug. 30–Sept. 14, 1995

Nation	Sorties	Percent
US	2,318	65.9
United Kingdom	326	9.3
France	284	8.1
Netherlands	198	5.6
NATO AEW force	96	2.7
Turkey	78	2.2
Germany	59	1.7
Italy	35	1.0
Spain	12	0.3
Other	109	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,515</b>	<b>100.0</b>

those sorties, about 60 percent were flown by "shooters." These combat aircraft released 1,026 munitions, 708 of which were precision guided.

proponents did not anticipate. Sh after Operation Desert Storm USAF Chief of Staff, Gen. McPeak, told a Senate committee to expect too much from airpower the Balkan context. Mountainous rain, heavy foliage, and bad weather would conspire to prevent the kind of success seen in the Gulf War, where targets were easier to find in the flat, open desert under typical

"Monitor & Observe" ineffective

Air Campaign August 1995

- 3,500 missions
- Precision weapons
- 65% flight US aircraft

Objective limited to preventing massacres & "encouraging" peace negotiations...zero NATO

...100 Serbian deaths

Anti US demonstrations

- "Stop the bombing" across Europe

# Dayton Peace Accord 1995

....US led...established boundaries

...40,000 UN soldiers deployed (20,000 US)

....US reduce to 5,000 by 2000, withdraw 2009.. UN force still in effect



# 2<sup>nd</sup> Balkan War : Serbian -Kosovo



- Kosovo historically Serbian region
  - 75% population Muslim
  - Serbia linkage to Russia”
- Kosovo declares independence 1998
  - Serbia army to Kosovo
  - Kosovo Liberation Army
  - 800.000 Refugees
- UN Peace Talks fail
- Clinton
  - No more Sbernica’s
  - Instigates NATO bombing campaign

# Kosovo War

Target Serbian Infrastructure.....collateral damage



Operation Allied Force  
...5,000 raids/ 50% USA  
....Rest British/ France

Targets: Tanks/ infrastructure  
....use of precision missiles  
...not so precise: 500 deaths  
...accidents...Chinese embassy

Russian opposition  
....no UN mandate  
...,logistical support Serbia

Serbian Army retreats  
....UN army 5,000 deployed  
...ceasefire holds  
...frozen in place

# Aftermath Balkan Wars

## The Hague Law Courts

Biggest European war since WW2

- 260,000 deaths
- 500,000 refugees
- 200 UN...most by accidents

Ended by use of force by NATO  
...UN unable to agree action  
...US led 60% raids

UN role diminished...but relevant  
...Continues Peace Keeping role  
...Air raids “illegal but justified”  
...International Court judges  
Serbian/ Croat/ Bosnian leaders  
convicted



# Balkan War impact

- ▶ Damaged US/ Russia relations...Putin: “client state” defeated
- ▶ Anti American demonstrations opposed to bombing across Europe  
.....broadcast in USA and fuels anti European resentment
- ▶ Revealed reliance on USA ...and weakness of UN and Europeans
- ▶ The new face of war: remote warfare/minimal losses possible

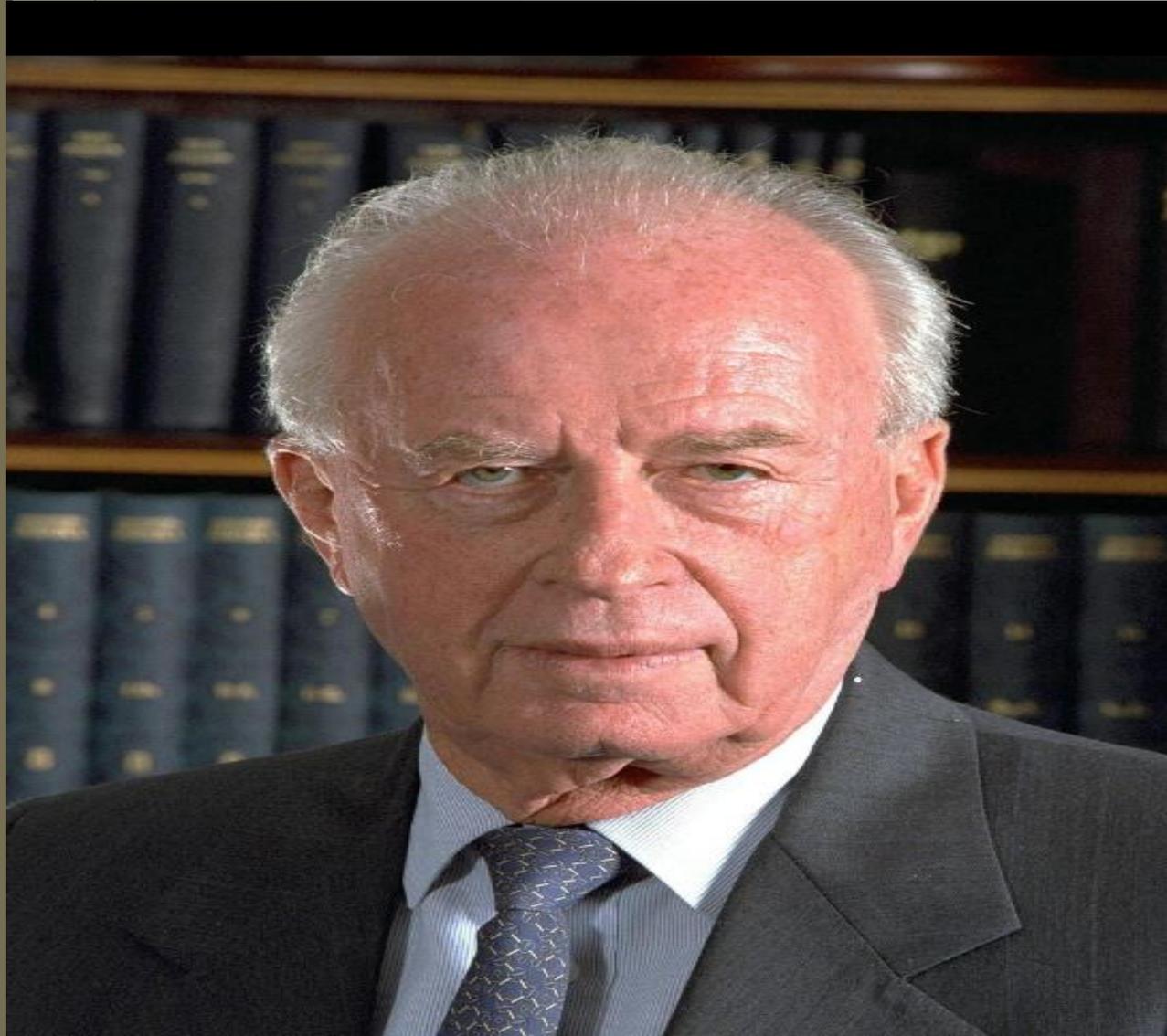


Middle East

# Palestinian- Israeli Conflict 1990-1995

- ▶ Camp David Accords 1970
  - ▶ Israel withdraws from Sinai/ armed occupation West Bank
  - ▶ Right Wing government Israel....Greater Israel commitment
- ▶ Israeli settlement expansion to West Bank
  - ▶ Growth from 1,000 1970 to 190,000 2000...seizure “unused” land
  - ▶ Triggered by mass immigration from former USSR , Palestinians removed
- ▶ Emergence of secular Palestinian revolutionary movement (Fatah )
  - ▶ Secular...armed struggle
  - ▶ Hijackings....guerrilla raids
- ▶ First Intifada 1987-1993
  - ▶ Largely peaceful spontaneous “uprising” by Palestinians
  - ▶ 1,000 Palestinian deaths (many collaborators), 150 Jewish

# Yitzhak Rabin (1922-1995)



- Born Jerusalem, Zionist family
  - Socialist member ..pragmatic, non ideological
- Highly experienced
  - Veteran wars of 1948,
  - Head of Israeli military 1950s
  - Head of operation 6 Day War
  - Israeli ambassador to USA
  - PM 1974-1977
  - Minister of Defence 1990
  - Re-elected PM 1993: committed to peaceful coexistence

# Yasser Arafat (1929-2004)



- Born Egypt...father Palestinian
  - Arab Nationalist
  - Marries Palestinian Christian
  - Studied Jewish life
  - Veteran 6 day war
- Joins Palestinian Organisation (Arab funded)
  - Create Fatah...armed struggle Palestinian
  - Multiple wars/ hijackings, attacks. 1980-1990
- Secret diplomacy with Israel via Norway 1994

# Oslo Accords 1993

....US \$30 Bb direct aid to Israel 1980-1990

....Clinton joins Oslo, brokers final agreements



# Oslo Accords Aftermath 1995-1998

## Agreements

- Palestinians recognizes Israel state
- Israel gives Palestinians “Autonomy” West Bank & Gaza

## Aftermath Israel

- Rabin assassinated 1995/ Right Wing Netanyahu government elected 1996-1999
- Discussions on “Autonomy” stopped, settlements expanded

## Aftermath Palestinians: rise of Fundamentalists ( Hamas, Jihadists)

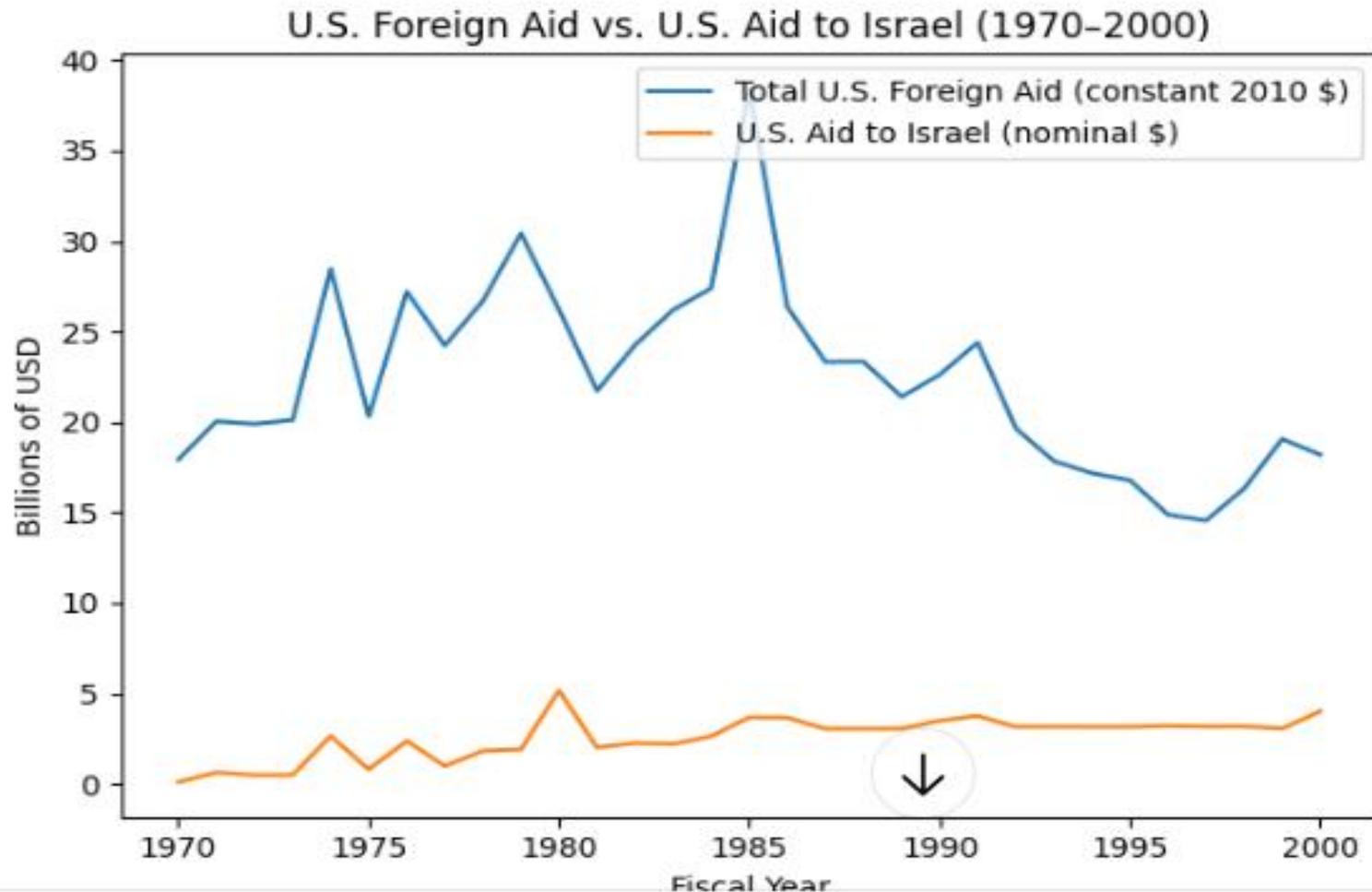
US abandons attempt to restrict Jewish settlements on west Bank

# US reduces global aid (to balance budget) ....continues aid to Israel

Israel largest recipient  
US Aid \$5N year

Overall US aid declines  
From \$20Bn to \$15Bn  
...Egypt \$1bn  
...Africa \$500  
...Israel remains steady

US ceases to be a  
Neutral removed



# Camp David 2 ...last chance 2000

...Clinton attempts repeat Carter

...New Israeli PM Ehud Barak

Israeli elections 1999

...Barak...Labour PM

..new opportunity

Unresolved issues

....settlements

...Jerusalem capital

...right of return

2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada Palestine

...suicide bombing

....retaliation cycle

Israeli elect Right wing

..and here we are



# Iraq After Gulf War

## Iraq post Gulf War 1990-1992

- Uprising Marsh Arabs and Kurds...inspired by Bush urging
- 300,000 deaths...extensive use of chemical weapons ...evidence of WMD
- No response US....need Iraq intact to offset Iran
  
- Intensifies nuclear programme
  - Successfully developed centrifuge, accumulated uranium & implosion device
  - Failure to develop nuclear missile: 2-3 years
  
- Gulf War Peace Conditions
  - UN Resolution 687 Inspection programme
  - Imposition of sanctions on military, oil, consumer goods....not food
  - “No Fly Zone” ...to protect Kurds...imposed by US and UK

Iraq claims of malnutrition fabricated and proven false

# UN organised WMD destruction Iraq 1992-1998

...chemical, biological weapons destroyed, nuclear programme stopped

## Chemical Weapons

Nuclear facilities destroyed

..more advanced than thought



# Iraq 1993-2000

HW Bush assassination attempt 1993

- HW Bush during visit to Kuwait/ Perpetrators found, imprisoned, hanged
- Clinton response: Cruise Missile attack on Iraq security apparatus: 20 deaths

➤ Inspection disruption

➤ Iraqis reduce cooperation/ Distrust UN....complicit with US

➤ US distrust Iraq...obstruction to inspections

➤ US declares goal of “regime change” 1998

➤ Iraq stops inspections December 1998:

Clinton orders air attacks: “Operation Desert Fox”

# Operation Desert Fox December 1998

Clinton announcing end of operation



US and UK punitive strikes  
...650 raids  
...military targets, precision  
...100 civilians killed

Clinton announces stop  
...negotiations Iraq  
...punitive/ lack of UN support  
...accused of deflection

Inspections resume 1999  
...Iraqi's obstruct  
...Sanctions continue  
...Growing distrust  
To be continued

# Other Middle East developments

- ▶ Iran: Recovering from war with Iraq/ abandon Shia revolutionary movements
- ▶ Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism & Osama Bin Laden
  - ▶ Global funding for Wahhabis Muslim education by Saudi Government
  - ▶ Gulf War: Osama Bin Laden “hero” of Afghan resistance offers help to Saudi
  - ▶ Rejected by Saudis in favour of US/ exiled to Sudan. Creates Al Qaeda
  - ▶ Moves to Afghanistan
- ▶ Emergence of asymmetrical warfare: suicide bombing
  - ▶ US World Trade Centre (1993) Algeria....civil war 1998-2000/ Nairobi 1999
  - ▶ US air raids Afghanistan 1999..ineffective

(Bin Laden plans revenge....to be continued)



# Europe and the Americas

# Northern Ireland

## USA and Ireland

- 10% US population Irish by 1990... Irish influence Democratic Party ...Kennedy
- Noraid (IRA Front) secures guns and money for terrorists
- US support reduces as terrorism rises
  
- Evolution of Good Friday Agreement
  - “Troubles 1968-2001...3,500
  - Negotiations triggered by UK PM John Major 1993.
  - “Joint UK Irish Agreements 1994”: power sharing, consent, cross border cooperation
  
- Clinton Presidency and Ireland
  - Irish American vote commitments
  - Visits Northern Ireland 1995.....offers US as “honest broker”
  - Appoints Senator Mitchell to chair future UK/ Irish meetings

# Clinton visit to North Ireland 1995

...Previous Administration—IRA terrorists

...Clinton..US neutral but armed struggle must stop





# Haiti “Operation Restore Democracy”

- US occupied 1915-1934
- Haiti ....military dictatorships 1934-1991
- First (and only) democratic election 1991
- Army coup 1991
- UN authorises military intervention

“Operation Restore Democracy” 1994  
...US sends 25,000 troops..restores President  
...hands over to UN 1996...Mission falls apart by 2001



Return to chaos....US loses interest  
...President reverts to dictatorship  
.....continued corruption & violence



# Other International Events

## Kyoto Environmental Protocol

- Global conference to reduce global emissions
- US support Clinton signs Agreement....but does send to Senate
- Free Trade Agreement: Mexico, USA, Canada (NAFTA)
  - Clinton adopts Bush plan and secures Congress Approval January 1994
  - Increases Trade and economic growth....US deindustrialisation accelerates
- Cuba.....no major change...continued trade embargoes
- North Korea....threats to prevent development nuclear weapons ignored

The most enduring. And criticized legacy of Clinton years within US is his policy to China



# China during the 1990's

# China during the 1990s

- ▶ Tiananmen Square Massacre 1989: economic backlash/ fear of social upheaval
- ▶ Economic Growth over ideology: Capitalism with Socialist Characteristics
  - ▶ Opening up of the economy to West
  - ▶ “Breaking of the iron rice bowl” ..ending job security
- ▶ “Three Represents” ...expanded role of CCP
  - ▶ Prioritise economic growth...coal based
  - ▶ Recruit/ co-opt Business leadership into Party
  - ▶ Expand education and technology
- ▶ Crushing of dissent
  - ▶ Prohibition of military involvement in industry
  - ▶ Crush too popular religion (Falung Gong. Buddhist/ Taoism)...label cult

# Jiang Zemin (1926-2022)



Technocrat..not revolutionary

...engineer

...no military experience

...bridge "elders "and new

..fluent in Russian/ some English

Rise to power

....Tiananmen Square

....chosen as "temporary"

Realist

....strategic planner

...technology conversant

...changed Chinese elite

# Chinese Economic Growth 1970-2000

## GDP Per Capita



11% Economic Growth 1990-1995  
....3% US and UK

Growth 10X from \$1000- \$10,000

China still poor country

...US \$35,000

... UK \$25,000

...Mexico \$7,000

....but 2X India already (\$3,500)

Share of world trade still small....but increasing

1970 – 1%

1980 ---2%

1990 ---4%

2000 ---6%

# Tiananmen Square 1995 ....emergence of automobiles



# Consumer society



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Credit: ROBYN BECK

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# The coal economy



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Credit: Chun han

# Increasing inequality ...reliance on internal migrant labour



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Credit: ROBYN BECK

# Ambitious infrastructure projects

## Three Gorges Dam Project (1994-2012)

.....worlds larges hydro project...cost \$40Bn

.....reduces risk of flooding, permits inland shipping



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Credit: NurPhoto

# Transfer Hong Kong back to China 1997 & Macau 1998 ... "One Nation/two systems" .....temporary



Air pollution.....estimated 2m deaths per year



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Credit: Jackyenjoyphotography

# Water Pollution: mass organic pollution of rivers and lakes



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Credit: -

# US and China during 1990's

## ➤ Operating Assumptions

- Prosperity requires democracy
- US able to compete via NAFTA (Canadian raw materials + Mexican labour + US technology)
- China evolving....and will become "like us"
- No threat to US or West

## ➤ Policy decisions

- Encourage globalism, technology sharing, integration
- Most Favored Nation status 1993----reduced tariffs
- Support Chinese Permanent membership World Trade Organisation 2001

# Clinton and China

- “Membership in the W.T.O., of course, will not create a free society in China overnight or guarantee that China will play by global rules,” Clinton said that day. “But over time, I believe it will move China faster and further in the right direction.”
- “I believe the choice between economic rights and human rights, between economic security and national security, is a false one”



# Summary

# “Pax Americana” vs “Pax Britannica” .....absence of global warfare

## ➤ Pax Britannica (1815-1914):

- Enabled by steam, telegraph, machine gun
- Sustained by British Naval & Financial power
- Policy directed by actively engaged upper class elites
- General public indifferent...”Empire project of middle/upper classes

## ➤ Pax Americana (1946- ?)

- Enabled by oil, internet, smart technology
- Sustained by Naval, Air, Land and Financial power + superior technology
- US elite: overseas a distraction from domestic politics
- General public universally hostile to “foreign entanglements”

# US Foreign Policy 1990s

## Successes

- Prevention of nuclear proliferation
- Ending open warfare Balkans,
- Neutralising Iraq”
- Boost trade within Americas (NAFTA increasing trade)
- Northern Ireland (Secondary role to UK and Ireland)

## Failures

- Complete enduring Middle East Peace deal
- Reduce NATO dependency on US ...despite Enlargement
- Ensure China expansion within accepted “trade rules”
- Strengthen world management via UN

# Clinton's own assessment: Rwanda biggest failure ...visits 1998 to meet survivors & understand



End of 1990's: Future is bright, America a force for  
“good” and order



.....Among us and like us



# US and World 2000

- ➔ US at peace: no threat to US security in sight
- ➔ US dominant economically, technologically, and militarily
- ➔ Worldwide shift to Democratic based regimes

What could possibly go wrong?



Next Talk “The Celebrity Decade”  
..... US Culture and Society 1990’s

Monday February 16th, Sanctuary 10:00 am