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Angelo Codevilla: To Make and Keep Peace among Ourselves and With All Nations Study Guide, 2014

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ANGELO CODEVILLA: TO MAKE AND KEEP PEACE AMONG OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS STUDY GUIDE, 2014 Steven Alan Samson

To Make and Keep Peace opens with a succinct statement of the problems generated by politically and constitutionally irresponsible elites and "the new, permanent state of non-peace, non-war [that] grants [them] the discretionary powers that pertain logically to military commanders in the face of enemies-in-arms." As Codevilla writes in the preface: "The post-9/11 hostilities having left some 30,000 Americans crippled for life, private groups have nobly undertaken to raise money to palliate their condition. One of their solicitations is accompanied by a plaintive song that asks Americans to 'say a prayer for peace.' Surely, prayer to God is in order always and everywhere. But earthly peace is one of those earthly goods the production of which we reasonably expect from the persons who we hire to produce them. Had we been paying plumbers to fix our house's pipes, praying God to stop continuing leaks would bespeak severe judgment on the plumbers. Praying for peace after our statesmen have spent trillions of dollars and killed uncounted thousands without producing peace acknowledges that those statesmen and their 'bench' in the universities and the think tanks either don't know how to produce it, or have other priorities.

Relief from such experts begins with firing them. Relief requires understanding the problem enough to hire persons who will do the job. This book is to supply that understanding." It does so in the form of an unsparing indictment of a "ruling class" that has "brought home its oblivion of peace." As he puts it on page 169: "so long and insofar as any ruling class is possessed of this Wilsonian sense of intellectual-moral-political entitlement to nation-build, it must be a disturber of the peace—especially where it has the greatest power to do it. At home."

The title of the book alludes to Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.

FOREWORD BY VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

- A. CODEVILLA'S ARGUMENT AS DEVELOPED IN THREE BOOKS (ix-xi)
1. *War: Ends and Means*
 - a. Problem of utopian pacifism and idealistic internationalism
 - 1) What war's prime aim should be
 - b. Grandiose notions of nation-building, democracy spreading, and international governance mere slogans [[Global Governance vs. National Sovereignty, 2012](#)]
 - 1) Paradox: Increasing military power of modern affluent democracies is accompanied by a misunderstanding and misuse of such preeminent force
 - 2) Loss of confidence
 2. *The Ruling Class*
 - a. Character of the American coastal elite
 - 1) Capture of the reins of power of both parties, the media, foundations, universities, and the arts
 - b. This cultural nexus has little empathy for traditional American protocols
 - 1) Its preference for democratic socialism abroad
 3. *To Make and Keep Peace Among Ourselves and with All Nations*
 - a. America is fighting more wars and winning almost none of them [which is characteristic of ADHD]
 - 1) Flawed ideas of the ruling class
 - b. Primary texts emphasize the unchanging nature of mankind and the need for an acceptance of war's unchanging laws

- c. Two contemporary trends that deviate from the Founders' vision of limited government
 - 1) Nation-building
 - 2) A homeland security octopus that sucks up vast resources, curbs civil rights, and empowers government bureaucracies

PREFACE

- A. STATESMANSHIP'S PROPER GOAL (xv-xvii)
 - 1. Achieving a Just and Lasting Peace
 - a. Its importance for domestic harmony
 - b. Our founding statesmen's fear of war's effect on peace and liberty at home
 - 1) George Washington
 - 2. Illusion of Serving Noble Causes by Making Foreign Quarrels Our Own
 - a. **War's first principle**
 - 1) It is an extraordinary event conceived to end in peace
 - 3. Result: "Nation-Building" Abroad and "Home Security"
 - a. The national security-homeland security complex as an instrument of partisan strife
 - 4. Purpose of the Book
 - a. Recover an understanding of peace as the practical lodestar for navigating the ship of state
 - b. The compass of peace is the surest guide
 - 5. Peace Is the Statesman's Natural Focus
 - a. **Plato:** Proper product of the statesman is fostering man's highest functions
 - b. **Aristotle and St. Augustine:** Victory is the natural end [final cause] of war
 - 6. Peace Is the Precondition for Enjoying the Good Things in Life
 - a. American statesmen of the past century have given little thought to this
 - 7. The Focus since 1900 Has Been on Abolishing War in General
 - a. Endless [and fruitless] "peace processes"
 - 8. **Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt**
 - a. Wilson at first opposed entry and then efforts to end the First World War until he saw an opportunity to craft perpetual peace
 - b. Roosevelt characterized the onset of the Second World War as an impersonal epidemic, then aimed the war at abolishing humanities "ancient evils, ancient ills"
 - c. Thus have our statesmen avoided their responsibility for America's peace
 - 9. Americans Have Enjoyed Only Two Brief Periods of Peace during the Past Century
 - 10. No Clear Line Today between Peace and War
 - 11. Statesmen and Academics No Longer Think about How to Restore Peace
 - a. They have invested too much in foreign quarrels
 - b. Result: Greater hostility and less respect toward America
 - 12. **Pericles's** Warning to War-Weary Athenians
 - a. A similar passage is quoted in Thucydides: "Nor is it any longer possible for you to give up this empire ... Your empire is now like a tyranny: it may have been wrong to take it; it is certainly dangerous to let it go."
- B. PURPOSE: TO REKINDLE THOUGHTS ABOUT THE PEACE WE CAN ACHIEVE (xvii-ix)
 - 1. Our Statesmen and Academics Befog the Realities
 - a. Intellectual Oxymorons
 - 1) Exit Strategy
 - 2) New, permanent state of non-peace, non-war that grants them **discretionary power** [a form of transfer or rent-seeking]
 - b. Discretionary powers
 - 1) Untethered to any operation or outcome
 - 2) **War powers** have become the ordinary rule of life among ourselves

- [earlier critics referred to the warfare-welfare state]
- c. Consequence: A wholly new, short constitution [Judge William Beers similarly referred to a short Bible] [cf. Edward S. Corwin, *Total War and the Constitution*, 1946]
 2. National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) of 2011
 - a. Section 1021 is an exemplar of this short constitution
 - b. Post-9/11 hostilities seem to have defeated the idea of limited government
 3. *Cui Bono?* To Whose Benefit (and to Whose Detriment)?
 4. Earthly Peace Is an Earthly Good for Which Statesmen Are Entrusted
 - a. Incompetent statesmen are comparable to incompetent plumbers [Our overly active and heedless “do something” (p. 17) answer to *les rois fainéants*, the “do-nothing kings” of 7-8C France]
 5. Relief from Such Failed “Experts” Begins with Firing Them
 - a. But the public must also understand the problem well enough to hire persons who will do the job
 6. Our Statesmen’s Insufficiencies Transcend the Intellectual Realm
 - a. The scope of the book is limited to an understanding of peace and what it takes both to make it and keep it
 - b. Our founders placed this ahead of all other objectives except leading a “quiet and peaceable life in all godless and honesty” (1 Tim. 2:2)
 7. Intellectual Guidelines for Reestablishing the Distinction between Peace and War
 8. John Quincy Adams

Review

war’s first principle
St. Augustine
Pericles

Plato
Woodrow Wilson
discretionary power

Aristotle
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
war powers

INTRODUCTION

The author summarizes the book and places what he calls America’s ruling class on the couch for an examination of the ways domestic and international conflicts exacerbate each other. For Codevilla’s analysis of the ruling class, see <http://spectator.org/articles/39326/americas-ruling-class-and-perils-revolution>.

- A. WHY IS OUR AMERICA NOT AT PEACE AND ITS DOMESTIC LIBERTY IN DANGER? (3-4)
 1. Securing Peace Is Our Union’s Primordial Job
 - a. First section of the *Federalist Papers* is devoted to peace [NOTE: Both Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan echoed Alexander Hamilton’s words in *Federalist*, no. 1: “It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force”]
 2. **St. Augustine**
 - a. Pirates crave peace among themselves if only to enjoy their plunder [Augustine also told a famous story of Alexander the Great encounter with a pirate captain]
 - b. National character is defined by dealing with matters of war and peace
 3. Domestic Harmony
 - a. Difficult to gain, easy to lose
 - b. **Peace with all nations:** Necessary but not sufficient for peace among ourselves
 4. History of Ideas Concerning the Relationship between Domestic and International Peace
 - a. Problems of peace

- 1) The prospect of peace must rule the conduct of war
5. How Did Our National-Security State Arise?

[The term "garrison state" was coined by Harold Lasswell in 1941, defining it as a "socialization of danger" through a political-military elite composed of "specialists in Violence." Franklin Roosevelt referred to America as the "arsenal of democracy," 1940]
- B. PEACE AND CIVILIZATION IN THE WEST (4-6)
 1. **Thucydides** [see pp. 37-38]
 - a. *History of the Peloponnesian War* was written as a tragedy
 - 1) Establishment of peace by the legendary King Minos
 - 2) War resulted in a hell-on-earth revolution that devoured Greece
 2. **Rome: Another Sort of Tragedy** [see p. 32]
 - a. Critical view of the American founders
 - 1) Rome's admirable qualities were enlisted in dominating foreigners and thus producing all-consuming strife and oppression at home
 3. **Christianity Biased Medieval Civilization's Mind in Favor of Peace** [pp. 43-46] [cf. the Medieval Truce of God and the Peace of God as noted by Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy]
 - a. Spiritual concerns take precedence over worldly ones
 - b. Bible
 - c. Germanic tribes guarded their independence
 4. War Cannot Be Merely the Business of Sovereigns; Peace Is Everybody's Interest
 5. The Idea of Sovereignty Itself Is Problematic for Christians [and is absent from the Constitution]
 - a. Power is distinguished from truth
 - b. Humanity's innate thirst for power and deference [cf. Thucydides and Hobbes]
 - c. Christianity's ethos of peace and freedom only gradually took root and flowered
 6. England's Imported German Feudal Tradition [see p. 49]

[cf. M. Stanton Evans, *The Theme Is Freedom*, and David Gress, *From Plato to NATO*]

 - a. Magna Carta
 - b. Sir John Fortescue
 - c. Resistance to royal absolutism
 - d. Whigs [cf. Herbert Butterfield's *The Whig Interpretation of History*]
 7. The **Country Party** [a coalition of Tories and disaffected Whigs who opposed the Court Party from roughly 1680-1740; Bernard Bailyn noted its influence in America]
 - a. Viscount **Bolingbroke** [author of *The Patriot King*]
 - b. Machiavelli's exclusion of natural law eclipsed the distinction between right and wrong by assuming the normalcy of war]
 - c. war empowers royal absolutism
- C. AMERICA, FOUNDED FOR PEACE (6-8)
 1. America's Settlers
 - a. French and Indian War, 1754-1763 [Seven Years War]
 - b. British imperial priorities
 - 1) Colonists' loyalties worn thin
 - c. Domestic oppression
 2. Americans Wanted to Be Left in Peace
 - a. Thomas Jefferson on the rights of British America
 3. America Rejects Rome's Kind of Greatness
 - a. Rome's conquests produced corruption and despotism at home
 - b. John Adams: Unsuccessful 1776 design of a purely "commercial model for future treaties"
 4. Statesmanship's Timeless Fundamental
 - a. *Si vis pacem para bellum*
 - b. **George Washington's** Farewell Address
 - 1) His "great rule"
 5. Americans Ought to Refrain from Espousing or Opposing Foreign Causes
 - a. They ought to build power to pursue their own
 6. Wars of the French Revolution

- a. Domestic strife
- b. Alien and Sedition Acts
- c. End of the quasi-war with France
- 7. Weakness of the Jefferson and Madison Administrations
 - a. Balancing warring factions and imposing economic sanctions
 - 1) Consequence: America still ended up having to fight the War of 1812
 - b. They stopped building the navy Washington and Adams had started
 - c. Impotence of unarmed diplomacy [cf. Machiavelli on unarmed prophets]
 - d. Resulting disasters
- D. PRIORITIES (8-9)
 - 1. **John Quincy Adams**
 - a. Gathering clouds
 - b. Civil war: A disaster from which few nations recover
 - 2. Purpose of Foreign Policy
 - a. Paramount duty of government is to maintain peace
 - b. America had an irreducible interest in wars at sea
 - 3. Need to forswear Involvement in Faraway Quarrels
 - a. Wars of interest and intrigue
 - b. America's glory is to be liberty, not dominion
 - 4. Tailoring the Ends of Foreign Policy to the **Declaration of Independence** [cf. pp. 77-78]
 - a. Stephen Douglas
 - 1) Unconcerned about annexation
 - b. Whigs
 - 1) Abraham Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War
 - 5. Cross-cutting Divisions
 - a. Most Southern Democrats were eager to add new slaveholding states
 - 1) Alexander Stephens opposed annexation
 - b. Some Northern Whigs favored expansion
- E. A TASTE FOR MORE (9-11)
 - 1. Civil War Stimulated the Winners' Sense That They Had the Right and Duty Radically to Improve Mankind
 - a. This was contrary to **Abraham Lincoln's** approach
 - 1) Lyceum Address, 1838
 - 2) Effort to prevent war, 1861
 - 3) Emancipation of slaves as a necessary war measure
 - 4) Counsel to bind up the nation's wounds
 - 2. Restoring Domestic Harmony
 - a. Radical Republican **nation-building**
 - 3. Reconstruction Era and Gilded Age [see ch. 12]
 - a. William Seward and James G. Blaine
 - b. **Josiah Strong**
 - c. Woodrow Wilson
 - d. Alfred Thayer Mahan
 - 4. Spanish-American War [see ch. 13]
 - a. Cuba's revolt
 - b. Conquest of the Spanish empire [William Graham Sumner referred to it as *The Conquest of the United States by Spain* and John W. Burgess concluded it effectively changed American constitutional theory]
 - c. Imperialism
 - 1) Sen. Albert Beveridge
 - 2) His forthright repudiation of the Declaration of Independence
 - 3) The human cost recalled Americans to their republican fundamentals
 - 5. Growing Division [see ch. 14]
 - a. Woodrow Wilson
 - b. Theodore Roosevelt
- F. ENDS VS. MEANS (11-12)

1. Polarization
2. Progressivism [Crusader State]
 - a. Second Inaugural of George W. Bush
 - b. Elihu Root and Woodrow Wilson
3. Woodrow Wilson's Pitch to Enter the Great War and Then the League of Nations
 - a. Assumption: A future of democratic freedom
 - b. The belligerents sought self-aggrandizement, revenge, and security
 - c. Public grew cynical
 - d. Consequence: Mindless pacifism
4. Republicans Were Preemptively Blamed for Idealism's Failures
 - a. Henry Cabot Lodge
- G. PACIFISM, WAR, AND DIVISION (12-14)
 1. Interwar Period [see ch. 15]
 - a. Pacifism
 - b. Strategy of peace by bribery and exhortation
 2. Naval Arms Control Treaty and the Nine-Power Treaty on China
 - a. Charles Evans Hughes
 3. A Decade of Hectoring Japan over China
 - a. Unwillingness to prepare for the war Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt were making inevitable
 4. Illusions about the Soviet Union
 - a. Washington's warning against "inordinate affection" for another country
 - b. Deformation of US foreign policy
 5. Promise of a Permanent, Universal Peace
 - a. Progressives
 - b. Stalin's promise of a benevolent co-domination of the planet
 6. Democratic Party Coalition
 - a. Mixture of gentry and intellectuals
 - b. Harry Hopkins
 - c. Alger Hiss
 - d. Stalin seen as the *sine qua non* of perpetual peace [Harry Elmer Barnes came closer when wrote *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*]
 7. Defining American Objectives Was Deferred in Favor of Propitiating Stalin
 8. This Vision and Its Sponsors Came under Heavy Criticism
 - a. Roosevelt's class blamed the backwardness of their fellow Americans
 - b. Result: Exacerbation of preexisting divisions
 - c. Continuing partisan strife
 9. Effort to Shift Responsibility for Peace to the United Nations
 10. Wilson's Coded Language
 - a. Substitution of meaningless generalities for active verbs and proper nouns
 - b. This also freed them from having to explain it to themselves
- H. THE COLD WAR ESTABLISHMENT (14-15)
 1. World War II Was Fought with Only Generalities about the Peace to Be Sought [see ch. 16]
 - a. Officials came to be habituated to improvising objectives
 2. Cold War [see ch. 17]
 - a. Policy made in terms of contradictory generalities
 - 1) Theoretical pursuit of universal peace with nonchalance about how to achieve it
 3. National Security Establishment Absorbed in Its Own Interests
 4. Cold War's Deadliest Legacy
 - a. Powerful bipartisan **ruling class** and lack of peace now accepted as normalcy
 - b. Dismissal of rational argument and historical experience
 5. **Containment** as a Compromise
 - a. Tension between cooperation and rollback of Communism
 - b. Result: Increasingly heated political strife

6. Cold War Policy Matched Domestic Politics
 - a. **George Kennan**
 - b. Will Herberg
- I. THE RULING CLASS TURNS (16-17)
 1. Deep Changes in American Public Life by the 1970s
 - a. Religion was being pushed out of the public square
 - b. Desecration of the flag and abortion became rights
 - c. Public servants became habituated to rule by virtue of expertise and ideology
 2. Appeasement of the Soviet Union
 3. Partial Respite during the Reagan Years
 4. Logic Played Little Part in the Elite Establishment's Development
 - a. Bernard Brodie [see p. 131]
 - b. Tom Lehrer [Harvard mathematician, satirist, and singer-songwriter]
 - c. "On the Beach"
 5. Nihilistic Dogma That in the Face of Death Nothing Matters
 - a. Acceptance this dogma absolves statesmen of responsibility for considering the precise effects of their actions [Result: irresolution and fatalistic foot-dragging]
 - b. Refusal to build anti-missile defenses
 6. Bipartisan Ruling Class
 - a. Protects its status with pseudo-technical jargon [what TR called "weasel words"]
 - b. Paradigm: **Thomas Schelling's** *Strategy of Conflict*
 - 1) International affairs are seen as contests between interchangeable units within an inescapable matrix of choices
 - c. Henry Kissinger
 7. Elected Officials and "Experts" Formed a Ruling Class with Its Own Particular Mentality
 8. Its "School Solution" to Ominous Events: Do Something
 - a. Americans are sent to kill and die without a plan for peace
 9. *No Victory, No Peace* [Title of an Earlier Book by Codevilla]
 - a. Result: War with foreigners, strife among ourselves
 - b. The ruling class loses the wars that the soldiers win
 - c. Domestic strife rises
 - d. The cycle repeats itself
- J. HALF COMMITMENT AND CONSEQUENCE (18-20)
 1. Unraveling Political Compromise at the Heart of the Containment Policy [see ch. 18]
 - a. Result: Unbroken series of no-win wars that began in Korea
 - b. Ruling class seemed ready to concede South Korea until the Communist powers decided to invade it
 2. Containment's Logic
 - a. Need to inflict a net loss on the Communist empire's integrity
 - b. Ruling class decided not to inflict that loss but chose instead to suffer its own losses and division
 3. Repetition in Vietnam
 - a. More and more troops were gradually fed to the front lines
 - b. Absence of a serious plan to defeat or destroy the enemy
 - 1) Thus the level of effort was rendered irrelevant
 4. America's Defeat in Vietnam Was Systemic
 - a. LBJ blamed poverty, ignorance, and disease for the war
 - b. Strategy: Nation-building supposedly shielded by military operations
 5. This Recipe for Strategic Disaster Remains the US Government's Default Approach
 6. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara Blamed Domestic Enemies
 - a. Domestic conservatives called a greater danger to peace than the Communists
 - 1) Barry Goldwater wanted to fight to victory or not fight at all
 7. Learning the Wrong Lessons from Vietnam
 - a. New obstacles to peace created
 - b. Gulf War was paradigmatic
 - 1) The invasion was used to shield a vast socio-economic-political "**peace**

process”

8. **Saddam Hussein: Wounded but Left in Power**
 - a. Machiavelli’s proverbial advice to the contrary [Advice to newly installed rulers: “In order to get a secure hold on new territories,” the book advises, “one need merely eliminate the surviving members of the family of their previous rulers.”]
 - b. Stationing of troops
 - 1) Result: It generated contempt for and violence toward America
 9. Building a New World Order
 - a. Ruling class imagines itself endowed and obliged to superintend such an order
 - 1) Result: Wars, terrorism, and “homeland security’ projected out to eternity
- K. **ENGAGEMENT AND IDENTITY (20-21)**
1. Inertial Force of Habits Acquired over the Generations
 - a. Post-Cold War **environment of reduced risk** [which discourages a careful counting of costs, thus encouraging 1) carelessness and 2) special pleading]
 - 1) Intervention with less force, less calculation, less care for peace [cf. *The Great Gatsby*: “They were careless people, Tom and Daisy --- they smashed up things and creatures and then retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness, or whatever it was that kept them together, and let other people clean up the mess they had made. . . .”]
 - 2) Foreign engagements justified on the basis of the ideologies of the ruling class’s components: liberal internationalism, neoconservatism, realism.
 2. Three Variants of Turn-of-the-Century **Progressivism**
 - a. Liberal Internationalists
 - b. Neoconservatives
 - c. Realists
 - d. Their often contradictory recipes are expressed in fuzzy language
 3. The Consensus Position: The United States Is the Global Policeman
 - a. Flip Side of the Coin: The United States will not do what it takes because of the cost [Colin Dueck refers to this as “limited liability,” calling it a default position]
 4. Coupling of Grandiose Ends with Squeamish Means
[Think of an empire with clay feet, Dan. 2:30-31]
 - a. Result: Unending conflict
 5. Main Issue of Foreign Policy: Its Effect on America’s Own Character
 6. Ruling Class Consensus Is Wrong
 - a. Such involvements cause us to forget
 - 1) Result: What **John Quincy Adams** called “wars of interest and intrigue, of avarice, envy, and ambition”]
 7. Intervention in Foreign Quarrels Compels Us to Tolerate a Host of Alien Ways
 - a. Ruling class sets aside America’s standards in favor of its foreign counterparts
 - 1) Finding direction with others’ compasses, it loses faith in our own
 - 2) Acquired habit of stigmatizing its own American competitors
[All this is implicit in Washington’s Farewell Address]
- L. **NO-WIN WARS COME HOME (21-25)**
1. Terrorism Treated as a Minor Irritation
 - a. Americans banned from carrying guns on airlines
 - 1) Thus it absolved governments that shelter hijackers from responsibility
 2. Iran’s Seizure of the American Embassy [It was attributed to “students” and the new Iranian regime was effectively absolved of responsibility, as if it were a failed state]
 - a. It was not treated as a classic *casus belli* [cause of war]
 3. Twin Rails: No-win Wars Abroad and “Homeland Security”
 4. Focus of Political Discourse Has Been That Americans Must Submit to a New Way of Life, Forever
 5. Mentality Is Rooted in Misunderstanding Both the Muslim World and America Itself
 6. The Ruling Class’s **Willful Ignorance about Religion**
 - a. It failed to see that Islam and its law were reasserting themselves
 - b. A whole civilization was being mobilized against America

- c. **Saddam Hussein:** Redefinition of Islam in anti-Western terms
- d. Wahhabis and the Muslim Brotherhood: Most violent elements were winning Islam's internal struggles
- 7. Patent Nonsense That "Rogues" Were to Blame for Terrorism
- 8. Al-Qaeda
 - a. Afghan-Arabs
 - b. Attention diverted away from deeper **religious-cultural factors** [long-standing Islamic hostility to the West is disregarded]
 - c. Such a narrow definition of the problem guarantees that no effort will bring peace
- 9. 9/11's Immediate Aftermath Showed That Our Ruling Class Had Not Thought of How to Secure Peace
 - a. What could have been done: Extradite terrorists or face consequences
 - b. The default "**nation-building**" recipe
 - 1) Centralization
 - 2) Spreading civilian advisers throughout the land
- 10. Overthrow of Saddam Hussein's Regime
 - a. Nature of defining military operations
 - b. Saddam's overthrow was not used as a warning to other anti-American rulers
- 11. The Mission Was Accomplished But Not the Peace
 - a. The Saudi king, along with the State Department and CIA, wanted the occupation to be extended indefinitely
 - 1) Result: Start of Iraq War II
- 12. Each Iraqi Faction Had Coherent Self-Interest Objectives
- 13. Ruling Class's Sense of Intellectual-Moral Entitlement
 - a. Abortion proposed as "equal treatment of women"
 - b. Gay pride month
- 14. America Has Less Peace Than It Did before 9/11
 - a. America is drawing predators small and large
- 15. America Met the Cold War Challenge by Strengthening its Own Civilization
 - a. But by the 21C, the humanitarian or "ameliorative" impulse [as commended by Francis Bacon] focuses on reforming backward domestic classes [cf. Rev. Frederick W. Gates, the head of the Rockefeller-backed General Education Board, on "The Country School of To-Morrow," 1913]
 - 1) Thus feeding domestic strife [through domestic "nation-building"]
- M. **HOMELAND SECURITY'S SYSTEMIC DAMAGE (25-28)**
 - 1. Ruling Class's Agnosticism about the Difference Between Good Citizens and Terrorists at Home
 - a. Conflation of domestic opponents with enemies
 - b. Message: Trust the government to sort out the terrorists among us
 - 2. Learning to Trust Big Brother
 - 3. **Homeland-Security State** Fits Well with Ruling Class Prejudices and Interests That Have Been Maturing for Generations [Questions have been raised as to the compatibility of many current practices with the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878]
 - a. Soviet-style lifestyle of American VIPs
 - b. Paramilitary SWAT teams
 - c. Tasers
 - d. Militarized police forces
 - 4. Control and Discretion
 - 5. Right to Kill a Citizen without Due Process
 - 6. **Anwar al-Awlaki**
 - 7. Apolitical Policing of Political Strife is Impossible
 - a. The power will be used at the discretion and in the interest of the ruling class
 - 8. Machiavelli: What Starts as Impotent, Random Harassment Ends in the Empowerment of the Rulers to Police for Their Own Ends
 - a. Result: Alienation of the rest of the population
 - 9. Homeland Security Is Politicized

- a. Assessing blame
- b. **Nation-building at home**
- 10. Fusion Centers
 - a. Federal Protective Service
- 11. None of This Domestic Partnership Is Either Law or Official Policy
 - a. Tea Parties regarded as terrorist threat
- 12. Thus Does Domestic Peace Slip Away
- N. PRAYER FOR PEACE (28-30)
 - 1. America's Paramount Interest Is Remaining Itself
 - 2. Foreign Quarrels Have Been Brought to America Itself
 - a. Homeland security treats Americans like foreigners
 - 1) Political correctness stokes partisan warfare
 - 3. Reversing This Partisan Warfare Will Take a Generation of Minding America's Business
 - 4. Demand for Peaceful **Reciprocal Respect**
 - a. Resolving domestic quarrels is divisive enough
 - b. When others trouble America's peace, America will impose that peace by war
 - 5. The First Item of Our Business is to Secure Other Nation's Respect
 - a. This means earning a reputation for gravitas
 - 6. Syria as an Object Lesson
 - a. Murder of U.S. marines in Lebanon
 - 1) Undoing Assad would have been our business at that time
 - b. The current civil war concerns Syrians, not us
 - 7. Dealings with Russia
 - a. John Quincy Adams's diplomacy as a model
 - 8. There is No Such Thing as a Small War
 - a. Wars are either to be avoided or won quickly
 - 9. "Home" is War's Most Important Front
 - a. Dealing with terrorism through permanent homeland security is a fateful error
 - 1) This gave civil strife's deadly spiral its first deadly turns against us

CHAPTER 1: THE NATURE OF PEACE

Outline

- A. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS PEACE, SIMPLY (31)
 - 1. Peace Is Always Peculiar to Time and Place
 - a. It is also temporary
 - b. Instances of peace are states of relative satisfaction
 - c. Relevant questions: Whose peace is it? Who created it, against whose wishes? Why do some acquiesce? Who upholds it, against what alternatives?
 - d. The answers fall into these categories: Force, interest, and ideas
 - e. Today's American statesmen think of peace in general terms that are abstracted from reality
 - 2. Character of Peace Depends on the War That Established and the Winners' Character
- B. PEACE AS SATISFACTION (32)
 - 1. The Longest Periods of Peace Occur within Great Empires at Their Height
 - a. **Caesar Augustus** ended Rome's civil war and stopped expanding the Roman *limes* [European political and cultural boundary of the empire]
 - 1) *Princeps pacis* [prince of peace]
 - b. Ming Dynasty
 - c. British Empire [upon which the sun never set]
 - d. Persian Empire
 - e. St. Augustine's *tranquillitas ordinis*
 - 2. Other Empires Produce a Quiet Akin to Prisons

- a. Soviet Union [successor to the “prisonhouse of nations”]
 - 3. Western Europe’s Peace of Exhaustion
 - a. Sign of necrosis and voluntary subjective [cf. Geirr Lundestad, *‘Empire’ by Invitation*]
 - 4. Three Generations of Peace during the Cold War
- C. INTEREST, HONOR, AND IDEAS (32-35)

[cf. Thucydides – “honor, fear, and profit” -- and Hobbes – “competition, diffidence, and glory”]

 - 1. Material Interests Are Inherently Adjustable by Peaceful Means
 - 2. War = *Kriegen* = Taking
 - a. **Norman Angell’s** *The Great Illusion*, 1910
 - 1) His fallacious conclusion
 - 2) The nationalism of the socialist movement was symptomatic
 - b. Thomas Friedman’s *The Olive Tree and the Lexus*
 - c. Bottom Line: Their optimism was misplaced
 - 3. Reason Is Routinely Swept Aside in Favor of **Interest**
 - a. Some cultures favor **rent-seeking** [exploitation of forcefully established terms of trade – e.g., pay to play and the tea tax that inspired a tea party] over production
 - b. *Federalist*, no. 6
 - 4. Interest Is a Shaky Basis for Peace
 - a. Interests of the powerful often trump those of the people
 - b. Hamilton on the attachments, enmities, interests, hopes and fears of leading individuals
 - 5. Enlightened Self-Interest Requires Enlightenment
 - a. Homer’s Achilles embodied honor
 - b. Virgil’s Aeneas pursued glory over peace
 - 6. Glory Warps Minds and Precludes Thought about War’s End
 - a. Marxism-Leninism: A secular form of voluntarism [*Deus le vault*] or “will-ism”
 - b. Medieval Christian heresies
 - c. *Dar al-Islam* [realm of submission] vs. *dar al-harb* [realm of war]
 - d. *Ghazwa*
 - 7. Privacy Is More Important to Humans than Peace
 - 8. Ideas that Value Peace Devalue Human Privacy
 - a. Socrates
 - b. Jesus Christ
 - 9. Importance of Conforming Personal Behavior to Divine Command
 - a. Platonists and Christians are biased toward peace
 - b. Buddhists
 - c. Cultivation of virtue trumps collective pursuit of glory
 - 10. Ambivalence of Secular Humanism
 - a. Darwinian march to a higher state of being
 - b. Willingness to trim the planetary garden of humans
 - 11. Their Preference for Economic and Bureaucratic Regulation
 - a. Peace as the **rulers’ satiation** and the peace of the prison for the rest

Review

Caesar Augustus
interest

limes
rent-seeking

Norman Angell
ruler’s satiation

CHAPTER 2: PEACE, CIVILIZATION, AND WAR

Outline

- A. ANCIENT GREECE (36-37)
 - 1. War’s Passions Raise the Stakes to Uncontrollable Heights

- a. Civilization is rooted in peace
- b. Departures from peace corrode the place on which statesmen stand
 - 1) They seldom evaluate what they hope to gain
- 2. Thucydides on King Minos of Crete
 - a. Suppression of the Aegean pirates
 - b. Commerce, manners, luxury
 - c. Laws of Solon
- 3. Sparta [Ancient Garrison State]
 - a. **Helots**
 - b. Sparta never built walls
 - c. Peace of an armed camp
 - d. Fear of a slave revolt
 - e. Bias toward international peace [fear of meddling by Athens]
- 4. Three Centuries Produced High Civilization
 - a. Barbarians were ruled by tyrants (Aristotle)
 - b. Civilization destroyed by the loss of peace
- B. THE FALL OF GREECE
 - 1. **Athenian Hegemony** Transformed into an Empire
 - a. Sparta balances against Athens
 - b. Rivalry heightened the normal strife among factions
 - c. Fears and ambitions of leading personages
 - d. War became an end in itself
 - 2. **Pericles's** Funeral Oration
 - a. Athens as the School of Hellas
 - b. A happy balance
 - c. But war upset the balance
 - 3. Partisan Passions
 - a. Public business conducted for private motives [cf. *Federalist*, no. 10]
 - b. Coup by a faction of the Assembly
 - c. Revolution in Corcyra
 - 1) Words changed their ordinary meaning
 - 2) Oaths held good so long as no other weapon was at hand
 - 3) Lust for power [*libido dominandi*]
 - d. Honor, then fear, were elevated above calculations of self-interest
 - 4. Interests Should Have Halted the War
 - a. Spartiate prisoners
 - b. Honor of **Alcibiades**
 - c. Sparta occupied Attica after the Sicilian fiasco
 - 5. Greeks Forgot Their Interest in Peace
 - a. The freedom passed away
- C. FALL OF EUROPE
 - 1. The War that Undermined Europe's Civilization
 - 2. So-called Pax Britannica
 - a. Evidences of peace and prosperity
 - 1) Polite manners
 - 2) Obedience to laws
 - 3) Emigration
 - 4) Funeral of Queen Victoria
 - 3. Great War Swept Away so Much of This Civilization
 - 4. Post-Waterloo Creation of Nation-States in the Image and Likeness of Napoleon
 - a. Rise of **statism** was prescribed by Hegel
 - b. Idea of **national genius** [mystical concept of destiny]
 - 1) Illustration: "*Gesta Dei per Francos* [*Deeds of God through the Franks*] was an axiom, from which it followed that France was divine, and those who worked for French greatness were God's instruments, and that the

means they employed could not but be in accord with God's will."
Goldman, *How Civilizations Die*, pp. 171-72.

- c. Darwin's ideology of evolutionary struggle
- d. Vitalism [a Variety of Voluntarism] of Friedrich Nietzsche and Henri Bergson
- e. Prussian General Staff as a model
- 5. Identification of Morals and Religion with the Nation-State
 - a. **Nation-states** came to see themselves as **moral absolutes** antagonistic to one another [a form of idolatry; see Franz Rosenzweig]
 - b. Single-minded pursuit of marginal advantages vis-à-vis one another
- 6. Initial Enthusiasm
 - a. Eventually called in its obligations to fight and thus invalidated them
- 7. Why?
 - a. Hate for the enemy briefly obscured this obvious question
 - b. Marshal Foch: armistice for twenty years
- 8. Why No Peace Followed
 - a. They struck to generalities
 - b. They could not imagine satisfactory compromises
 - c. United States intervention
 - d. Woodrow Wilson's schemes for perpetual peace
- 9. Both/and Mentality
 - a. War's bloody indictment of European civilization
- 10. That Civilization Became a Thing of the Past
 - a. Peace with Impotence
- 11. Why There Could Be No Peace
 - a. Moral debilities infected the rest of the world

Review

Khelots

Athenian hegemony

Pericles

Alcibiades

statism

national genius

nation-states as moral absolutes

CHAPTER 3: DEFENSOR PACIS

Outline

- A. THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE (43)
 - 1. Primacy to Concrete Interests in Peace vs. the Pursuit of Primacy
 - 2. How Much Must the Results of a War Overbalance the Evils of its Conduct to Justify Breaking the Peace
- B. AUGUSTUS AND AUGUSTINE (43-45)
 - 1. **Just War Theory**
 - a. The doctrine is now banned from our service academics
 - 2. Christian Theology Made the First Intellectual Effort to Make Peace the Secular Focus of Civilization
 - a. Caesar Augustus' peace was a brief interlude
 - b. Rome's internal order had rested on constant external war
 - c. Civil wars
 - d. Octavian's imperial peace ended following the reign of Tiberius
 - e. Thereafter domestic and foreign strife fed on each other
 - 3. **St. Augustine's City of God**
 - a. **Constantine** conflated the things of God and of Caesar
 - b. Dark Ages
 - 4. Christian Faith Sees No Ultimate Value in Any Collective Secular Enterprise

- a. Pilgrimage toward communion with God
- b. War is the worldliest of things
- c. Augustine on the primacy of peace
- 5. Few Paid Attention
 - a. Nominal Christianities contended with each other
- C. FRANKS, LONGOBARDS, AND THE EMPIRE (45-46)
 - 1. Some Tribes Recognized that Christianity Required the Abandonment of Predatory Behavior
 - a. Theodolind and Gregory
 - b. Liutprand in Pavia
 - c. Charlemagne
 - 2. Genesis of Christian Statecraft
 - a. Defeat of the Longobards, 774
 - b. Holy Roman Empire's feudal order
 - 3. Emperor's Duty to Keep Merely Secular Peace and Justice Among the Tribes
 - 4. Church was Supposed Only to Shepherd Men Spiritually
 - a. Papacy's unslakable thirst for temporal power
- D. CHRISTIAN STATECRAFT (46-47)
 - 1. **Thomas Aquinas**
 - a. Medieval system's fullest expression
 - 1) But its breaking was already well-advanced
 - b. Autonomy of church and empire
 - c. Papal over-reaching
 - 2. Wars Against the Hohenstaufen Dynasty [Frederick I Barbarossa and Frederick II]
 - a. Replacement by house **of Habsburg**
 - 3. Consequence: The King of France Became the Arbiter of Papal Elections
 - a. **Dante's *De Monarchia***
 - 4. **Marsilius's *Defensor Pacis***
 - a. The people are the primary and efficient source of law
 - b. Natural law of the body politic
 - 5. Judging a Ruler's Performance
 - a. They are organs of the human commonwealth
 - b. The standard: service to the people's interest in peace and order

Review

just war theory
Thomas Aquinas

St. Augustine
Dante

Constantine
Marsilius

CHAPTER 4: PATRIOT KINGS

Outline

- A. CHRISTIAN STATECRAFT: A BRIEF INTERLUDE IN MANKIND'S PERENNIAL SUBJECTION (48-49)
 - 1. Aggrandizement is the Usual Standard of Rulers
 - a. Patriotism in an age of royal absolutism
 - 2. Holy Roman Empire Had Become Just another Secular Power by 324
 - a. Rise of France, England, and Spain
 - b. Thirty Years War
 - c. Treaty of Westphalia
- B. DIVINE RIGHT VS. PEACE (49-50)
 - 1. Divine Right Ran Contrary to Christian Theology and Feudal Rules
 - a. Interests of kings (reason of state or *raison d'état*)

- b. Survival of the Middle Ages in England
 - 1) Magna Carta
 - 2) **Sir John Fortescue**: *Dominium politicum et regale* [limited or constitutional monarchy]
 - 2. Bill of Particulars Against Charles I Stuart
 - 3. Viscount **Bolingbroke's** *Idea of a Patriot King*
 - a. War of the Spanish succession
 - 1) Duke of Marlborough's victories at Blenheim and Ramillies
 - 2) Thereafter, the people's interest lay in peace
- C. BOLINGBROKE (50-51)
 - 1. Attack on Machiavelli's Notion of Government
 - a. **Raison d'État** contrasted with patriotism
 - 1) Argument made on behalf of the country class
 - 2. Britain's Insularity
 - a. Wealth may be accumulated in maintaining her national barriers
 - b. Britain should be careful about intervening
 - c. Danger of dissipating our strength on distant quarrels
 - 1) Question of whose interest is being served
 - 3. Presumption of Restraint
 - a. **Glorious Revolution** established parliamentary sovereignty
 - b. British Americans inherited British Whigs insular bias
- D. TURGOT (51-52)
 - 1. **Physiocrats**
 - a. **Turgot**: Louis XVI's finance minister
 - 2. Division of Labor
 - a. Government's role is to secure the peace
 - b. Natural law thinking had survived its eclipse under the royal absolutism associated with Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin
 - c. [Louis XVI was five generations removed from Louis XIV. On Richelieu's role, see David P. Goldman, *How Civilizations Die*, pp. 157-61, 170-74]
 - 3. Abbé de Mably and Nicolas de Condorcet
 - 4. *Raison d'État* [Reason of State] Became Firmly Entrenched
 - 5. Americans Followed the Lead of Liberals on Both Sides of the Channel

Review

John Fortescue
Glorious Revolution

Bolingbroke
Physiocrats

Raison d'État
Turgot

CHAPTER 5: A RIGHT TO PEACE

Outline

- A. PEOPLE'S INALIENABLE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THEMSELVES (53)
 - 1. Growing Social and Political Alienation in Pre-Independent America
 - a. Resentments of high-handedness of British officials
 - b. Americans' tendency to equate armies with oppression
 - 1) Eisenhower's Farwell Address
- B. NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD (53-55)
 - 1. **Thomas Jefferson**
 - a. *Summary View of the Rights of British America*
 - 1) Kings are the servants, not the proprietors, of the people
 - 2. Rev. John Allen's Oration
 - a. Foremost right: Undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of one's labor

- b. Jefferson: America was conquered at the expense of individuals, not Britain
 - c. Analogy to the Saxons who were conquered by the Normans
 - 3. Declaration of Independence
 - a. Long train of abuses and usurpations
 - b. Natural right to live in peace according to best judgment and capacities
 - 4. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*
 - a. Demand for independence
 - b. Argument based on Christian doctrine for a Christian audience
 - 5. Physiocratic Point
 - a. Belief that peace is the natural state of republics
 - b. Reality soon disabused Americans of this notion
- C. JUST AND UNJUST CAUSES (55-56)
 - 1. *Federalist Papers*
 - 2. **John Jay**
 - a. *Federalist*, no. 3
 - b. *Federalist*, no. 4
 - c. Conclusion: Americans must become powerful enough to discourage impositions by foreign powers
 - 3. Theodore Roosevelt: Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick

Review

Thomas Jefferson

John Jay

CHAPTER 6: AMERICA, NOT ROME

Outline

- A. MANIFEST DESTINY (57)
 - 1. [Election and Thanksgiving] Sermons Explained of What America's Greatness Would Consist
 - a. Natural bounty
- B. HAPPY SWITZERLAND (57-59)
 - 1. Rev. **Samuel Cooper** [cf. Sandoz, *Political Sermons*, pp. 627-56]
 - a. Aim to make North America into a seat of Christian virtue
 - b. How: By imitating happy Switzerland whose "independence is supported by force"
 - 2. Revs. Ezra Stiles and Elhanan Winchester
 - a. Civil and religious liberty
 - b. Global commerce
 - 3. Neither Conquest Nor Isolation
 - a. Nation of immigrants
 - 4. Uniqueness of America's Abundance of Food
 - 5. Primacy of Peace Confirmed upon the American Mind
- C. SQUARING THE CIRCLE (59-60)
 - 1. Continental Congress: Committee on Foreign Relations
 - a. **Thomas Paine** argued for construction of an American navy
 - 2. Congress Had the Task of Reconciling Bedrock Principles with Bedrock Necessity
 - 3. Framers Recognized That the Executive Is Likelier to Choose War Than Peace
 - 4. **Decisions about War and Peace** Are Legislative by Nature
 - a. Abraham Lincoln's warning [Lyceum Address in Peoria, 1838; see p. 76]

Review

CHAPTER 7: WASHINGTON'S PEACE

Outline

- A. PRECEDENTS SET BY OUR FIRST COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF (61)
 - 1. **Whiskey Rebellion**, 1794
 - a. George Washington's single-minded focus on what peace would result
 - 2. Statesmanship's Most Daunting Problem: How to Reconcile a Nation's Parts by Defeating One of Them
 - a. Gen. **George Washington** refrained from an offensive against the Tories
- B. VICTORY AND PEACE (61-62)
 - 1. Shifting Allegiances
 - a. Washington's proclamation following the conquest of New Jersey
 - b. Tory emigration
 - c. Plenary pardons issued when he put down the Whiskey Rebellion
 - 2. Effects of the French Revolution
 - a. Domestic quarrels
 - 3. Washington's Circular Letter
 - a. Articulated the need to establish a **national character**
- C. WAR SPURS FACTION (63-64)
 - 1. Difficulty of Building a National Character
 - a. Warring parties within Washington's cabinet
 - 2. Proclamation of Neutrality, 1793
 - a. Partisan divisions
 - 3. Franco-American Treaty, 1778
 - 4. **Jay's Treaty**
 - a. Opposition by Jefferson's party
 - 5. France's retaliation
 - a. **Quasi-war at sea**
 - b. *Si vis pacem para bellum* [If you want peace, prepare for war]
 - 6. Washington's **Farewell Address**
 - a. He meant to teach the people how to bridle their passions
- D. THE GREAT RULE OF PEACE (64-65)
 - 1. Opening Point
 - a. Our overriding business with others is to have no trouble with them
 - b. Washington named **no substantive objectives** for American foreign relations
 - 2. Peace and Harmony with Foreigners Promote Peace among Americans
 - a. Exclusion of antipathies and attachments toward other nations
 - b. Betrayal into participation in their wars and quarrels
 - c. This facilitates the betrayal of national interests
 - d. Opportunities for mischief
 - 3. **Washington's Great Rule**
 - a. To have as little political connection to other nations as possible
 - b. To maintain an equitable and impartial hand in our commercial policy
 - c. Forcing nothing
 - d. This is in accord with the theory that society is based on free contract
 - 4. Europe Has Its Own Set of Primary Interests
 - 5. We Need to Mind Our Own Business

Review

Whiskey Rebellion

George Washington

national character

Jay's Treaty
no substantive objectives

quasi-war at sea
Washington's great rule

Farewell Address

CHAPTER 8: IMPOTENCE, HONOR, AND WAR

Outline

- A. JEFFERSON AND MADISON ADMINISTRATIONS (67-69)
 - 1. France's Violence against American Shipping
 - a. Failure to disentangle America from the quarrel between Britain and France
 - 1) Unlike Adams, they neglected to build up the navy and prepare for war
[Following the XYZ Affair in 1798, Congress authorized naval actions]
 - 2. Fighting Dogs Demand That Neutrals Act as Allies [cf. the Miletians]
 - a. Need to retaliate forcefully against hostile acts
 - b. Or ally with the least harmful belligerent
 - 3. Trade Embargo Imposed on Both Britain and France
[Which Napoleon skillfully manipulated to create mischief]
 - a. Mistake of the 1774-75 trade embargo was repeated
 - b. **Nonintercourse Act**, 1809
 - 4. Britain's Hostile Actions
 - 5. Jefferson's Fruitless Attempt at "Peaceable Coercion"
 - a. Result: Heightened domestic strife
 - b. **New England** nearly seceded [Hartford Convention]
 - c. War deliberations came a dozen years too late
 - d. **War Hawks** sought to redeem American honor
 - 6. **War of 1812**: America Plunged into It Almost by Default
 - a. Alternative to dishonor
 - b. Invasion of Canada
 - c. Burning of Washington, DC
 - d. But American successes showed its strategic depth and defensive reserve

Review

Nonintercourse Act
War of 1812

New England

War Hawks

CHAPTER 9: AMERICAN GEOPOLITICS

Outline

- A. **JOHN QUINCY ADAMS** (70-71)
 - 1. Adams (1767-1848) Filled in the Founders' Framework for International Affairs
 - a. Nations would be kept peacefully at arm's length
 - b. Golden Rule
 - c. America's character would be maintained
 - 2. Adams Had Earlier Accompanied His Father on Diplomatic Missions
 - a. His own diplomatic assignment to Russia
 - b. His wealth of linguistic and diplomatic experience when made secretary of state in 1817
 - c. His support for the Jeffersonian Louisiana Purchase and the Embargo Act
- B. **PRIORITIES** (71-73)
 - 1. Adams's Practical Proclivities

- a. **Barbary pirates:** He proposed extermination
 - b. He proposed hanging for the offense of importing slaves
 - c. He negotiated a treaty authorizing the British to search US flag vessels suspected of slave trading
 - d. He supported extension of US borders to the Pacific but opposed Texas statehood
- 2. His High View of the Declaration of Independence [This is evident in his Jubilee Address, as well]
 - a. Freedoms as rights, not as gifts
 - 3. England's Most Enlightened Citizens Brought Mankind's Accumulated Wisdom to the New World
 - a. Consent
 - b. As a result of the Declaration, Americans became civilized men and Christians
 - 4. Europe's Cultural Superiority in the Fine Arts and the Arts of Destruction
 - a. America's great contribution was to the useful arts and peace
 - b. Comparison on America to Athens under Themistocles
 - 1) America's glory is to be liberty, not dominion
- C. "THE LAWS OF POLITICAL GRAVITATION" (73-75)
- 1. Spanish West Florida, 1818
 - a. **Andrew Jackson**
 - b. Adams argued that Spain was responsible for what happened on its territory [This principle was applied to Afghanistan in 2001]
 - 2. **Holy Alliance**
 - a. Rumors of European expedition to recover newly independent Latin America
 - b. Tsar's claim to rule by divine right
 - 3. Monroe Doctrine
 - a. Policy of non-interference
 - b. Recognition of fundamental differences, along with mutual forbearance
 - 4. Letter of Instruction to Hugh Nelson, Minister to Spain
 - a. Paramount duty is to preserve peace
 - b. America has a direct interest in maritime affairs
 - c. Cuba
 - 5. Opposition to the Annexation of Cuba by Spain
 - a. Likewise for its annexation by the United States
 - 6. Three Rules of Adams' Paradigm

Review

John Quincy Adams
Holy Alliance

Barbary pirates

Andrew Jackson

CHAPTER 10: WHAT GREATNESS?

Outline

- A. VISION OF NATIONAL GREATNESS (76-77)
 - 1. Necessity of Avoiding Quarrels at Home
 - a. **Abraham Lincoln's Lyceum Address**
 - b. Increasingly violent partisan divisions foreshadowed the Civil War [Lincoln spoke following the murder of an abolitionist newspaper editor; in Congress, John Quincy Adams campaigned against the Gag Rule, 1836-1844]
 - 2. America Was Being Divided into **Two Nations**
 - a. **Mexican War**, 1846-48
 - 3. John O'Sullivan

- a. America's **manifest destiny**
 - 1) Union of many Republics
- b. Founding generation made joining the Union conditional on the stipulations of the **Northwest Ordinance**
 - 1) Any new peoples would have the same rights and obligations as the original thirteen
- 4. Democrats and Some Whigs Were Silent about the Character of These New "Republics"
- B. GREATNESS AND SIZE (77-78)
 - 1. The Expansionism of **Stephen Douglas**
 - a. Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858
 - b. Douglas's vision did not encompass equal rights for all
 - 2. Abraham Lincoln
 - a. Galesburg debate
 - 1) Judge Douglas's policy would lead to a Mexican land grab
 - 2) Lincoln's needling of Douglas's racial sentiments
 - 3. Central Issue: Does Peace Flow from the Exercise of Power or from the Consent of the Governed?
 - a. Virtue vs. Power: Adams and the founders believed that America's greatness had to do with virtue
- C. GREATNESS AND VIRTUE (78-80)
 - 1. Alexander Stephens
 - [who later became vice president of the Confederacy]
 - a. Opposition to the Mexican War
 - 2. **All Mexico Movement**
 - a. Walt Whitman supported annexation of all Mexico
 - b. Adm. Robert F. Stockton
 - c. Beneficent pretensions
 - 3. All Mexico Movement Failed
 - a. Opposition to the seizure of northern Mexico
 - b. Polk's false claims of Mexican aggression [John A. Carroll and Odie B. Faulk took a different view]
 - c. Purchase for the price originally offered
 - 4. Mexican War Exacerbated the Issue of What Peace the American People Would Enjoy
 - a. Fear of slave revolts in the South
 - b. Fugitive slave laws
 - c. Slavery in federal territories
 - 5. Growing Moral Estrangement
 - a. Northern sense of moral superiority
 - b. Southerners regarded Northerners as economic exploiters and world-be tyrants
 - 6. Too Many Americans Were Exercised over Domestic Quarrels Rather Than Peace
 - a. Lincoln's Lyceum Address

Review

Abraham Lincoln
 Mexican War
 All Mexico movement

Lyceum Address
 Northwest Ordinance

two nations
 Stephen Douglas

CHAPTER 11: LINCOLN'S PEACE

Outline

- A. TWO ADDRESSES (81-82)
 - 1. **First Inaugural Address**

- a. Pledge of disinterest in offensive acts
 - 1) South would gain none of its objectives by forcibly separating
 - b. It is easier to make laws among friends
 - c. Hope that the mystic chords of memory will be touched by the better angels of our nature
- 2. July Fourth Address: Commitment to Peace through Commitment to Law
 - a. Mere peace would suffice to restore the Union
- B. THE LOGIC OF WAR
- 1. War Has Its Own Dynamic and Logic
 - a. Warning to the South by John Quincy Adams
 - 1) **War powers** will extend to interference with the institution of slavery
 - b. Logic of victory
 - 2. Demands on the Belligerents
 - a. Terrible attrition in battle
 - 3. **Emancipation Proclamation**
 - a. Lincoln's compensation proposal called demented by William Lloyd Garrison
 - b. Occupation army forced a socioeconomic revolution
 - 4. Victory Consists in Renewing Friendship among Antagonists
- C. THE LOGIC OF PEACE (83-85)
- 1. **Second Inaugural Address**
 - a. Slavery seen as the offense by which the war came
 - 2. Objective: A Just and Lasting Peace among Ourselves and with All Nations
 - 3. Republic Party Inflicted Twelve Years of **Attempted Nation-Building** on the Southern States
 - a. Political pawns
 - 4. Risk That Civil War Would Degenerate into Insurgency and Counterinsurgency
 - 5. Renewal of American Nationalism

Review

First Inaugural Address	war powers	Emancipation Proclamation
Second Inaugural Address	attempted nation-building	

CHAPTER 12: PEACEFULLY PREGNANT

Outline

- A. GILDED AGE (86)
 - 1. Foreign Policy Was in Moderate hands: Seward, Blaine, and Cleveland
- B. PEACE FOR GRANTED (86-88)
 - 1. **William Seward**
 - a. Effort to grow America through amicable agreements
 - 1) Seward recoiled from purchasing Santo Domingo [Charles Sumner later gave his Naboth's Vineyard speech in opposition to its proposed annexation under the Grant Administration]
 - 2) Alaska
 - b. Immigration Act of 1864
 - 1) Americanization [naturalization] of Mexicans and Canadians urged
 - c. Napoleon III prodded to abandon his Mexican venture that began in 1861 [Emperor Maximilian, who was installed in 1863, was subsequently executed]
 - d. An empire of commerce
 - 2. Anson Burlingame
 - a. US-China Treaty, 1868
 - b. Anti-coolie riots

- c. Support for Japan's **Meiji Restoration**
 - 3. James G. Blaine
 - a. Attempts to broker peace in Latin America [example of the use of "good offices"]
 - b. War of the Pacific: Chile vs. Peru and Bolivia [Chile laid claim to rich mineral deposits in the north; Bolivia lost its coastal territory; US mediation continued sporadically until 1929]
 - c. Organization of American States grew out of the inter-American conference
 - 4. **Acquisition of Hawaii**
 - a. American missionaries and planters [invested primarily in sugar cane]
 - b. Coup, 1893: Queen Liliuokalani [She had earlier written Aloha Oe]
 - c. Pres. Grover Cleveland refused to submit the Treaty to the Senate
 - d. Hawaii annexed in 1898 during the Spanish American War
- C. FLEXING MUSCLES (89)
 - 1. British Guiana-Venezuela Border Dispute [submitted to an arbitration tribunal in 1898]
 - a. Richard Olney
 - 2. Cleveland and Olney's Later Opposition to Acquiring the Philippines
 - 3. Warnings Fell on Deaf Ears
- D. DREAMING OF GREAT THINGS (89-91)
 - 1. American Ebullience
 - 2. **Josiah Strong's** *Our Country* [a harbinger of Social Gospel and Progressive movements]
 - a. Racial and Cultural Determinism
 - 1) Quote is from Alfred Lord Tennyson's Locksley Hall (1835)
 - b. Evangelization of the world
 - 3. **Woodrow Wilson**
 - a. *Congressional Government*, 1885 [early expression of Progressivism]
 - 1) Founders did the country and world a disservice by crafting a limited constitution that would prevent the government to do great things
 - 4. Embryos of Wars Waged at Home for Perfecting Americans [Progressivism]
 - a. Prohibition, eugenics, various forms of political correctness, and "nation-building"
 - 5. **Alfred Thayer Mahan**
 - a. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890)
 - 1) Isthmian canal
 - 2) Merchant marine and navy

Review

William Seward
Josiah Strong

Meiji Restoration
Woodrow Wilson

acquisition of Hawaii
Alfred Thayer Mahan

CHAPTER 13: EMPIRE?

Outline

- A. AMERICAN DEVOTION TO PEACE AND AVERSION TO EMPIRE (92)
 - 1. America Went to War and Acquired an Empire
 - 2. Press and Pulpit Thundered against Spanish Cruelties
 - 3. Motives for Intervention in Cuba Were Benevolent
 - a. Foraker Amendment
 - b. Question of the Philippines
- B. NO MORE EMPIRE (93-95)
 - 1. Strong Opposition to Annexation [One Anti-Imperialist, William Graham Sumner, wrote *The Conquest of the United States by Spain*; in *Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory*, John W. Burgess traced the Progressive undermining of the Constitution to the Spanish-American War]

- a. The Insular Questions case evaded the essential questions
2. **Sen. Albert Beveridge**
 - a. Extreme imperialist position
3. Imperialists Imagined Short, Glorious Little Wars against Retrograde Bad Guys [Max Boot justified this practice in *Savage Wars of Peace*]
 - a. Pleasures of Sahibs among grateful subjects [The domestic equivalent of such paternalism is expressed in “The Country School of To-Morrow” by the Rev. Frederick T. Gates, 1913]
4. War against the Filipino Resistance
 - a. Use of waterboarding
 - b. Andrew Carnegie’s quip [one of the anti-imperialists]
5. **Berlin Conference** [sponsored by German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck]
 - a. [Africa carved up between colonial powers, including Germany and Italy]
 - b. Chester Alan Arthur sent an envoy
 - c. Rudyard Kipling, “The White Man’s Burden” [originally composed for Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee, 1897, but withdrawn, then reworked to celebrate the Spanish-American War; Kipling sent it to Roosevelt upon his election as governor of New York]
6. Imperialism Was a Dead Issue by 1905
 - a. Anti-imperialists accepted the Panama Canal Zone, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico
 - b. Commitment of the future independence of the Philippines
 - c. End of imperialist ambitions
 - 1) Anti-imperialist victory by default
7. But the Imperialists Never Took to Heart Their Opponents’ Fundamental Arguments
 - a. Woodrow Wilson supported empire
 - b. Slippery Slope: They did not understand that American occupation of one country might portend war or involvement in the quarrels of other Asian powers
- C. THE DEEPER DIVISION (95-96)
 1. Advocates of Empire Labeled Anti-Imperialists as Isolationists [This was a turning point in Progressivism, which gradually split: one part in the direction of future interventionism, the other in the direction of non-intervention]
 - a. Undefined duty to improve the world [This is the meliorism advocated by Francis Bacon, Lester Frank Ward, William James, and John Dewey]
 2. Few Advocates and Opponents of Empire Addressed What America’s Role Should Be
 - a. Critical question: How does the world’s largest producer keep Pres. George Washington’s peace and friendship with all?
 3. Common Assumption: No Foreigner Would Pick a Fight with the American Colossus
 4. The Anti-Imperialist Argument That Possession of Territory in Asia Meant Involvement in Asian Quarrels was Too Abstract
 5. Division over Empire Marked a Deeper Division
 - a. Advocates for American Aggrandizement Abroad
 - 1) **Henry Cabot Lodge** and Theodore Roosevelt
 - 2) But Lodge was later labeled the arch-isolationist because he opposed American entry into the League of Nations [He was the leader of the Reservationist faction that supported changes to the Treaty of Versailles]
 - b. Self-proclaimed **internationalists** usually coupled grandiose ends with the reduction of US power [the Progressives’ liberal internationalism]
 6. Enduring Divide Turned Out to Be between “Internationalists” and Non-Interventionists

Review

Albert Beveridge
Internationalists

Berlin Conference

Henry Cabot Lodge

CHAPTER 14: NATION, OR WORLD?

In his effort to explain the demise of Christian Europe in *How Civilizations Die*, David P. Goldman has compared the two world wars with the Thirty Years War of three centuries earlier. The Second Thirty Years War completed what the First had begun. Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin troubled the waters of Central Europe. The Germany that emerged nearly two and a half centuries later returned the favor with interest. As Billy Pilgrim puts it in his repeated refrain: "So it goes."

Outline

- A. A CONCEPT OF PEACE IMPOSSIBLE TO REALIZE (97)
 - 1. Election of 1904
 - 2. New Camps
 - 3. The First Camp
 - a. Academic and intellectual leadership
 - 1) **Nicholas Murray Butler, David Starr Jordan, Woodrow Wilson**
 - 2) **Elihu Root**
 - 3) **Andrew Carnegie**
 - b. Call to establish "**mechanisms of peace**"
 - 1) Need to clear away an antiquated international system
 - 4. The Second Camp
 - a. **Theodore Roosevelt** and Henry Cabot Lodge
 - b. Promotion of America's interests as a great power
 - 5. The Prevailing Liberal Internationalism Pollutes American Statecraft to This Day
 - a. American public discourse came to be dominated by a concept of peace that is impossible to realize
- B. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, ENDS AND MEANS (98-99)
 - 1. Criticism of the Doctrinaires of Universal Peace
 - a. Its substitution for love of their own country
 - b. Criticism of those who opposed matching commitments with military power
 - 1) Need for a strong navy
 - 2. **Philippines**
 - a. Its annexation was seen by Roosevelt as an invitation to war with Japan unless America built a strong navy [Its vulnerability to attack today is discussed in Robert D. Kaplan's *Asia's Cauldron*, chapter 6]
 - 3. **Russo-Japanese War**
 - a. United States' interest in a balance of power
 - b. Roosevelt's mediation of a peace agreement [the Japanese were not happy with the result but Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906]
 - 4. Anti-American Riots in Japan
 - a. Any balance between commitments and power is inherently tenuous
 - 5. Expansive Sentiments of the Age
 - a. Discipline is more important than good will
- C. ELIHU ROOT (99-100)
 - 1. Fountainhead-Mentor of Twentieth-Century Statesmen
 - a. Private debts of Latin America
 - b. Stewardship over the Philippines
 - c. **Hague Conference of 1907** [It incorporated Francis Lieber's Civil War code of military conduct into international law]
 - d. Nobel Peace Prize, 1912
 - 2. Call to Pull-Up the Roots of War by Building Impartial Tribunals to Settle Disputes
 - a. Hague Conference regarded as a body that makes international law, superseding individual treaties [precedents were set by Hugo Grotius and Francis Lieber]
 - b. Profitability of international law [cf. the Roman law of nations]
 - 3. World Public Opinion [Lieber had earlier pioneered the role of "publicist"]
 - a. Confidence that the public will punish those that bring disgrace upon it

4. Compulsory Bilateral Arbitration
 - a. Political opponents and the American public generally were blamed for standing in the way of progress
- D. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER (100-02)

[A chapter is devoted to him in *The Messianic Character of American Education*]

 1. New Diplomatic Mechanisms
 2. World Has Become One Big Neighborhood

[Marshall McLuhan later called it a “global village”]
 3. American Leadership
 - a. The founders saw America as unique due to its people’s commitment to live by superior principles
 - 1) Progressives proved their equanimity by criticizing America
 - b. Butler’s criticism of Britain
 - c. He regarded navies as the bane of the world [His “idealism” seems to anticipate what Roger Scruton called “the culture of repudiation”];
 4. Call for a League of Nations

[He was a co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize with Jane Addams in 1931]
 5. Carnegie Endowment of International Peace
 - a. It was committed to building better mechanisms
- E. DAVID STARR JORDAN (102)
 1. *The Blood of the Nation*
 - a. **Eugenics program** proposed
 2. America Should Take the Lead in Freeing the World
 - a. He wanted the word war erased from the national vocabulary
 3. He Believed Only a Few Evil Men Stood between Humanity and Peace
- F. WOODROW WILSON (103-05)
 1. Wilson’s Synthesis of Root, Butler, and Jordan
 - a. America’s mission
 - 1) Reality had to be bent to his superior morality
 - b. Practice of publicly indicting his political-social opponents
 2. Call for Arbitration Treaties
 3. Wilson Preached Democratic Self-Determination to a People Stirred by Enraged Public Opinion [Thus bringing home to America some of the strife he inflicted on the world]
 4. Tapestry of Fantasies Woven out of High-Sounding Words
 5. Vacuity of Wilson’s Language
 6. Wilson Brokered the Surrender of Germany Based on False Promises of Equal Treatment
 - a. **Versailles Treaty**
 - 1) A mess that failed to protect the winners, outraged the losers, and failed to satisfied the expectations Wilson had created
 - b. Wilson continued the starvation blockade on Germany
 7. Creatures of Versailles
 - a. Wilson’s **alienation of Japan**, whose good relationship with Britain he destroyed
 8. His Effects on America’s Internal Peace
 - a. America has no reason for being except to be **champions of humanity**
 - b. Illogic of the League: Obligation to go to war against aggressors [Republican Reservationists balked at this requirement as unconstitutional, which it was]
 - c. The Great War brought the “Spanish flu” and Prohibition
 9. Nobel Peace Prize, 1919
 10. Peace Came to Mean Mindless Pacifism
 - a. Birth of a ruling class intoxicated with its own virtue

Review

Nicholas Murray Butler
Elihu Root

David Starr Jordan
Andrew Carnegie

Woodrow Wilson
“mechanisms of peace”

Theodore Roosevelt
Hague Conference of 1907
Alienation of Japan

Philippines
eugenics program
champions of humanity

Ruso-Japanese War
Versailles Treaty

CHAPTER 15 PACIFISM VS. PEACE

Outline

- A. REACTION AGAINST THE WAR (106)
 - 1. Americans were Convinced They Had Been Mised into War
 - a. Mindless pacifism
 - b. Roosevelt had wanted to throw America's diplomatic weight behind Britain
 - c. Wilson eschewed concrete proposals in favor of gauzy language
 - 2. Pacifism of the Ensuing Decades Vitiating Peace
 - 3. Rejection of Traditional Statesmanship
- B. ALL TOGETHER (107-08)
 - 1. Wilson's Proposed League Was a Variant on the Proposed **League to Enforce Peace**, 1915
 - a. Republican proposal: William Howard Taft, Herbert Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes [later Chief Justice following Taft]
 - b. Root and Hughes balked at Wilson's commitment to go to war automatically
 - 2. A Consensus among Internationalists and Non-Interventionists on the Substance of Foreign Affairs
 - a. William Borah and Gerald Nye were Irreconcilables who opposed the League as constituted
 - b. Business leaders also supported it in principle: Thomas Watson, Thomas Lamont, Bernard Baruch, Henry Morgenthau, and John Foster Dulles
 - 3. **Washington Naval Treaty** [Five-Power Treaty, 1922]
 - a. But that vast pacifist consensus was insubstantial in substance
 - 4. Warren Harding
- C. THE WASHINGTON TREATIES OF 1921-22 (108-09)

[There were three: the Four-Power, the Five-Power, and the Nine-Power Treaty]

 - 1. **Charles Evans Hughes**
 - a. Fixed ratio of battleship fleets [Five-Power Treaty]
 - b. Nine-Power Treaty
 - c. Pacifism wedded to universal commitment
 - 2. Naval Agreement
 - a. Flaws [The 5:5:3:1:1 ratio of the Five-Power Treaty was one source of mischief]
 - b. The price Japan exacted
 - 1) The substitution of the Four Power Pact for the Anglo-Japanese alliance was regarded as a racial insult
 - 2) [Japan had earlier been awarded the former German concession of Shantung at Versailles, leading China to walk out of the peace conference]
 - 3. Worldview of Americans Best and Brightest
 - a. Belief that wars are caused by fear and misunderstanding, weapons cause fear, and removing weapons reverses the cycle
 - b. Japanese resentment of American pressure on Britain to withdraw from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance
 - 4. Japan's Self-Interest
 - a. America's opposition to Japanese aims
 - b. Contradiction
 - 1) Commitment to China's integrity [John Hay's Open Door policy, 1900] with no accounting of the costs

- c. Japan granted naval superiority over the Western Pacific Rim
 - 1) Incentive to war
 - d. Theodore Roosevelt: Peace with insult
 - 1) No one was prepared to uphold the nine-power treaty
- D. HERBERT HOOVER (109-10)
- 1. Japanese Invasion of Northern China, September 18, 1931
 - a. Henry L. Stimson
 - 1) Hoover's scraps of paper
 - 2. Lack of Response
 - 3. Hoover and Stimson Punted
 - 4. Kellogg-Briand Pact
 - a. Repercussions
- E. MORE PACIFIST THAN THOU (110-12)
- 1. **William Borah**
 - a. Belief that arms cause war
 - b. Attack on Robert Lansing
 - 2. Plea for the **Kellogg-Briand Treaty**
 - a. Wilson legitimized the use of hyperbole
 - 3. **Herbert Hoover**
 - a. More pacifist than Wilson
 - b. War seen as a disease
 - c. Kellogg-Briand as an advance over the League
 - d. Single minded American good will
 - 4. Ill Effects of Ambiguous Words: What Henry Kissinger Has Called "Creative Ambiguity"
 - a. They elicit contempt abroad and preclude informed choice at home
- F. ROOSEVELT AND HULL
- 1. **Cordell Hull**
 - a. Secretary of State, 1933-44
 - 2. Japan Chided for Its Transgressions
 - 3. **Franklin Roosevelt**
 - 4. Quarantine speech: "Brilliantly insincere"
 - a. He simply "had a plan"
 - 5. Practical Understanding of Peace
 - a. America did not support France diplomatically to force a withdrawal from the Rhineland
 - b. FDR refused Gen. Douglas MacArthur's plea to fortify Guam and Manila in 1937
 - c. Refusal to backstop the Franco-British alliance
 - 6. Progressive School Solution: Speak Loudly
 - a. Vitality of national morality
 - b. FDR: Principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored
 - 7. Innocence of How Caesar Augustus Operated
 - a. Bloody methods
 - b. FDR's impersonal thinking evaded responsibility
 - 8. Standard Remedy for Plagues: **Quarantine**
 - 9. FDR's September 3, 1939 Speech
 - a. The villain was force itself
 - 10. FDR Indicted the Nazi Masters of Germany, December 29, 1940
 - a. Threat posed by the fall of Britain
 - b. By then, Britain had won the Battle of Britain
 - 11. American Convoys
 - 12. Anti-interventionists Asked for a Declaration of War
 - 13. Soviet-Nazi Alliance [Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact]
 - a. Pro-Soviet elements in the Democratic Party
 - b. Pro-Nazi elements
 - 1) Joseph P. Kennedy

[Nicholas Murray Butler had early been sympathetic]

- c. Straddling led to the unraveling of the Democratic coalition
- 14. Most Expedient Way to Handle Intra-Democratic Difficulties: Insult Republicans
- 15. Options
- 16. Soviet Union as the Paradigm of FDR's Supporters' Ideology
- 17. FDR Never Shed Progressive Pacifism or Raw Domestic Partisanship

Review

League to Enforce Peace
William Borah
Cordell Hull

Washington Naval Treaty
Kellogg-Briand Treaty
Franklin Roosevelt

Charles Evans Hughes
Herbert Hoover
quarantine

CHAPTER 16: WAR FOR EVERYTHING, AND NOTHING

Outline

- A. ONLY COMPASS THROUGH THE FOG OF WAR: A CONCRETE CONCEPT OF PEACE (118-19)
 - 1. Forty Years of Progressive Pacifism
 - 2. Progressive Catechism
 - 3. Wilson Replaced the Compass with a Utopian Creed
 - a. FDR further eroded the body politic
 - 4. The Progressive Creed Was Too Compatible with Hatred of the Enemy
 - a. Utopian nonsense
- B. DAMN THE DETAILS (119-20)
 - 1. FDR's Demand for Unconditional Surrender
 - a. In the name of an uncompromising –but-undefined morality
 - 1) Effect was to lengthen the war
 - 2) It also legitimized unconditional aid to Stalin
 - 2. FDR Paid Little Mind to Concrete matters
 - a. De Gaulle on FDR's seductive pictures painted with broad strokes
 - b. FDR's willingness to make Faustian bargains with Stalin
 - 1) The only power with whose help he hoped to change the world
 - 3. The **Atlantic Charter**
 - a. Failure to address the people's concrete interest in the war
 - 1) Common sense says that the operations of war serve to secure the characteristics of peace
- C. STALIN'S MORTGAGE (120-23)
 - 1. The Cost of Achieving Military Victory Mortgages the Peace
 - a. There is a need to keep close tabs on the fine print
 - b. Cooperation with the Soviet Union was part of the war's cost
 - 2. Stalin Meant to Trash the Atlantic Charter
 - a. Ceaseless warnings by East European Americans and the Catholic Church
 - b. Winston Churchill
 - 3. Reversing the Ill Effects of the War Required Depriving Both Stalin and Hitler of Their Gains from the 1939 Pact
 - 4. This Would Have Required Calibrating Aid to Stalin
 - 5. Aid Rendered to Britain Tended to Divert Hitler's Forces to the Western Front
 - a. It was in the US interest to push the war eastward in order to facilitate the totalitarians' mutual exhaustion
 - 6. Urgent Questions about What America Should Seek
 - a. **Morgenthau Plan** [Henry Morgenthau was treasury secretary]
 - 1) Henry Stimson said FDR was staggered by the proposal and backed off
 - 7. 1942 Was the Time for Minimizing Stalin's Mortgage on the Postwar World

- a. Stalin's initial proposal in December 1941
 - 1) He was willing to bargain because he had to
 - 2) The problem was the Rooseveltians toothless and insincere support of the Atlantic Charter and their refusal to define spheres of influence
- 8. Stalin's Cooperation was Important until Mid-1943
 - a. But Stalin remained dependent upon American food, trucks, *et al.*, until the war's last days
 - b. George Kennan
- 9. Rooseveltians Debased America's Cause by Identifying It with Stalin's
 - a. Joachim von Ribbentrop was convicted while Vyacheslav Molotov sat among the accusers
 - b. The **USSR's full partnership** in unleashing **World War II** was treated as a non-event
 - c. Use of the totalitarian tactic of **intellectual airbrushing** [cf. Pacepa on *glasnost*] poisoned American political life
- 10. Concessions Made to the USSR to Induce Its Counterproductive Entry into the War against Japan [The Soviets Occupied Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Northern Korea, and Southern Sakhalin Island as a Result]
 - a. Result: **China's freedom**, which was left undefined, was hazarded and lost
- 11. The Ruling Class Was Never Ready to Discuss Peace Objectives
 - a. Roosevelt's sidestepping of specificity created blank spaces that others filled
 - 1) Harry Hopkins, who acted as "deputy president," has been accused of being an agent of KGB influence [a matter of continuing controversy]
 - 2) Alger Hiss was a GRU agent
- 12. US Officials Developed a Taste for Tinkering
- D. THE UN DODGE (12325)
 - 1. How the Rooseveltians Dodged Questions about the Postwar Peace
 - a. UN seen as an instrument of US-Soviet co-dominion
 - 2. Blindness of Their Fervor
 - a. Harry Hopkins on the **Yalta Conference**
 - 3. Sacrifices to Stalin for the Sake of the UN
 - a. Poland and the rendition of POWs [Operation Keelhaul] to Stalin's Gulag
 - 4. Model UN Conferences
 - a. Byelorussia and Ukraine
 - b. National Council of Churches (NCC) and the UNA-USA
 - 5. Abdication of Responsibility for Failure to Achieve Real Peace
 - a. Pretense of obeisance to the UN
 - b. Korean War
 - 6. Assertion of the Right to Make and Peace as Our Leaders Please
- E. SELF-DECEPTION BY GENERALITY (125-26)
 - 1. Statesmen's Habit of Transmuting Pertinent Questions into Meaningless Generalities [A reverse alchemy in which the rare metals are transmuted into the base]
 - a. Progressive notion that popular control of foreign policy would guarantee peace
 - b. It turned out to be a strategy of specificity-avoidance that left them more options
 - 2. World War II Resulted in Two Spheres of Influence Divided by an Iron Curtain
 - a. Domestic antagonism fostered

Review

Atlantic Charter
Intellectual airbrushing

Morgenthau Plan
China's freedom

USSR's full partnership in causing WWII
Yalta Conference

CHAPTER 17: COLD WAR

Outline

- A. RISE OF A NATIONAL-SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT (127)
 - 1. What Hamilton and Madison Feared
 - a. *Federalist*, nos. 25 and 41
- B. ETERNAL AND NOVEL (127-28)
 - 1. Lack of a Concrete Vision of Peace
 - a. USSR's practical objective was empire over Eastern Europe and destabilization everywhere else
 - b. America's "twilight struggle"
 - 1) An unimagined change in America's mentality [demoralization, fatalism]
 - 2. The Two Sides Represented Contrasting Notions of How Life Should Be Lived
 - a. **George Kennan**
 - 1) "Sources of Soviet Conduct"
 - b. The collective mind of the ruling class banished peace
 - 3. American Cold War Thought
 - a. What follows is an account of the ideas that denatured and stripped the concept of peace from our collective mind [It should also be observed that, during the same period, no declaration of war has been seriously discussed]
- C. CONTAINMENT'S UNRAVELING COMPROMISE (128-30)
 - 1. Nature of the Compromise
 - a. Acceptance of Communist world's expansion vs. rollback of Communism
 - b. Deepening chasm over the "historical inevitability" [a Hegelian-cum-Marxist doctrine discussed by Isaiah Berlin] of the victory of "Progressive forces"
 - 2. Dialectic between Two Visions
 - a. A "deal" came to be seen as the only alternative to a general war
 - 3. How It Happened
 - a. East Germans (1953) and Hungarians (1956) revolted against Soviet rule
 - 1) Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles** convinced the president to refuse Help and the Soviets reasserted control
 - 2) Abandonment of the offensive (as opposed to defensive) half of containment
 - 4. Kennedy's Hedging of the Previously Categorical Promise to Respond to Any Soviet Attack on Europe with a Nuclear Attack on the Soviet Union
 - a. His unwillingness to insist of Western rights of access to all of Berlin
 - 5. **Atlantic Crisis**: A Sea Change in Western European {Politics}
 - a. Until then, Adenauer and De Gaulle had pressed for the most steadfast version of containment
 - 1) Abandoned by America, Europeans now sought accommodation
 - b. Social-Democrats reversed their 1959 Bad Godesberg platform
 - 1) Result discussed in Robert Kleiman's *Atlantic Crisis*
 - 6. Henry Kissinger Framed a Bipartisan Consensus That Facilitated Its Hold on Its Empire
 - a. **Mitrokhin Archive**
 - 1) Se. Edward Kennedy
 - 7. Efforts to Hold the Soviet Union Together
 - a. First Bush Administration extended untied loans to the Soviet Union and urged nationalities not to secede
 - 8. America's Ruling Class Had by Then Become addicted to the Practice of Something Like Empire
- D. PSEUDO-TECHNICAL FOG (131-34)
 - 1. Refusal to Think Seriously about Nuclear Weapons
 - a. Aversion to rational thought
 - 1) Dogma that the atomic bomb is the ultimate weapon
 - 2. Bernard Brodie on *The Absolute Weapon*
 - a. Mutual destruction became the prevalent assumption [see p. 16] in popular culture

- b. **Herman Kahn's *On Thermonuclear War***
 - 3. U-2 Spy Plane Data
 - a. Secretary of Defense **Robert McNamara**
 - 1) A set of forces that would guarantee peace forever [mutually assured destruction (MAD), which Kahn opposed]
 - 2) Eternal "technological plateau" [itself a highly fallacious concept]
 - 4. Ruling Class Ideology
 - a. Vulnerability fosters peace, while defense is provocative of war
 - b. Soviet Union did not share this fantasy
 - 5. Reprise of the Progressive Vision of Peace
 - 6. Dogmatic Adherence to Treaties Even When the Other Side Violates Them
 - a. National Security Decision Directive 192 (1985)
 - 1) Soviet Union acknowledged to have violated the 1972 antimissile defense treaty but the US was committed to "exemplary compliance"
 - 2) Missile defenses forsworn by the president in 2012
 - 7. Ruling Class Attitudes Ran against the Grain of Popular Bellicosity during the Cold War
 - a. Resort to pseudo-technical language [gobbledygook]
 - 8. Goal: To Cut American Strategic Forces
 - 9. Effect of Arcane Language
 - 10. **Thomas Schelling** [p.17]
 - a. Use of **game theory**
 - 11. Henry Kissinger
 - a. Class of "white-coated conflict managers"
 - 12. Vietnam War
- E. THE NATIONAL-SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT (134)
 - 1. National Security Class
 - a. **Management of perpetual conflict** has survived the Cold War's passing
 - b. Inconvenience of peace

Review

CHAPTER 18: NO-WIN WAR, NO PEACE

Outline

- A. DEFAULT COMPROMISE (135)
 - 1. Early Reservoir of Trust on Matters of War and Peace
 - a. From George Washington through Theodore Roosevelt
 - 2. Pattern of Their Successors
 - a. Perceived danger of "doing nothing"
 - b. Default compromise: "Fight it out in general" [which has squandered that earlier reservoir of trust]
 - 3. The Terrible Consequences
- B. KOREA (135-37)
 - 1. South Korea Placed Outside the US Defense Perimeter [Dean Acheson explicitly denied this]
 - a. Rush to send armed forces after the invasion
 - 2. Unanswered Questions
 - a. Gen. Omar Bradley's assessment
 - 3. Pres. Harry Truman's Warning against a Wider War
 - 4. Ruling Class's Claims That War and Peace Are Its Exclusive Bailiwick
 - a. The power went from elected officials responsible to the voters to unelected professionals [passing the buck]

- 1) The impersonal interest in the management of international affairs
5. Consequences of the End of the Military Draft
 - a. Professionals exempted from the direct consequences
6. Lessons of the Korean War for the Communists
 - a. Willingness for ruling class to swallow casualties in the name of self-restraint
- C. VIETNAM
 1. North Vietnam's Invasion of the South Sponsored by the USSR and China
 - a. Initial emphasis on nation building
 - b. Attempt to intimidate through massive American power
 2. Simple Lesson: The Amount of America's Power Does Not Matter Given Its Peculiar Idea of Sophistication
 3. LBJ: No Victory in Vietnam for Anybody
 - a. Enemy defined as poverty, ignorance and disease
 - b. 1975 evacuation in disarray
 4. Dismissive View of Strategic Superiority
 - a. Fear that the American public thought about such things
 - b. Attacks on Barry Goldwater
- D. PROGRESSIVE CONSISTENCY
 1. Goldwater Politicians Profited by Branding Opponents as Warmongers
 2. Ronald Reagan Rhetorical Restoration of the Concepts of Victory and Peace
 - a. Failure to make Iran pay for its actions
 - b. Marines sent to Lebanon
 - 1) Peace on the cheap proved as impossible as ever
 - 2) Withdrawal
 3. The Dominant Pattern Continued Even After the Soviet Union's Collapse
 - a. Somalia, 1992-93
- E. PROGRESSIVES AND THEIR CHILDREN
 1. The Third World Is Substantially an American Invention
 - a. Paul Johnson on the Bandung Generation
 - 1) Decolonization fostered
 2. CIA's Privileged Relations with Third World Elites
 - a. Subsidies
 - b. Our ruling class's ignorance of Gibbon and Montesquieu
 3. What the World has Learned Bodes Ill for the Future

CHAPTER 19: PEACEKEEPING VS. PEACE

Outline

- .A. RECAP: AMERICANS EXPOSED TO THE ILLS NORMALLY ATTENDANT TO EMPIRE-KEEPING (144)
 1. Right and Duty to Prod Foreigners up the Evolutionary Ladder
 - a. [Humanitarianism verged into a cultural Darwinism; one early critic of the social reform movements of the era wrote *Hum-Bugs of New York*; cf. James Kurth's "Protestant Deformation"]
 2. Mexican War
 - a. Duty of progressive-minded Northerners to dominate Mexicans for their benefit
 3. Reconstruction
 - a. America's first venture in "nation-building"
 4. Imperialists
 - a. Global "white man's burden"
 5. Great War Cast as Mankind's Final Struggle for Perpetual Peace
 - a. Woodrow Wilson, 1913: "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men."

- B. INERTIAL EMPIRE (142-44)
1. **Cold War Consensus** on Foreign Policy
 - a. Mission: To prevent quarrels from turning violent
 - 1) International assistance
 - 2) Single issue of the Cold War: Alignment in the struggle against the Soviet Union
 - b. Post-Cold War inertial force of habit
 2. Imperialism Runs Against the American Grain
 - a. Deployment of American troops in 150 countries
 - b. Consensus that great power requires exercising imperial responsibility
 3. Black Flag of the Muslim Jihadist Movement Has Flown over Four US Embassies
 4. Imperial Powers Seldom Wage Real War
 - a. They seek to manage peoples with whom they can never really be at peace
 5. Elite Consensus Is as Shallow as It Is Broad [like the Platte River]
 6. **Pax Americana** during the Cold War
 - a. Desire to make tyranny tremble
 - b. Uneasy coalition
 7. Anti-Anti-Communists
 - a. **William Appleman Williams**
 - b. New Left's thinking spread throughout America's foreign policy establishment
 8. Unifying Thesis about a **Deeply-Divided Ruling Class**: The Ruling Class Eased into Fuzzy Commitment to Cover the Often-Contradictory Purposes of its Various Sectors [cf. Carl Oglesby's *The Yankee and Cowboy War*]
- C. DRAMATIS PERSONAE (144-46)
1. **Liberal Internationalists** (p. 20)
 - a. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. [note his book, *The Imperial Presidency*]
 - 1) Americans should expose themselves to danger as part of largely peaceful multilateral efforts at Progressive reform [a Hegelian World Mind seems somehow embodied in multilateral institutions] [cf. E. Digby Baltzell's *The Protestant Establishment* and David Wesley Soper's *Exploring The Christian World Mind*]
 2. **Neoconservatism**
 - a. Joshua Muravchik
 - 1) Duty to rule or lead others [cf. Woodrow Wilson]
 - 2) Moral legitimacy comes from disinterestedness
 - b. William Kristol and Robert Kagan: Benign, temporary imperialism
 3. **Older Realism**
 - a. Colin Gray
 - 1) Non-predatory Americans should serve as sheriff, but anti-US terrorism is the price that must be paid
 4. **Modern Realism**
 - a. William Odom and Robert Dujarric
 - 1) American institutions fit America for the job of leading the world
- D. OUR SOUL AT STAKE (146-47)
1. Necessity of Sacrifice for the Sake of the Empire's "Full Stakeholders" [Clients and Allies]
 - a. Warning by John Quincy Adams
 2. **Niall Ferguson**
 - a. All human activity has the same purpose: Domination
 - 1) American hypocrisy
 - b. United States to blame for terrorism
 - c. Ferguson detests America's culture
- E. A LOOSE GRIP ON THE SUBJECT (147-49)
1. Today's American Empire Began in October 1956
 - a. **Suez Crisis**
 - 1) American took sides against the forceful protection by Britain and France [with help by Israel] of their property in the Suez Canal

- b. Americans believed they could resolve Third World quarrels and guide development [cf. William Easterly's *Tyranny of the Experts*]
 - c. But there was always opposition, leading to inconclusive military engagements
 - 1) These foreign commitments also upset the balance among elements of America's culture
 - 2. Iran Was Shaped into an American Surrogate in the Middle East
 - a. **White Revolution:** Westernization made the Shah unpopular
 - b. Result: Islamic Revolution, 1979
 - 3. Next, a Sunni-Based, anti-Shia Alliance Was Imagined
 - a. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and the Gulf Sheikdoms
 - b. Failure of Imagination
 - 4. **Saddam Hussein's** Self-Aggrandizement
 - a. Gulf War of 1991
 - b. Reality in the Middle East baffled the bipartisan ruling class again
 - 5. Crescendo of Anti-American Terrorist Attacks
 - a. **Osama bin Laden's** anti-American *fatwa* of February 1996 [Americans were referred to as Crusaders; ISIS today (July 2014) refers to the West as Rome, the traditional designation]
 - 6. US Policy toward Egypt
 - a. Futile attempts to purchase its rulers' favor
 - 1) Gamal Abdel Nasser: Offer of liberal schemes of economic development; but he wanted weapons to attack Israel and got them from the Soviets
 - 2) [Anwar al-Sadat] wanted to break the Soviet grip
 - b. Egypt's military rulers kept the cash
 - 1) the Muslim Brotherhood's anger was directed outward
 - c. Egypt became the main intellectual source of Sunni terrorism [Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Ayman al-Zawahiri was once a member]
 - d. US Government Identified Itself with the Brotherhood
 - 7. Self-Defeating Nature of Our Ruling Class's Engagement with the Third World
 - a. Iranian nuclear ambitions
 - b. Failure of all three factions
 - 8. Abstract Language Helps Them Avoid Explaining
 - a. Each faction has lost the habit of connecting ends and means
 - b. Result: policies that discredit and dispirit America
- F. SOULS, FORGOTTEN AND LOST (149-52)
 - 1. Key Concept: **The Character of Nations**
 - a. Rudyard Kipling's "Recessional" [Composed on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 as a warning to keep from lapsing into unbelief]
 - b. Immersion in unessential things obscures the essential ones
 - 1) Britain lost its character by ruling others and forgot how to rule itself
 - 2. The Price of Empire
 - a. Empire cripples first the imperialist's judgment, then his soul
 - 3. Britain's Imperial Career Began to End at Amritsar in 1919
 - a. A British officer read "the Riot Act" to a mob before attacking it
 - b. Outlawing of **suttee**
 - c. British loss of confidence
 - 4. British Society Has Become More Tolerant of Intolerant People than Its Own Members' Criticism of the Intolerant Ones [cf. Melanie Phillips' *Londonistan*]
 - 5. Ruling Class Consensus
 - a. Unsustainable adventures lead America to forget what it is about
 - b. Outrage of Afghan and American troops toward each other
- G. ISLAM, BY DEFAULT (152-53)
 - 1. Persecution and Expulsion of Christians from the Middle East
 - 2. Anti-American Violence
 - 3. Mindset of America's Ruling Class
 - a. Media's definition of hate speech

- b. Double standards
- 4. Adoption of **Clashing Civilizational Sensibilities** [cf. Justice Robert Jackson on “Fighting Faiths”]
 - a. Public life degenerates into groups that struggle to stigmatize each other
- 5. Willful Forgetting of the Basis for Domestic Peace and Tranquillity

Review

Cold War consensus	Pax Americana	William Appleman Williams
liberal internationalists	neoconservatives	older realism
modern realism	Niall Ferguson	Suez Crisis
White Revolution	Saddam Hussein	Osama bin Laden
character of nations	suttee	clashing civilizational sensibilities

CHAPTER 20: THE WAR ON PEACE

Outline

- A. THE “WAR ON TERROR” (154)
 - 1. Cultural Basis of Terrorism Skirted by American Statesmen
 - 2. Lack of Peace in the Muslim World
 - 3. Deadly Multidimensional Challenges Reach Within Our Own Body Politic
- B. WHAT WAR, ON WHOM? (154-55)
 - 1. 9/11
 - a. War not declared and not against anyone in particular
 - 2. What Ordinary Americans Expected
 - 3. America Would Have to Change
 - 4. Operation “Enduring Freedom”
 - 5. Congress Never Debated a Alternatives, nor Settled on a Course of Action
 - a. “War” policy was the geometric resultant of the ruling class’s intramural preferences
 - b. pleasure and profit managing “the war”
- C. THE MUSLIM WORLD (155-58)
 - 1. Understanding Our Ruling Class’s Dysfunctional War Requires What it Misunderstands
 - a. Ruling class’s aggressive ignorance of all religion
 - b. Mustafa Kemal **Atatürk**’s secularization of Turkey
 - c. **Hassan al-Banna**: Muslim Brotherhood
 - 2. Support for Secular Revolutionaries [Sources not cited]
 - a. **Gamal Abdel Nasser** and the CIA
 - b. Nasser’s creation of **Yasser Arafat**’s Fatah
 - c. Arafat and the PLO transformed to Tunisia aboard US ships, 1982
 - d. Murder of Israeli athletes at Munich
 - e. **Saddam Hussein**, 1959 [He was part of a failed assassination of Qasim but was in Egypt at the time of the 1963 coup]
 - 3. Ignorance about Islamist Revolutionaries
 - a. Islam is the authoritative standard in the Middle East
 - b. Ottoman Caliphs
 - c. Saudi Arabia’s **Wahabism**
 - 4. Re-Islamization of Turkey
 - a. Groundwork for an Islamic dictatorship
 - b. Egypt
 - 5. Complaint against Westernizing Rulers: Its Lack of Islamic, Anti-Western Commitment
 - a. It is not primarily against brutality, kleptocracy, or authoritarianism
 - 6. **Ayatollah Khomeini**’s 1979 Overthrow of the Shah was a Rejection of Western

- Civilization
- a. Secularists also help redefine Islam in anti-Western terms
 - 1) Internal struggles are being won by the most violent elements
7. Islamic Civilization was the West's Biggest Problem until 1683
- a. **Jan Sobieski** at the Gates of Vienna
 - b. Battle of Tours [Charles Martel], 732
 - c. Barbary Coast pirates
 - d. The problem is back
8. The Response to a Civilizational Challenge Must Begin by Strengthening Our Own
- D. WHAT IS AMERICA ABOUT? (158-59)
[Samuel P. Huntington's last book was entitled *Who Are We?*]
1. Reaffirmation of **Judeo-Christian Civilization** at the Outset of the Cold War
 - a. **Will Herberg** [see p. 15]
 2. Muslim World's Indictment of the West for Cultural Nihilism
 - a. **Kulturkampf** [culture struggle or war] of secularism and sex roles
 - b. Gay pride month observances
 3. America Seen as the Embodiment of Godlessness, Immorality, and the Dissolution of Families
 - a. Our ruling class attitude
 4. Muslim World is Doubly the Enemy of Aggressively **Post-Christian America**
- E. AL-QAEDA? (159-60)
1. Post 9/11 Demand that US Government Do Something
 - a. Osama bin Laden's **al-Qaeda**
 2. Afghan Arabs Were Extraneous to the Muslim World's Ruling Class
 - a. This diverted attention from the Muslim world's most influential people
 3. Metastasizing and Franchising of al-Qaeda Blamed
 - a. Such metaphors befog the question
 - b. Lack of intellectual rigor in the service of escapism
 4. Irrelevance of Osama bin Laden
 5. Fear of America Changed to Contempt
- F. THE LOGIC OF PEACE AND WAR (160-61)
1. Military Operations Are to Follow from Defining the Ends They Serve
 2. Alternatives Must Be Confronted
 - a. The test of military operations
 - 1) If the problems persist, then the operations were ill-conceived
 3. **Default Remedy:** Sociopolitical nation-building
- G. WHAT IS THE OBSTACLE TO PEACE? (161-62)
1. Northern Alliance of Tajik and Uzbek Tribes
[Earlier led by Gen. Ahmad Shah Massoud]
 - a. Air support helped them win the war
 - b. Most Pashtun switched sides
 - 1) And sold their Afghan Arab auxiliaries to the United States
 2. How the US Operation Served Peace
 - a. Warnings against anti-US terrorism
 3. Our Ruling Class Gave No Such Warnings
- H. IN THE ABSENCE OF A GOOD ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION, NO MILITARY OPERATIONS MAKE SENSE (162-63)
1. Multiple Definitions of the War on Terror According to International Preferences and Domestic Political Identities
 - a. CIA and State Department
 - b. Progressives
 - c. Defense Department
 2. Media Translated the Interagency Argument into Partisan Terms
 - a. This deepened a preexisting divide
 - b. Competitive leaking to favorite media

- c. Result: self-perpetuating war on terror due to domestic and international incoherence
- I. IRAQ WAR, I & II (163-65)
 - 1. George W. Bush
 - a. Accomplishment: overthrow of an aggressively enemy regime
 - 2. Iraq War II Began to Squander that Gain
 - 3. Everyone Else Seemed to Have Coherent Objectives
 - a. Saudi Sunni
 - b. Iraq's Sunnis
 - c. Iraq's Shias
 - d. Iraq's Kurds
 - e. Americans got in everyone's way
 - 4. Claim about Fighting Terrorists in Iraq
 - a. Nation-building argument
 - 5. Iraq War II Hardened the Divisions
 - a. Democratically expressed mutual antagonism
 - b. Main surge policy was counterproductive
 - 1) Shiastan, Sunnistan, Kurdistan
 - 6. An Iraq More Bitterly Divided Along Ancient Ethno-religious Fault Lines
 - 7. Occupation of Iraq Also Turned Americans against One Another
 - a. Violations of professional military ethics
 - b. Rules of engagement
 - c. Neither victory nor peace
- J. AFGHANISTAN (165-66)
 - 1. Tribal Adjustments to One Another
 - 2. Democratic Party
 - a. Demand that US troops take a bigger hand in Afghanistan
 - b. Default nation-building recipe
 - 1) This meant disarming the very tribes that had won the victory against the Taliban
 - 3. More Grudges, Fewer Fears
 - a. Radicalization of Pakistan
 - 4. Counterinsurgency Will Not Be Repeated Because It Is Unsustainable
 - a. The emphasis instead is on counterterrorism
- K. INTELLIGENCE VS. INTELLIGENCE
 - 1. Uncritical Intelligence Gathering
 - a. Aversion to quality control
 - 1) Informants target their own enemies
 - 2. Suicide Bombing of Seven CIA Officers in 2009 by an Informant
 - a. The system is not set up to protect itself against intelligence
 - 3. Ruling Class's Unwillingness to Think of the Hard Things that Earn Respect
 - 4. Terror War Could Be Shifted to Constraining Foreign Rulers
 - a. The big problem that consists of **mutually reinforcing phenomena**
 - 1) Internal decay of Euro-American civilization
 - 2) Rise of a vengeful, political Islam
 - 5. A Version of Gresham's law [Bad money Drives out Good Money] Has Been Forced upon American Public Opinion
 - a. Wars that bring no peace drive out ones well calculated to deliver it
 - 6. Ruling Class's Fumbling of Minor Foreign Challenges Has **Depleted American Resolve** for Dealing with Serious Challenges
[Squandered moral capital is the very definition of futility and the cause of demoralization]
 - a. Russia is re-drawing into itself major pieces of the Soviet Empire
 - b. China is becoming the mistress of the Western Pacific Rim

Review

Atatürk	Hassan al-Banna	Gamal Abdel Nasser
Yasser Arafat	Saddam Hussein	Wahabism
Ayatollah Khomeini	Jan Sobieski	Judeo-Christian civilization
Will Herberg	<i>Kulturkampf</i>	Post-Christian America
al-Qaeda	default remedy	mutually reinforcing phenomena
depleted American resolve		

CHAPTER 21: NO PEACE AT HOME

Outline

- A. SPIRAL OF STRIFE AMONG AMERICANS (168-69)
 - 1. The Loss of Peace Abroad Upset the Balance between Various Elements of American Life
 - a. Result: Loss of peace at home
 - b. Empowerment of a vast apparatus of homeland security
 - c. Spiral of strife among Americans
 - 2. Ruling Class Conclusions
 - a. Unlimited fight against unknown enemy, who may not be profiled
 - 3. Homeland Security Has Been Reoriented to Home-Grown “Extremism” Defined Ad Hoc
- B. HOMELAND SECURITY AS DOMESTIC NATION-BUILDING (169-70)
 - 1. George Washington’s Warning That Foreign War Increases Partisan Strife at Home
 - a. Strife at home and abroad often stems from the same presumptions of superiority
 - 1) Civil War’s winners
 - 2) Reconstruction mindset
 - 2. Woodrow Wilson Could Not Let Things Alone [Progressive Mindset]
 - 3. Ruling Class’s Wilsonian Sense of Intellectual-Moral-Political **Entitlement** to Nation-Build
 - a. It is a disturber of the peace, especially at home
 - 4. The Ruling Class has Brought Home Its Oblivion of Peace
 - a. Its obliviousness corrodes America’s core
 - 5. Nations Are Most Cohesive When First Attacked
 - a. Initial drawing together against foreign terrorists and their causes
 - b. Then come the qualifiers
 - 1) Inclusiveness and multiculturalism are fostered as a gesture of peace toward the Muslim world
 - 6. Demand That Americans Trust Each Other Less and Trust Government More
 - a. Consequent divisiveness
 - 7. Increasing Distrust of the US Government
 - a. How did the government squander that trust?
- C. SECURITY AS SOVEREIGN (170-71)
 - 1. US Department of Homeland Security
 - a. Statement of its mission: “Terrorist threat . . . is permanent condition to which America and the entire world must adjust”
 - 2. The Homeland Security Regime Is Not Limited in Focus or Scope
 - a. It is effectively a constitutional change
 - 1) It is imposed by statute and by the ruling class’s inertial force
- D. INSECURING AMERICA (171-73)
 - 1. America Feels More Menacing
 - a. Today, we undergo ritual humiliations at the airport
 - 2. Life before 1972
 - 3. Bull Connor, 1963
 - a. Cattle prods provoked outrage
 - b. A generation later: Tasers and pepper spray have become unremarkable
 - 4. The Culture of Homeland Security Has Become Corrosive of Freedom

5. Changing Image of Government Agents
 - a. Sgt. Joe Friday on *Dragnet*
 - b. *Dallas SWAT*
 - c. *24*
6. Ordinary People Have Never Felt Less Secure
 - a. Market for guns: Falling barometer of confidence in government
7. Insecurity Is Not Caused by Citizens' Felt Need to Provide Their Own Protection
- E. WHO IS THE ENEMY? (173)
 1. The Agnostic Pretense of Refusing to Pass Judgment
 2. This Pretense Shields **Implicit Judgments** from Scrutiny
 - a. The designation of terrorists is ad hoc but not random
 3. Refusal to Disclose Criteria
 - a. Criteria treated as state secrets
 - b. Leaks to friendly media
- F. DISCRETION VS. LAW (173-78)
 1. Non-Judicial Killing of **Anwar al-Awlaki**
 - a. Secret document
 2. Secret Declaration of War on an Individual American
 - a. Bureaucrats make short work of the law
 - 1) Federal statute
 - 2) Bill of rights
 - b. Law of war
 - 1) Redefinition of "imminent"
 3. "White Paper"
 4. §1021 of the National Defense Authorization Act of 2011
 - a. Enemies not entitled to due process
 - b. Citizens downgraded to the status of foreigners
 5. Constitutional Questions
 6. No Treaty Confers a Right to Self-Defense; Nature Itself Does That
 - a. AUMF of September 2001 had limited authority
 7. Discretion in the Law of War
 - a. **John Yoo**
 - 1) Argument against any limits on detention
 - 2) Yaser Hamdi
 - b. Perpetual executive prerogative espoused in the name of security
 8. Assumption of Endless War
- G. CUI BONO? (178-79)
 1. Government Power over Domestic Life Tends to Grow beyond Nondestructive Uses
 2. Government Will Exercise Its Ever-Increasing Capacity to Intrude at the Discretion of the Ruling Class and in Its Interest
 3. Case of Anwar al-Awlaki
 - a. Government's tendency to cover its incompetence
 - b. Awlaki's activities prior to 9/11
 4. Saudi Connections
 - a. Inquiries into the Saudi role were quashed
 5. Concern for the Reputations of Officials
 6. **RICO Act** of 1970
- H. THE "IRON LAW" (179-81)

[Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, 1911: **Iron law of oligarchy**: "Who says organization, says oligarchy"]

 1. Those in Power Become the Law
 2. Extension of the Post-9/11 Police Power Ended up Serving Partisan Ends
 3. Apolitical **Policing of Public Life** Starts as Impotent, Random Harassment
 - a. Machiavelli: It ends in the empowerment of those who command the government to police for their own ends
 4. Officials Who Make up Standards Implicitly and Unaccountably Cannot Do So Apolitically

- a. Our regime was based on the explicit recognition of interests and biases
(*Federalist*, no. 51)
- 5. Ruling Class's Judgments about Friends and Enemies Are Not Based on Defensible Criteria
 - a. Need for transparency in profiling
- 6. Lack of Appropriate Vetting
 - a. Inadequate criteria for clearances
- 7. Apolitical Policing Is a Pretense
 - a. Mutual distrust among Americans is provoked
- 8. Branding the Obvious as Politically Incorrect
 - a. Ruling class's default reaction: There is nothing to see here, so move along
 - b. Designation of "dangerous extremists" is made a matter of subjective likes and dislikes [a matter that is also taken up in Washington's Farewell Address]
- 9. A Familiar Litany of Those Who Impute Bad Motives to Their Opponents
 - a. "Extremism" at home and abroad calls for nation-building
- I. WHOSE ENEMY? (181-84)
 - 1. Who in America Embodies Extremism?
 - a. Who must be reconstructed?
 - 1) Ruling class answer: The conservative side of American life
 - 2. JFK's Assassination Blamed on a "Climate of Hatred"
 - 3. Michael Bloomberg
 - a. Motive imputed to someone who tried to bomb Times Square: "Someone with a political agenda that doesn't like the health care bill or something"
 - 4. DHS Intelligence Fusion Centers
 - a. Dossiers on pro-lifers, homeschoolers, *et al.*
 - b. federal Protective Service
 - c. FBI
 - 5. DHS Studies
 - a. *Hot Spots of Terrorism*
 - b. Col. Kevin Benson and Jennifer Weber
 - c. SPLC
 - 6. The Futile Anthrax Search
 - 7. IRS Audit of over 500 Conservative Organizations
 - a. IRS turned donor lists over to opponents
 - b. Auditing
 - c. Peaceful protests met with force
 - 8. None of This Is Law, Official Policy, or Conspiracy
 - a. It reflects the prejudice, convenience, and identity of those in power
 - b. Obama's "enemies of democracy" and Biden's "terrorists"
 - c. "Good government" groups [They were called "goo-goos" in the late 19C]
 - 9. Bureaucratic Response: Your Wish Is My Command
[cf. Henry II on Thomas a Becket: "What miserable drones and traitors have I nourished and brought up in my household, who let their lord be treated with such shameful contempt by a low-born cleric?"]⁴
 - a. Reinforcing prejudices
 - 10. Where This Logic Leads
 - a. **Electoral manipulation**
- J. THE SPIRAL OF STRIFE (185)
 - 1. Contrast with Abraham Lincoln
 - a. Forsook discrimination against opponents
 - 2. Newton's Third Law
[For every action in nature there is an equal and opposite reaction]
 - a. Tit-for-tat: It does not matter who starts the **spiral of strife**
 - b. Political opponents treated as bad people and public enemies
 - c. Thucydides on Corcyra
 - d. All are drawn into a destructive spiral

3. Profiling of the Implicit, Irresponsible kind
 - a. Lack of accountability and transparency
4. Roman Dictatorial Formula
 - a. *Salus populi suprema lex* [The people's safety is the supreme law]
 - b. Rome's dictators were appointed for brief emergencies and were committed to victory [Cincinnatus was the model]
 - c. American security state is an endless end in itself
5. Orwell's Oceania

Review

entitlement	implicit judgments	Anwar al-Awlaki
John Yoo	RICO Act	iron law of oligarchy
policing of public life	electoral manipulation	spiral of strife

CHAPTER 22: WHAT CAN BE AMERICA'S PEACE?

Outline

- A. "NO NATION COULD PRESERVE ITS FREEDOM IN THE MIDST OF CONTINUAL WARFARE"
 1. Ruling Class Is United in Refusing to Think about Peace
 - a. It designates enemies without a constitutional declaration of war
 2. *Wall Street Journal* editorial
- B. UNSUSTAINABLE (186-88)
 1. Logic of **Commitments without End** Drains America's Spirit and Breeds Contempt
 - a. What trillions of dollars and thousands of lives bought in the Middle East and elsewhere [cf. Niall Ferguson's *The Great Degeneration*]
 - 1) In their bid to persuade the Muslim world of their respect for Islam, our presidents have reaped worse **disrespect for America**
 2. America's Skepticism about the Post-9/11 Security State
 - a. NSA Access to computer information
 - b. Gen. Keith Alexander's admission
 3. Every Terrorist Event Reminds Us of **Homeland Security's Impotence**
 4. Americans See the Ruling Class as Inept, Burdensome, and Harbingers of Trouble
 - a. Distrust and pessimism
 - b. Political moralism of the ruling class [cf. Kenneth Minogue's *Politics*, ch. 13]
 - 1) "Its political correctness grates. Its partisan **presumption of moral authority** to nation-build American society as it does foreign ones guarantees partisan warfare."
- C. FORGOTTEN FUNDAMENTALS (188-89)
 [These issues spring from the what Pierre manent calls *The Metamorphoses of the City*]
 1. Just Why Is Peace Impossible?
 - a. Prospect of a **garrison state** [Harold Lasswell's "developmental construct," 1941] <http://users.polisci.wisc.edu/kmayer/904/Lasswell%20-%20the%20Garrison%20State.pdf>
 2. The Ruling Class Has Forgotten Who Americans Are
 3. America's Unique Identity
 - a. War was once seen as a means to secure America's peace
 - b. Perpetual war means increased strife among Americans
 4. Bottom Line: We Need New Statesmen Who Will Break the Past Century's Dysfunctional Habits
- D. NEW STATESMANSHIP (189-90)
 1. A New Generation of Statesmen Is Needed to Act as the American People's **Fiduciary Agents** [faithful stewards characterized by civic virtue – rather than collective masters]
 - a. "They would cast aside pretenses of shaping mankind" [cf. the symbolism of the

- Fabian Society's stained-glass window in which the globe is on an anvil being hammered]
- b. We should be different in an exemplary manner
2. America's Paramount Interest Is in Maintaining Itself
 - a. All men are created equal
 3. What Americans Want: **Peaceful, Reciprocal Respect**
 4. Pericles' Warning to War-Wearied Athenians
 5. Where to Begin the Intellectual Changes in US Foreign Policy
 - a. Reverse the Progressive movement's erasure of the distinction between America's interest and that of mankind
- E. DISTINCTIONS (190-91)
1. The Search for Peace Begins with Neutrality in Others' Affairs
 - a. When others trouble our peace we must impose it upon them by a terribly decisive war
 2. George Washington: Observe "Good Faith and Justice toward All Nations"
 - a. Otherwise keep the world at arms' length politically and psychologically [i.e., defend national sovereignty vs. global governance]
 3. **Dwight Eisenhower**
 - a. Military posture that allowed definitive parrying of threats with as little mobilization of the civilian society as possible
 4. Americans Cannot Resolve Foreign Quarrels
 5. Distinction between Our Business and Their Business
 - a. Gold rule of mutual forbearance
 6. Modern Statesmanship of Peace
 - a. Renunciation of any *substantive* interest in foreign lands
 7. Definition of Irresponsibility: Involvement in Others' Business without Dominating Them
- E. OUR BUSINESS (191-92)
1. Our Military Defense
 - a. Means must match ends
 - b. Question of how to deal with the threat posed by nuclear missiles
 - c. There is no reasonable alternative to building the best missile defenses we can
 - d. Guarding the peace means securing other nations' respect
 2. Our Most Immediate Duty to Peace: Earning and Guarding Respect
 - a. John Jay: Guarding against just and unjust causes of war (*Federalist*, nos. 3-4)
 - 1) Give and suffer no offense
 3. Respect Means a Reputation for Never Leaving a Favor Unrewarded or a Slight Unpunished
- F. SYRIA, ISLAM, CHINA
1. Assad Family's Dictatorship in Syria
 - a. Sunni majority rose against the regime in 2011
 2. Some Americans Argued in Favor of Supporting the Insurgency
 - a. Syria's internal struggle falls under the heading of "their business"
 - b. Extermination of the Assad regime's members for their many acts of bloody enmity to America would have been rightful recompense
 3. The **Assad [Ba'ath Party] Regime** Repeatedly Made Itself America's Business
 - a. War on Israel
 - b. Truck-bombing of the Marine barracks [p. 139]
 - c. Attacks on American forces in Iraq
 - 1) The US government contented itself with impotent requests for good behavior
 - d. US government stopped Israeli military operations
 4. New Opportunities for Advancing Our Interests
 - a. Lebanon
 - b. Chemical weapons agreement is irrelevant
 5. Popular Islamist Movements
 - a. Barbary pirates

- b. The Muslim Brotherhood and the secular national socialist Ba'ath grew in alliance with or were **inspired by Nazi Germany**
- 6. Respect Must Be Restored
- 7. Russia and China
 - a. John Quincy Adams [p. 29]
- 8. John Quincy Adams' Diplomacy
 - a. Three objectives
- 9. China and the Nations of East Asia
 - a. Treaty commitments must be backed by fortification
- 10. Any Regime Makes Itself America's Business insofar as It May Break America's Peace
 - a. Adams' defense of Gen. Andrew Jackson's expedition into Spanish Florida
- G. WINNING THE PEACE (196-98)
 - 1. Conventional Wisdom That War, Victory, and Peace Are Archaic
 - a. Herbert Hoover's reluctance to condemn Japanese treaty-breaking
 - 1) This would have told Japan that "America stands in your way"
 - b. Yet Hoover, Hull, and Roosevelt Spoke Harshly to Japan without backing up their words with economic, diplomatic, or military plans for a peace acceptable to both sides or imposed by one
 - 2. Discernment Is Essential
 - a. There is no such thing as a small war
 - b. Corcyra's intervention in the internal affairs of Epidamnus and Athens' intervention against Corinth on Corcyra's behalf triggered an intra-civilizational war
 - 1) Likewise the handling of Franz Ferdinand's assassination in 1914
 - 3. **Guides for Planning** for Planning the Transition from One Peace to Another
 - a. Laser-like focus on a vision of the peace that is to follow
 - b. A comparison of costs and benefits
 - 4. American Statesmen Have Put Peace out of Mind through Seemingly Innocuous Political Commitments
 - a. [e.g., Britain and France's 1939 promise to Poland, the 1994 promises of the US, Britain, and Russia to protect Ukraine's territorial integrity]
 - 5. Strategy Had Better Stress Speed Because Time Increases War's Stakes, Uncertainty, and Damage, Especially at Home
 - a. **"War on Terror"** conceived as a state of domestic siege
 - 6. Harms Done by the Theory and Practice of Homeland Security
 - 7. There is No Recipe for Peace
 - a. Peace on the home front is the priority

Review

commitments without end	disrespect for America	Homeland Security's impotence
presumption of moral authority	garrison state	fiduciary agents
peaceful, reciprocal respect	Dwight Eisenhower	Assad regime
Muslim Brotherhood	Ba'ath Party	Nazi connections
Guides for planning	War on Terror	

Conclusion to "Winning the Peace"

"Strategy had better stress speed, above all, because time increases war's stakes, uncertainty, and damage, especially at home. There is no record of people's mores or institutions improving in wartime. They worsen as the war drags. The worst happens among peoples under siege: As hope for peace vanishes, as people turn on each other, garrison states collapse from within, regardless of the correlation of forces. Hence, when the US government conceived the 'war on terror' as permanent, concentrated it on 'homeland security,' and directed it against all citizens equally rather than on plausible enemies discriminately, it stumbled into a state of domestic siege that foredoomed America to systemic strife.

"No act of terrorism has hurt America so much as have the theory and practice of homeland security, and none threaten to undo America's foundations so much as does of ruling class's increasing tendency to deem their domestic opponents 'terrorists,' and the clear and present prospect of their acting accordingly. Homeland security's pretense of agnosticism as to who America's enemies might be has augmented the ruling class's power. That fueled its sense of moral-political-intellectual entitlement to nation-build fellow Americans, and has given civil strife's deadly spiral its first deadly turns among us. Each turn is less resistible than the previous. *No one has explained why any American should accept to live without the prospect of peace with foreigners and as a suspect in this own land.*

As ever, 'peace among ourselves' is more important, more urgent, than is peace 'with all nations.' As ever, peace on the home front is the sine qua non of earning peace with foreigners. There is no recipe for establishing 'peace among ourselves and with all nations.' That has to be won and preserved as it ever has been here and elsewhere: by reaffirming our way of life, by making friendship with one another the primordial objective of public life, by avoiding the near occasion of war; but, when war is necessary, by fighting it to victory or to the best peace that honestly acknowledged defeat can manage."

Appendix: A Confucian Model for Winning the Peace

"The moral and political ethos of Confucianism is conveyed in the following sayings, which approve of 'ancient' rulers who wanted to demonstrate their virtue to the rest of the world. These rulers wanted first to govern their own states well:

Wanting to govern their own states, they first harmonized their own clans.

Wanting to harmonize their own clan, they first cultivated themselves.

Wanting to cultivate themselves, they first corrected their minds.

Wanting to correct their minds, they first made their will sincere. . . .

When the will is sincere, the mind is correct.

When the mind is correct, the self is cultivated.

When the self is cultivated, the clan is harmonized,

When the clan is harmonized, the country is well governed.

When the country is well governed, there will be peace throughout the land.

[T]here can be no genuine and lasting recovery without a renewed awareness of personal character as the ultimate basis of the civilized society. Peace and harmony is impossible without peaceful and harmonious human beings. An exemplary society presupposes exemplary individuals. People in the Western world need to face the hard and primary obligations of the here and now, chief of which is to improve self and, in Christian language, do right by 'neighbor.'"

-- Claes G. Ryn, *America the Virtuous: The Crisis of Democracy and the Quest for Empire*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2003, pp. 208, 210.