CHAPTER - V

Reaction Against American Foreign Policy.


After end of cold war American become the sole superpower of the world. After the collapse of USSR its successor Russia unable to maintain its position. The next decade was consumed in transforming its economy from Socialist to capitalist, which resulted in ruin its economy a great suffering of its citizens. The country passed through a great depression. Its GDP in 1998 is less than its GDP in 1989. Until Vladimir Putin become President of Russia, American say was working all over the world even close to Russia. American does not hesitate to encroach in sphere of influence of Russia. American has trying to change world scene according to themselves. As George W. Bush is quoted by Bob Woodward as having said that American strategy was ‘to create chaos, to create vacuum’, in his enemies countries.

America has looted Iraq at will with the Alliance of its friendly countries, fragmented it, resulted in great chaos and day to day bomb blast casualties in large number. It interfere in Yugoslavia breaking down all infrastructure, has left no bridge over Danube River. It interferes in Afghanistan which resulted in breaking down institutions, mass poverty, great number of casualties.

Walden Bello has rightly said that the Bush Administration’s imperial and corporate misadventures over the last decade have proven that the world would be much better off without the US interference.

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It is correct about Clinton Administration too. The rampant interference world over has created many enemies to US. Its overconfidence has converted its allies apprehensive. Ultimately it resulted in isolation. It face rebellious world all over sector of the globe. The US and West Germany secured Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev’s consent to the reunification of Germany on clear understanding that North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) would not expand eastwards. This was arranged in talks in Moscow between US secretary of state James Baker III and Gorbachev on Feb 9, 1990 and between Gorbachev and German chancellor Helmut Kohl the next day. Much of the tension between Russia and US today is due to the US reneging on that understanding. St. Petersburg was once roughly 1200 miles (1920Km) away from the edge of NATO but is now less than 100 miles (160Km) away thanks to the enlistment of Estovania. The effort of US and EU to make member of NATO to Ukraine has enraged Putin who has carved out crimea with little use of force and by referendum makes it a province of Russia. The crisis between Ukraine and Russia be generated by US.

This has changed the relation between US and Russia. US now facing rebellious Russia. In 1943, President Roosevelt not so subtly told Britain’s ambassador to the US, Lord Halifax, while pointing at a map to the Middle East that ‘Persian oils is yours, we share the oil of Iraq and Kuwait. As for Saudi Arabian oil, it’s ours.’

Above statement of Roosevelt is enough to understand the quest for oil to the America and now much importance America provide to this Middle East Area. But until cold war run America does not found itself in a position to work at will. After the end of cold war which seems to over after
the fall of Berlin war, it has interfered in every matter of the region. It has interfered in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Egypt everywhere. Its effort has generated a great degree of anger against US. We feel great anti US sentiment in this region. Its interference in Iraq and promotion to Syrian rebels against Basar-El-Asad government has resulted in formation of Caliphate by ISIS.

In 1992, a paper of much wider import cropped up, which Patrick E. Tyler reported in New York Times of March 8, 1992. The headlines summed up, the thesis: “US strategy plan calls for insuring no rivals develop”. On May 15, 2006 The Washington Post disclosed a top secret “interim global strike order” directing the military to assume and maintain a readiness to attack hostile countries with nuclear arms if necessary.

This is “the story of the pursuit of unrivalled American Power” as James Maun aptly calls it, cold war triumphalism in excelsis. It led the US to attack Afghanistan instead of the responding to the Taliban’s offers of talks; invade Iraq forcibly remove Maummar Gaddafi after he had agreed to shed the nuclear option; and go after Syria to the delight of the Taliban and the Salafists. Four countries of the third world have been laid waste.

The activity of US has developed a strong sentiment in Arab world. Strong feeling had pushed American think tank to leave Iraq. It is the recent threat to its interests in West Asia America in alliance with many countries decided to strike on ISIS. ISIS is the product of American shown crops. When monster trying to undermine the masters authority, masters came forward to crush him. But it is not so easy for the master right now. It is expected that monster has developed strength to fight with master for at least two years. The strong anti American sentiment is with him.
The strong Anti American feeling across the world was developed to the fact that with the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, the United States stood tall- military invincible, economically unrivalled, and diplomatically uncontestable and the dominating force on information channels worldwide. Second factor is the emasculation of UNO completely.

But as William Plaff in his book “The Irony of Manifest Destiny;” the tragedy of America’s foreign policy call China- not Europe or Russia or India- is the centre of attention of American foreign policy. American think tanks are asking on containment of China’s influence in South Asia particularly and world at large. This activity of America has made China rebellious.

The unwise decision of US decision of 2011 to sell advanced weaponry to India, in contrast to the ongoing embargo on arms sales to China, while also enhancing India’s nuclear programs is already earning the US hostility to the Chinese by conveying the impression that America sees China as its enemy even before China itself had decided to be America’s enemy.

**B- Internal and External Pressures – Political, Financial, Psychological and Others:-**

In every significant and tangible dimension of traditional power-military, technological, economic and financial- America is still peerless. It has by far the largest single national economy (nearly 15.9 trillion $, second China having 9.8), the greatest financial influence, the most advanced technology, a military budget advanced technology, a military budget larger
than that of the all states combined, and armed forces capable of rapid deployment as abroad\textsuperscript{9}.

But it has dark side too. Its congress is paralyzed by fierce partnership like Indian parliament. The credibility of its chief executive has plumbed low. Its president personally approves the names of men to be assassinated. Its Supreme Court is a scandalous, especially after its dishonest ruling on George W. Bush’s election\textsuperscript{10}.

These events have shown the real face of America which it boasts as a exponent of Democracy, the equality in American society and judiciary which we study in books that American constitution has judicial supremacy really farce.

The discontent prevailing in American society particularly in Negros (Black) against neo rich mostly whites has been exposed in recent killing of black youths. After that the widespread violence broke out in America has reflected the real face of the American Society.

The United States is a hegemonic power which champions human rights selectively when that suits its interests abroad. But its own human rights record at home is not fair. The Amnesty International has published “Rights fall All” in 1998 shows the cruel failure of human rights situation in America. It raises serious questions not just about the authenticity of the professed human rights concerns of the US; but about the nature of American Society; its police, prison and justice systems, the ethics of extreme forms of punishment, and deep and growing insecurities, symbolized above all by the existence of 200 million guns, or four-five arms for every five citizens\textsuperscript{11}.
The deep anger among blacks in America is not without ground but it has reasons to reckon since US has the most powerful economy in the world but racially it is extremely divided society, bisects with disparities of wealth and income. Black people are three times more likely to be unemployed than whites with equivalent qualifications. Murder in the leading cause of death among black youths. There are more blacks in US prisons than in universities.

Amnesty reports says that 23% of all black males in US between 20 to 29 years of age are in prison, or on probation or parole- perhaps the highest such proportion anywhere\(^2\).

But the solving the social problem political is callous. The statement of Mill Romney is the barometer of the thinking of American political class he says I am in this race because I care about Americans. I am not concerned about very poor. We have a safety net there. If it needs repair, I will fix it: Romney, who not only comes from the world of finance capital but also is its preferred candidate, has been unable to grasp the deep crisis of everyday life for millions of Americans. The United States Department of Agriculture reported that in 2010 about 17.2 million households in the US did not have the resources to buy food (i.e., about 14.5% of all households)\(^3\).

Additionally about 6.4 million households reduced or disrupted their eating habits because of a lack of access to food. To seek food, the US department of Agriculture showed people had enough refugees in emergency food pantries. During the recession early years, 2007-2009, use of these pantries increased by 44%. The Agriculture department’s September 2011 report on “Household food Insecurity in the United States” showed that
one in size Americans don’t have the money to food themselves. The problem is acute\textsuperscript{14}.

All these things are happened due to loss of jobs. In a report it is said that Asians have gained more jobs in US. The IT companies from India are making profit in US and employing youths from India. In order to check the process of outsourcing the jobs US has applied H1N1 visa to the workers of companies. However it may be counterproductive for US Asian countries may put restrictions on American interests. Hence the pressure is on American youth internal as well external both.

In order to get rid of the recession in American economy, Obama planned the Health Insurance for all which is also called ‘Obama Care’. In order to do this he tries to impose a health tax on citizens and provide benefit to medico industries which is vehemently opposed by republicans. But it has psychological aspect also. Since America is Christianity dominated society, the Abortion, contraception become a big issue there. Since Supreme Court of America legalized abortion, pro-choice and pro-life activists argue outside the US court on Jan 23 in Washington\textsuperscript{15}.

Due to Iraq war American financial condition worsened and due to day to day scandals of its leaders, republicans right wing tries to divert the focus from hunger and homelessness to abortion rights, marriage rights for gays and lesbians, discussions about birth control and sexuality in schools as well as the teaching of diversity in schools. It means trying to shift the debate from ‘social issues’ to moral issues. The rights remains fixated on the body and sexuality, with a morality out of touch with the everyday lives of people. Hypocrisy is the touchstone of an absolute morality.
 Millions of Americans have been turned out of their homes as a result of the elapse in the Home mortgage market. It is also called subprime crisis. Millionaire Warren Buffet has called it ‘weapons of mass financial destruction’. It is used to say that capitalism can’t be understood without crisis and recession in the same way religion without hell.

In order to save the financial institutions like banks, insurance companies America has given 100 Million $ as ‘Troubled Asset Relief Programme’ TARP. This money is of poor class. That is why many people still suffering from hunger and homelessness.

But in recent months due to advent of technology to extract petroleum from shale in large scale from Monterey, California, USA in fact exporting oil. Which resulted in boosting its ailing economy. On the other hand it has pushed the economy of its rivals back to some extent recession like Russia, Iran, and Venezuela whose economy is purely based on export of oil16.

American economy is biggest debt economy of the world. Its budget deficit is in 1300 billion $ in 200917. National debt clock instituted in New York unable to show its value when it shows in 11 digits, new clock has been installed.

In order to push its economy on track there is big pressure from its commerce lobby to remove embargo from neighboring country Cuba. Due to the bad policy of America towards Latin American countries Russia and China has made Groads in these areas which sometime earlier America consider its backyard. Chinese President XI Jinping and Russian President Vladmir Putin made extensive visits to the region in 2014. When Barak
Obama stated that the US policy towards Cuba had failed to "advance our interests" he was not talking only about its political interests.\textsuperscript{18}

American foreign policy experiencing pressure from within country and abroad to adjust itself. The killing of Tamir Rice in Cleveland and judgment of release of two white officers has shown an unconscious able level of human depravity.\textsuperscript{19} After the level anger shown by black community is reflection of social unrest simmering in American society. In this way we see the psychological pressure experienced by American foreign policy. On the one hand America intervening in the other countries to safe democracy and human rights, these things has no value for its own people.

C- Reaction Against USA dominance in Premier International Bodies:

Goswami Tulsidas has written in Ramcharitmanas an epic of Hindus "SAB DIN HOT NAA EK SAMANA" means ‘All the time is not same’. It is absolutely true in foreign affairs with the decline of American hegemony, rising (emerging) economies of the countries like China, India, Brazil, South Africa and already emerged economies has like Germany and Japan have demanded a due representation in Premier International bodies. Since the word institution like UNO and financial institutions like IMF, World Bank (Brettonwood institutions) built in 1946. After the end of Second World War, these bodies were created by world war players, USA was less damaged country, hence its economy was most sound at that time and has to play an important role in reconstruction of war ravaged Europe as well Japan. That is why America was able to garner much say among these
institutions. But after passing years the less represented countries demanded due representation.

It is also the demand of democracy that these countries must get due representation. The international monetary fund was the centerpiece of the Brettonwood system which founded on fixed exchange rates based the Gold exchange standard. In 1973, when the system collapsed, the IMF seemed to have lost much of its original mission. However, in the reaction to the first oil shock and resulting widespread balance of payment problems its duties were expanded\textsuperscript{20}.

Each member of the IMF has a quota expressed in special drawing rights (SDR) i.e., equal to its subscription to the fund. The quota is reflecting the size of the members economy, is the most fundamental element in its financial and organizational relations with IMF (voting power access to financial resources etc). It is this very reason that the emerging economy of the world have demanded a fare share in IMF and World Bank so that they will have some say in shaping the international politics. At present USA’s share in IMF is 19% and it is mandatory provision in granting loan to LDC that 85% share holders permission is required. It means that without America none major decision can be taken\textsuperscript{21}.

At the annual meeting of the Brettonwood institutions in Madrid in Oct 1994, the group of seven industrial countries rejected the plea by developing countries to issue 36,000 million new SDRs on the grounds that it would create serious inflationary risks. In a rare flexing of their muscles the developing states rejected an offer by the industrial world that would
have given when only half of what they wanted, leaving the issue to be resolved at a later date.

An important provision has been made in IMF that member states have to remove full restriction on current account but till this date 98 out of 179 members have committed to themselves to do so. But the fear of Cyprus like banking crisis is looming over the member states.

From the very long time American economy has gone through recession, from 2008 when there was great economic recession which is prevailing of today America has registered only 8% recovery. During the same period China was registering double digit growth. Some economist call the present scenario of US is great stagnation i.e., after recession there is stagnation. America was engaged during the same period in two major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Due to its ill practiced policies that America has followed, it has made more foes than friends. European Union has seen that major booty is cornered by America while it left with economic losses. Hence fissures arises in NATO itself.

Since China is largest exporter of the world and having more dollar than US itself, it has approximately 4 trillion $ foreign currency reserve, it demanded the restructuring of international financial institutions. Since up to recent time America along with Western powers guided the international politics and moulds according to its need. But time has changed Europe is already passing through sluggish economy, it can’t get or provide help to US. Only one lamp is burning that is in Asia. There are two economies India and China registering high economic growth and here is demand. That is why demand for restructuring arises from here. After seeing that the demand
for restructuring is providing no effective result before duff America and its allies, they are thinking to develop another institution. They formed a new platform BRICS (Brazil Russia, India, China and South Africa). This is the result of post cold war unipolar world where America and Western powers has played double standard with the rest of the world. This is an attempt to make world multipolar where interests of the rest of the world can be safeguarded. BRICS is such an international group of emerging economies to balance the western learning international institutions.

It is high truth that after 2003 when American led NATO forces has attacked Iraq without permission of UNO, the need for a new platform and a multipolar world gained pace. During this very period some economies has registered high growth. At this juncture concept of BRIC has been given by economists of Goldman Sach\textsuperscript{22}. They have used BRIC word on paper number 66 of Global Economic Paper titled ‘The World Needs Better Economic BRIC’s). Its economist Gim O’ Neil has put a thesis paper ‘Dreaming with Bricks: The Path to 2050’. In this paper he has reflected that by 2050 these economies (of Brazil, Russia, Indiana and China) has such potential that by 2050 they emerged as major economies of the world. In third summit 14\textsuperscript{th} April 2011 South African president has joined, hence it became BRICS.

At the VI BRICS summit, held in the Brazilian City of Fortaleza in July 2014, Brazil, Russia, China, India and South Africa formally announced the creation of New Development Bank and Contingent Reserve Agreement (CRA). The official document portrayed both initiatives as complements to the existing financial and economic institutions.
In fact these countries (BRICS) come together in a sense of complementarity of two different sets of discursive practices, one based on development and other on multipolarity. Be that as it may, the fact is that the failure in implementing the agreements to reform the international financial institutions prompted a reaction on part of the BRICS resulted the creation of NDB and CRA\textsuperscript{23}.

"The major countries, the major powers hold very high positions in the secretariat and support their national interests and refuse to allow the secretary general to cut departments” and when they do as for budget cuts, they do it “where it does not affect their national interests.” A double stand which is applied or is thought to be applied in the secretariat, and we as overseers of the G-77 do not accept this double standard above is the statement of Munir Alam Ambassador of Pakistan who was recently head of G-77. This shows the feeling of the developing nations about the functioning of UNO. After the fall of Soviet Empire, the America as champion of Unipolar world has managed the world affairs US has pursued its interest worldwide in aggressive fashion. It has organized the world community.

Its quest for oil pushed to attack Iraq, to humiliate Russia attacked Yugoslavia, and application of maximum number of veto power to promote the activities of Israel a close friend, has put at alarm the international community. It resulted in demand for reform of United Nations of Organization. From the very beginning this international body is tilted in favor of America and Western countries.

Its democratic character is always under lens. American led western powers has given permanent member seat to communist China when
difference between USSR and China came to surface. G-4 (Germany, Japan, Brazil, India) one more country South Africa, has launched their efforts to gain permanent seats and veto rights at the council. Since the late 1990, there have been many calls for reforms in United Nations. After the demise of USSR its number of members (UNO) increased. From here its role has been broadened. However at primitive stage, there is little clarity about what reforms might mean in practice. Both who want the UN to play a greater role in world affair and those who want to confined to humanitarian work demanded for reforms.

With the end of cold war in 1990, first half of 90’s saw a major expansion of the organization and reforms associated with the agenda for peace launched by secretary-general Boutros-Boutros Ghali from here the wave of neo-liberalization gained momentum and America want to use it as an instrument of expansion of its agenda. Due to unpleasure of America, Ghali unable to get further extension. In the late 1990s, secretary General Kofi-Annan improved the coherence of the United Nation with a better coordinated levels & convert the system into more effective humanitarian structure.

From 2003, after attack on Iraq by NATO forces without permission of Security Council on disguise of WMO and Chemical weapon Iraq possess, however it proved later that these weapons Iraq not possesses for which Tony Blaire proved liar in House of Commons and Labor party lost election, the voice against US dominance in UNO gets pace.

As of 2007, secretary general Ban Ki Moon continued to the reform agenda covering oversight integrity and ethics which had been launched in
response to the investigation of the UN oil for food programme. The
programme responded to the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi civilians and
was the largest, most complex and most ambitious relief effort in the history
of the United Nations. In fact it is the loot of Iraq oil resources by America
and its supporters. India has also get benefit of this programme and Kunwar
Natwar Singh foreign minister was bound to resign allegedly he had derived
undue benefit.

On June 1\textsuperscript{st} 2011 UN secretary general Ban ki Moon appointed Atul
Khare of India to spearhead efforts to implement a reform agenda aimed at
streamlining and improving the efficiency of world body. Khare will lead
Change Management Team (CMT) at the UN, working with both
departments and offices within secretariat and with other bodies in the UN
System and 193 member states. CMT is tasked with guiding the
implementation of a reform agenda at the UN that starts with devising of
wide ranging plan to stream-line activities, increase accountability and
ensure the organization is more effective and efficient is devising its many
mandates\textsuperscript{25}.

Recently voice has been raised by Arab world against US in UNO
over human right violation by Israel over Palestine and Syria that demanded
for the time bound statehood for Palestine but due to US it failed and votes
in its members general assembly war against humanities case cannot be
started against Israel in International court of Justice is the demand from
long time from Arab world. America wants the case against Sri Lanka due to
its proximity with China but denying it in case of Israel. This dual standard
can only be meet out by over-coming the US dominance in UNO

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CHAPTER – V (REFERENCES)

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junior of Boris Yeltsin. (But he was quietly different from his master. After recovering its economy he had attempted seriously to bring Russian image at high levels in the world scenario.

Since the western powers under leadership of America has ignore its promise to not expand NATO to the Russian borders. Soon after disintegration of USSR three Baltic state Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia get membership of NATO. They left no chances to humiliate Russia. Russia was well aware with this advancement of NATO. In order to check this advancement of NATO and European Union Russia has form Eurasia Economic Organization (EEO).

Its mission is to take former Soviet States at a platform in response to NATO as well as European Union. With the plenty reserve of Petroleum and Natural Gas in fact Russia has made friends in Latin America and China.

The truth is that Russia is very much alive to its heritage as a successor to the USSR as well as to Tsarist Russia. It rightly complains of America’s expansionism, unilaterism and interference in its internal affairs. Unless the US addresses Russia’s concern about its security and treats it as an equal power tension between these two powers will persist¹.

There are two basic differences between Russia and USSR. First is the ideology, since USSR governed by communist ideology it has a galaxy of friendly nation who gives and take support based on block not on mere economic benefit. Second is the economy USSR’s economy is large and diversified but Russian economy no doubt an emerging economy but lack diversity. In his new year’s address to the nation when Rubbles highly depreciated against US $ in backdrop of US lead western sanctions after