

	<b><i>The Power of Oil: Relationships Among World Changing Ideas, Institutions and Technologies</i></b>	By: Tina Lynn Evans, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Sustainability Studies, Colorado Mountain College, Steamboat Springs, Colorado, USA	Presented at the First Annual Sustainability Symposium, Prescott College, June 4, 2009  Revised September, 2013	
<b>Dates</b>	<b>Oil Reserves, Production, Prices and Control</b>	<b>The Economy and International Debt, Finance and Trade</b>	<b>Agriculture</b>	<b>International Relations and Global Implications</b>
<b>Colonial Period</b>	Colonial period in the Middle East ends after WWI when the defeated Ottoman Empire is carved up to create the modern nations of this region and the European powers depart. Middle Eastern oil had been a desirable target for control during the war.	Colonies of Western Europe serve as resource extraction sites for drawing wealth to the global centers of empire. Uneven development is strategic, and the legacies of unevenness and lack of diversity in development persist through the present.	Subsistence agriculture common globally; agricultural production by colonies for colonizing nations also common.	Western European nations that become First World nations establish global dominance.
<b>1930s</b>	<b>Late 1930s:</b> U.S. peak in oil discovery.  <b>1938:</b> Mexico nationalizes its oil.	<b>1929:</b> U.S. economic crash creates global depression.  Keynesian strategies of “priming the pump” through government spending used in the U.S. to kickstart the economy are successful since little money infused through such spending leaks into the global economy at this point in history.	Subsistence and small scale agriculture common globally.  Agricultural subsidies begin in the U.S. Agricultural policies in the U.S. increasingly promote large scale production of cheap, surplus food that supports industrialization and capital accumulation within the agricultural sector and within the larger political economy.	Domestic oil cheap in the U.S.; U.S. uses cheap oil and surplus agricultural production as foundations for its continued industrialization and growing international strength and influence.
<b>1940s</b>	WWII depletes some oil fields in U.S.  Supplies tighten after WWII as the post-war economic boom takes off and demand increases, raising prices. Demand is offset by new supplies; prices lower once more.	<b>1944:</b> Bretton Woods Conference held in New Hampshire with 45 Allied nations represented; results in the Bretton Woods system of international monetary and trade policy and new international banks; resulting monetary policy relies on a foundation of U.S. dollars (a gold standard currency) and	Green Revolution begins; characterized by the mechanization of agriculture and use of fossil fuel derived inputs: pesticides and herbicides manufactured from petroleum and synthetic	<b>WWII:</b> U.S. oil supplies prove to be among the decisive factors in the victory of the Allies.  <b>1945:</b> Cold War begins between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.  <b>1945:</b> U.S. President FDR and

		<p>fixed currency exchange rates; this system is called the gold exchange standard. Plans laid for creation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); discussions begin that lead to the first General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) treaty.</p> <p><b>1945:</b> IMF and World Bank begin operation.</p> <p><b>1947:</b> first GATT treaty in force.</p> <p>Post-war suburban housing boom in the U.S. facilitated by availability of cheap oil and by FHA and VA loan policies (loans are available for single-family, detached homes only).</p> <p>Post-war and through the early 1970s, U.S. agricultural subsidies and U.S. food aid result in an increasing internationalization of the American diet and contribute to growing U.S. hegemony.</p>	<p>fertilizers manufactured from natural gas using the Haber-Bosch process of ammonia synthesis.</p> <p>Over a period of decades, vast monocultures replace more diverse subsistence farming; locally adapted varieties of seeds and plants diminish; diverse farming knowledge begins to decline.</p> <p>Agricultural subsidies continue in the U.S.; U.S. policy framework increasingly supports large-scale agribusiness.</p> <p>From this decade through the early 1970s, a commodity, market system in agriculture is encouraged within nations and internationally at the same time that small producers are increasingly exposed to outside competition.</p>	<p>King Ibin Saud of Saudi Arabia form mutual security alliance; U.S. to protect Saudi Royal family. Since this time, Saudi Arabia has generally influenced oil supplies and prices to the benefit of the U.S. interests and has often supported U.S. security interests in the region.</p> <p><b>1947-</b> : Essential foundations for the spread of neoliberal economic policies in place in the form of international finance, agricultural technologies and policies (that would feed into export-led development strategies and policies) and the enactment of the first sweeping international free trade agreement (GATT).</p> <p>Dependency on U.S. food aid increases among Third World nations.</p>
<p><b>1950s</b></p>	<p>Oil nationalizations begin in the Middle East.</p> <p><b>1953:</b> Operation Ajax, a coup sponsored by the U.S. and British governments, deposes democratically elected Iranian Prime Minister Mosaddeq, who had taken steps to nationalize the Iranian oil industry; the Shah, supported by the U.S. and Britain,</p>	<p><b>1956:</b> U.S. interstate highway system construction initiated by the Eisenhower administration.</p> <p>Baby boom in the U.S.</p> <p>U.S. economy booms as a result of post-war suburban development, baby boom and continued industrial development.</p> <p>Massive deruralization driven by</p>	<p>Over several decades, as a result of various interrelated policies and technological developments, many of which result in increasing debt burdens among farmers, small scale producers increasingly leave the land. Most dramatically in the Third</p>	<p>Cold War continues; proxy battles between the two superpowers begin.</p>

	<p>takes power.</p> <p><b>1956:</b> Geologist M. King Hubbert publicly announces his theory of peak oil predicting that oil production will peak in the U.S. in the early 1970s.</p>	<p>national and international policies continues globally, including in the U.S. and Canada.</p> <p>Third World nations are encouraged to pursue the American dream by using agricultural production as a foundation for industrialization.</p>	<p>World but also in the First World, many rural people migrate to cities. In Third World countries, rural migrants settle into emerging megacity slums as they search for employment.</p>	
<b>1960s</b>	<p>Oil nationalizations continue in the Middle East.</p> <p><b>1960:</b> The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is formed by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, in part as a response to foreign oil companies reaping what these countries perceive as unfair levels of profits in comparison to oil concessions retained by producing countries.</p> <p><b>1963:</b> global peak in oil discoveries.</p> <p><b>1967:</b> Six Day War; Israel captures territory from its Arab neighbors; some territories still occupied today.</p>	<p>International development banks (World Bank, regional development banks) and large corporate banks lend increasing amounts of money to Third World nations, much of this for infrastructure development aimed at promoting economic growth.</p> <p>As people are severed from subsistence lifestyles, they move from relative self sufficiency and independence to a state of enforced dependency upon the money system through which they purchase the necessities of life. Over the ensuing decades, these people comprise a large measure of the “new markets” of the expanding global economy, for which new customers are always needed. Dependency feeds globalization and economic growth whereas self sufficient people with little to no need for money literally don’t count in the global economic system. These processes continue to the present.</p>	<p>Farming continues to assume larger and larger scale, and it is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. Rural to urban migration continues as does concentration of wealth, power and control into the hands of agribusiness.</p> <p>Agricultural subsidies continue in the U.S.</p>	<p>Import substitution industrialization efforts in Latin America.</p> <p>Western consulting and construction firms benefit from large scale infrastructure development in Third World nations, the result of a rash of international lending by Western banking interests.</p>
<b>1970s</b>	<p>Oil nationalizations continue in the Middle East.</p> <p><b>1970:</b> oil production peaks in the U.S.</p>	<p>International development banks (World Bank, regional development banks) and large corporate banks continue to lend money to Third World nations, much of this for infrastructure development aimed at promoting economic growth.</p>	<p>Rural to urban migration continues as does concentration of wealth, power and control into the hands of agribusiness.</p>	<p>Import substitution industrialization in Latin America weakened by oil shocks and rising national debt levels, thereby paving the way for neoliberal, export-led development</p>

<p><b>1973:</b> Arab-Israeli War; U.S. supports Israel; USSR supports Egypt leading to a potential superpower conflagration.</p> <p><b>1973:</b> Arab oil embargo of the U.S. in response to U.S. support for Israel; global prices for oil increase dramatically.</p> <p><b>Mid 1970s:</b> Oil production declines for the first time in history in response to demand destruction brought on by high prices.</p> <p><b>Mid 1970s – mid 1980s:</b> U.S. imports compact cars and trucks from Japan. U.S. car manufacturers, slow to manufacture compacts, suffer.</p> <p><b>1979:</b> Iranian Revolution deposes brutal dictator and U.S. ally the Shah of Iran and installs a fundamentalist Islamic government unfriendly to the U.S.; hostilities between the two nations continue to the present.</p> <p><b>1979:</b> Israel and Egypt sign peace treaty in which control of Sinai peninsula is returned to Egypt.</p>	<p><b>1971:</b> Facing a possible currency crisis as U.S. debt rises, in large measure as a result of the Vietnam War, President Nixon stops the exchange of dollars for gold and thereby takes the U.S. dollar off of the gold standard; this action results in a floating system of international currency exchange no longer underpinned by U.S. dollar as a gold standard currency; this action brings an end to the Bretton Woods monetary system.</p> <p><b>1971:</b> Saudi Arabia ensures that OPEC oil will continue to be traded for U.S. dollars only no matter who is the purchaser → U.S. dollars are in effect backed by oil; Saudi Arabia continues to enforce the petrodollar standard to the present.</p> <p><b>1971- :</b> Petrodollar system of trading for OPEC oil exclusively in dollars results in demand for U.S. dollar as a world reserve currency, thereby increasing its value and allowing the U.S. debt to grow.</p> <p><b>1973:</b> Arab oil embargo creates huge spike in oil prices globally.</p> <p><b>1973 – early 1980s:</b> high price of oil floods oil exporting nations with profits; OPEC nations (with little absorption capacity for this newfound wealth due to low populations and low levels of industrial development) invest much of their earnings through Western banks and in foreign securities, particularly U.S. securities. Third World nations</p>	<p>Agricultural subsidies continue in the U.S.</p>	<p>strategies and policies.</p> <p>Infrastructure building in Third World nations does not result in the hoped for levels of economic growth; jobs are created where the money goes, and much of the money lent to Third World nations by Western banking interests is spent in the First World.</p> <p><b>1973-early 1980s:</b> Increased demand for U.S. dollars as the currency for oil purchases increases pressure on Third World nations to engage in export-led development in order to earn the foreign exchange needed for oil purchases. Similar pressures to participate in the global economy continue through the present.</p> <p>Following the peak in U.S. domestic production of oil, support grows rapidly among U.S. leaders for neoliberal free trade policies and globalization, which make resources available to the highest bidder.</p> <p>As globalization and free trade regimes intensify, the U.S. loses much of its manufacturing sector as these jobs are relocated by corporations seeking competitive price advantage in the global marketplace.</p>
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		<p>without large domestic oil supplies face a highly negative balance of trade and are forced to borrow heavily, often from the IMF, in order to stabilize their currencies; the World Bank, regional development banks and international corporate banks lend out the flood of petrodollars generated by high oil prices; much of the money is lent to Third World nations attempting to industrialize.</p> <p><b>1979:</b> Iranian Revolution sends the second oil shock of the decade through the global economy. Central banks raise interest rates in an effort to head off inflation, sending the global economy into recession.</p> <p><b>Late 1970s:</b> Latin American debt crisis ensues for some nations. High, predicted levels of economic growth not realized as a result of infrastructure projects undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s along with the high price of oil and rising interest rates combine to create a tipping point in the stability of national economies in Latin America.</p> <p>Rural to urban migration in Third World nations produces vast numbers of desperate, unemployed people ready to work under exploitive conditions for very little pay. This phenomenon accelerates the race to the bottom, in terms of the costs of production, by multinational corporations.</p> <p><b>1973-mid 1980s:</b> Recycling of excess petrodollars through Western banking systems decreases the impact of global</p>		<p>The U.S. balance of trade continues to worsen, eventually resulting in the extremely negative balance of trade payments seen today. A factor heavily contributing to this growing negative balance is increasing imports of oil (both on a percentage and a raw quantity basis). The U.S. economy is, in effect, subsidized by the rest of the world.</p>
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		recession.  Energy awareness and conservation become widespread in the U.S. as a result of the oil embargo.		
<b>1980s</b>	<p><b>1980:</b> Saudi Arabia gains full ownership of its national oil company Saudi ARAMCO.</p> <p><b>Early – late 1980s:</b> Following reductions in demand for oil that resulted from the 1970s oil shocks and the resulting downturn in the global economy, Saudi Arabia absorbs larger and larger hits to its production quota in an effort to keep oil prices stable. Eventually, Saudi Arabia opens its oil spigot and floods the market with cheap oil, thereby recapturing its market share by driving small independents out of business and punishing its OPEC partners with losses. Oil price glut ensues due to declining demand in the wake of the 1970s oil shocks, increased non-OPEC production spurred by the high prices of the 1970s and the Saudi effort to recapture its market share.</p> <p><b>1980-1988:</b> Iran/Iraq War; U.S. supports Iraq led by Saddam Hussein; oil production in both countries is severely hampered by the war, a convenient fact for other oil producers, including U.S. based oil companies, since the war coincides with the 1980s global oil price glut.</p>	<p><b>Early 1980s:</b> Latin American debt crisis continues and involves additional countries.</p> <p>Neoliberal trade policies produce falling trade barriers and falling prices in agriculture contributing to further massive deruralization globally.</p>	<p><b>1980:</b> U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Chakrabarty case allows patenting of living organisms and paves the way for further concentration of power and control in the agribusiness sector through corporate emphasis on biotechnology.</p> <p>Concentration of wealth, power and control into the hands of large agribusiness interests continues.</p> <p>Suicide rates among farmers in the U.S. increase dramatically.</p> <p>Agricultural subsidies continue in the U.S. despite the Reagan administration’s neoliberal rhetoric against such trade barriers elsewhere in the world.</p>	<p><b>1980:</b> “Carter Doctrine” professed by U.S. President Jimmy Carter who states that oil in the Middle East is of strategic importance to the U.S. and that the U.S. will use military force if necessary in order to secure access to Middle Eastern oil.</p> <p><b>1981:</b> Election of Ronald Reagan to the U.S. presidency signals the end of many energy conservation and curtailment policies and practices in the U.S.</p> <p>Third World nations struggling to pay debts to international lenders; loans are to be repaid in world reserve currencies (often dollars) → increased pressure for these nations to participate in export-led development in order to earn foreign exchange.</p> <p>Structural adjustment programs implemented in many Third World debtor nations in return for renegotiation of international debt; SAPs call for reductions in social support and improvement spending in areas such as education and health care and further open national governments and economies to privatization of formerly public resources, goods and services.</p>

	<p>The USSR attempts to fund its Cold War arms race with the U.S. in large measure through oil exports as it approaches its 1987 peak production, but the price glut of the 1980s greatly reduces its profits.</p> <p>OPEC initiates new production quota rules based on national reserves figures triggering staggering increases in stated reserves among OPEC nations; these reserves are believed by most to be political rather than physical.</p> <p><b>1985:</b> UK North Sea oil price allowed to float on the open market by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, ending a prior agreement to sell North Sea oil at the agreed OPEC price and increasing the downward pressure on prices.</p> <p><b>1987:</b> The USSR, a major global oil producer, hits its peak production.</p>			<p><b>1979-1989:</b> Soviet war with Afghanistan.</p> <p><b>Late 1980s-1991:</b> Soviet economy undermined due to global oil price glut and war with Afghanistan.</p>
<p><b>1990s</b></p>	<p><b>1990-1991:</b> Persian Gulf War; Iraqi forces invade Kuwait and line up on Saudi border; U.S. supports Kuwait and protects Saudi Arabia by fighting Iraq, a nation still led by former U.S. ally Saddam Hussein. Prior to the war, Iraq claims that Kuwait is drawing Iraqi oil from reservoirs on its border with Iraq; Kuwait has also been cheating on its OPEC production</p>	<p><b>1991:</b> Soviet Union collapses.</p> <p><b>1994:</b> NAFTA free trade treaty among U.S., Mexico and Canada in force.</p> <p><b>1995:</b> World Trade Organization operational; purpose of WTO is to expand the reach and depth of neoliberal free trade regimes; actively encourages private ownership and control in areas such as intellectual</p>	<p>Rural to urban migration continues as does concentration of wealth, power and control into the hands of agribusiness.</p> <p>Farmer suicides common in India.</p> <p>Agricultural subsidies continue in the U.S.</p>	<p><b>1990-1991:</b> Persian Gulf War; U.S. builds permanent bases in Saudi Arabia from which to wage the war; bases prove to be a continual thorn in the side of fundamentalist Saudis who deplore what they see as the corruption of both the Saudi royal family and the West.</p> <p><b>1991:</b> Cold War ends following</p>

	<p>quota by producing more than its share (not a unique phenomenon among OPEC nations), thereby negatively impacting other oil producing nations.</p> <p><b>1990-2003:</b> UN sanctions against Iraq following its invasion of Kuwait keep much of Iraqi oil production off the market, thereby supporting oil prices.</p> <p><b>1994:</b> Major oil exploration and development begins in the Caspian Sea region of central Asia.</p> <p><b>1998:</b> Asian demand for oil drops due to the Asian economic crisis causing declines in global oil prices.</p>	<p>property and provision public services, including essential services such as water; the successor to GATT, WTO is a standing administrative body for enforcement of international trade treaties; its decisions represent a new area of international “law” in that these decisions often trump local and national regulations in the name of free trade.</p> <p><b>1998:</b> Asian economic crisis.</p> <p><b>1999:</b> Euro launched as an accounting currency.</p> <p>China’s economy gains momentum in this decade, and its demand for imported oil increases sharply.</p>	<p>despite free trade rhetoric of the nation’s leaders.</p> <p>Farmers and citizens in other parts of the world, particularly in the Third World, protest U.S. farm subsidies which place downward pressure on prices and force small producers out of business.</p> <p>Accelerating reach of global competition in agriculture increases downward pressure on prices and the concentration of wealth and power in the multinational agribusiness sector.</p> <p>Farmer suicides common in Mexico following enactment of NAFTA.</p>	<p>Soviet Union collapse; collapse triggered by low oil prices and the Soviet war with Afghanistan.</p> <p>Free trade regimes create a race to the bottom in terms of labor and production costs.</p> <p>Generally low oil prices and tax exemptions for shipping support international free trade regimes and globalization of the world’s commodity supply chains (including food) since costs of transportation are negligible.</p> <p>Monocultures in agriculture are mirrored by a monoculture in human culture; locally adapted ways of life and resource use, as well as indigenous subsistence lifeways emphasizing reciprocity between humans and nature, disappear with increasing rapidity.</p> <p>U.S. military base building spree in central Asia in the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union located in the Caspian Sea region, an area thought to have significant oil and natural gas reserves; bases establish U.S. presence in an area essential for transport of oil and gas to Russia and China.</p> <p><b>1994:</b> Zapatista uprising begins in Chiapas, Mexico, in protest of Mexico’s participation in NAFTA.</p>
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<p><b>2000s</b></p>	<p>The U.S. faces competition for oil from the demand side as China's economy expands and China replaces Japan as the world's second largest consumer of oil.</p> <p>Iraq thought to possess large oil reserves, second only to those of Saudi Arabia.</p> <p><b>2003:</b> Iraq trades oil for Euros.</p> <p><b>2005-</b> : Spare production capacity for oil is virtually nonexistent prior to the global recession. With production occurring flat out, Saudi Arabia could no longer function in its historical role of regulating global oil prices by opening and closing its oil production spigot.</p> <p><b>2008:</b> Iran opens an oil bourse (commodity exchange center) to trade petrochemical products other than crude. Commodities are exchanged for currencies other than the dollar. This trading could eventually include trades of crude oil as well.</p> <p><b>2008:</b> Global oil prices exceed</p>	<p><b>2002:</b> Euro becomes a coin and banknote currency.</p> <p>Loss of spare production capacity in global oil market brings increased volatility to global oil prices; commodities futures speculation in the oil market increases price volatility and masks connections between prices and supplies.</p> <p><b>2007:</b> Value of the U.S. dollar drops below that of the Canadian dollar.</p> <p><b>2008:</b> Global recession triggered by real estate credit bubble bursting in the U.S.; some U.S. banks and some banks from other nations fail or are bailed out by their governments; bailouts often mean governments taking a controlling ownership interest in these banks.</p> <p><b>2008-</b> : Unemployment rises in China as a result of the worldwide recession.</p> <p><b>2009-</b> : U.S. publicly and actively encourages China to continue investing its excess dollars in the U.S. by purchasing U.S. Treasury Bills. This relationship, in which China purchases the ever growing U.S. debt, is important to U.S. and global economic stability.</p>	<p>Small farmer suicides continue.</p> <p>Agricultural subsidies continue in the U.S.</p> <p>Consumer and community interest in local and organic foods growing rapidly in the United States.</p> <p>Interest in self-sufficiency and direct marketing and distribution to consumers grows among small producers globally.</p> <p><b>2004-2005:</b> Monsanto sues farmers in the U.S. and Canada for patent infringement when their crops become contaminated with Roundup Ready seed. Some farmers forced to destroy their heritage seeds.</p> <p>In this decade and the beginning of the next,</p>	<p><b>2001:</b> U.S. World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks prompt the Bush administration's "war on terror."</p> <p><b>2001-2003:</b> U.S. government and mainstream media redirect the U.S. public's focus on revenge for 911 away from Osama bin Laden and toward Saddam Hussein.</p> <p><b>2001:</b> U.S. forces invade Afghanistan in search of Osama Bin Laden; proposed oil pipeline through Afghanistan still thought to be a profitable venture (later, oil reserves estimates from Caspian Sea will reduce interest in pipeline).</p> <p><b>2003:</b> Iraq invaded by coalition forces led by and overwhelmingly comprised of the U.S. military forces.</p> <p><b>2003:</b> Massive anti-globalization protests at the WTO meeting in Cancun, Mexico.</p> <p><b>2004-</b> : Bush administration hostilities rise toward Iran; US/Iranian relations remain tense</p>

	<p>\$100 per barrel for the first time in history.</p> <p><b>August 2011:</b> With the deposing of the government of Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi by rebels in Libya, the question arose about control over that nation’s oil. Libyan oil reserves are the largest in Africa, and Libyan oil is easily transported and refined in Western Europe, where refineries cannot as easily process lower grades of oil from other sources.</p> <p><b>As of 2013:</b> Libya’s oil remains under state control by the National Oil Corporation.</p>	<p><b>2010-</b> : Euro region countries face economic crises (Ireland, Portugal, Greece, Italy, Spain). Germany and France, the economic powerhouses of the Euro region, are called upon to help prop up the economies of these nations, resulting in some loss of enthusiasm in these two countries for remaining on the Euro as a currency. These crises create the potential for the European Union to pull apart.</p> <p>In the last part of the decade, the U.S. dollar regains its value relative to the Euro.</p> <p><b>2011:</b> China calls for the creation of a new international reserve currency to replace the dollar. This call is yet further evidence that dollar hegemony is in question.</p> <p><b>2011-present:</b> China may have built its own real estate bubble fueled by easy credit, and so, could be on the brink of an economic downturn, the occurrence of which would represent yet another powerful blow to the global economy.</p>	<p>wealthy nations in Europe, the Middle East , and Asia buy up or lease huge tracts of land in African countries to grow and export crops for food and biofuels production. These exports often occur in nations where people are starving. For countries such as those in the Middle East that have very little water, growing crops elsewhere amounts to a form of water importation as well. This trend is exacerbated by the European Union’s mandate to have 10% of its transportation fuels be derived from plants by 2015.</p>	<p>to the present.</p> <p><b>2008-</b> : U. S. intensifies its focus on fighting rebel groups and the Taliban in Afghanistan.</p> <p><b>2010:</b> U.S. withdraws combat troops from Iraq but leaves troops engaged in training and related activities.</p> <p><b>2011:</b> U.S. special operations force kills Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan.</p> <p><b>2010-2011:</b> “Arab Spring,” a wave of revolutionary protests in the Arab world, begins in Tunisia where the government of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali is ousted. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarek is also overthrown, and a civil war erupts in Libya where rebel forces battle the regime of Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi. Civil uprisings occur against the leadership of Bahrian, Syria, and Yemen. Major protests are also held in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Oman, and on the borders of Israel. Relatively minor protests are held in Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Western Sahara.</p> <p><b>2011-2014:</b> U.S. troops to withdraw from Afghanistan.</p> <p><b>March 17, 2011:</b> the UN Security</p>
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