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## Angelo M. Codevilla: A Student's Guide to International Relations Study Guide

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# ANGELO M. CODEVILLA: A STUDENT'S GUIDE TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY GUIDE, 2010 Steven Alan Samson

## INTRODUCTION

### Outline

- A. WHAT IS IR? (1-3)
  - 1. Statesmen Have Defined Diplomacy and Statecraft by Practicing It
  - 2. Scope of the Field
  - 3. Subfields
  - 4. Big Events
    - a. Birth of the United States
    - b. **Battle of Salamis**, 480 B.C.
    - c. **Charles Martel** and the **Battle of Tours**, 732 A.D.
  - 5. Schools of Thought
- B. NEW AMERICA, OLD WORLD (3-6)
  - 1. Plutarch's *Lives*
  - 2. Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, and Machiavelli
  - 3. Viscount Bolingbroke's *The Patriot King*
  - 4. Turgot and Adam Smith
  - 5. George Washington's *Farewell Address*
  - 6. **John Quincy Adams** and the **Monroe Doctrine**
  - 7. Flood of Settlers
  - 8. William Seward
  - 9. James G. Blaine
  - 10. Albert Beveridge vs. Andrew Carnegie
  - 11. Purpose of Power
    - a. Idealists (liberal internationalists)
    - b. Expansionists
- C. TODAY'S THREE SCHOOLS: **LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISTS** (6-10)
  - 1. David Starr Jordan
  - 2. Nicholas Murray Butler
  - 3. **Woodrow Wilson**
  - 4. Use of War as a Means toward Desired Ends
    - a. They may choose military measure, but they reject war in the dictionary sense of the word
    - b. Illustration: Wilson's "war that ends all wars"
  - 5. Liberal Internationalist Trunk Consisted of America's Ruling Elite
    - a. Herbert Hoover [Food Administration], Gerald Nye [later investigator of the "merchants of death"], William Borah [leader of the Irreconcilable faction]
  - 6. **Kellogg-Briand Pact**
  - 7. John Foster Dulles (whose brother Allen directed the CIA) [another prominent Protestant layman was the Rockefeller aide Raymond Fosdick, brother of the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the pastor the Riverside Church and famous opponent of fundamentalism]
  - 8. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
  - 9. **Henry L. Stimson**, *On Active Service in Peace and War*
  - 10. Suppressed Nineteenth-Century Paradigm of Foreign Policy
    - a. Amb. Joseph C. Grew
    - b. America First Committee and Anti-Intervention League

- c. Sen. **Henry Cabot Lodge**, leader of the Reservationist faction that opposed the Versailles Treaty
- 11. Leftward Swing
  - a. William Appleman Williams
  - b. Anthony Lake
- D. REALISTS (10-12)
  - 1. **Hans Morgenthau**: All motives reduced to a power equation via carrots and sticks
  - 2. **Balance of Power** Approach [as Opposed to Collective Security]
  - 3. Rational Choice Theory and Game Theory
  - 4. Academic Canon: Robert Osgood, Thomas Schelling, Henry Kissinger
    - a. It empowered technocratic conflict managers over generals
  - 5. Reflexive Harmonization of U.S. Interests with Those of Adversaries
    - a. Trimming America's objectives in the expectation of reciprocity
  - 6. Kissinger Noted That America Paid the Same Price for Defeat as for Victory
  - 7. Harold Brown on Détente: "When We Build, They Build. When We Stop, They Build."
  - 8. Realists Expected Moderation to Beget Moderation
- E. NEOCONSERVATIVES (12-14)
  - 1. Rejection of **Moral Equivalence** by Norman Podhoretz, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Daniel Patrick Moynihan
  - 2. Robert A. Taft
  - 3. Convergence of Wilsonian Liberalism with Anti-Communism
  - 4. Its Relationship to the Statecraft of Washington and Adams Is Tangential
  - 5. Joshua Muravchik
  - 6. Robert Kagan
- F. THEIR PROBLEMATIC **SHARED PREMISE** (14)
  - 1. They See All Nations as Actually or Potentially of One Mind with Themselves
    - a. Liberal internationalists: Foreigners are eager for modernization
    - b. Neoconservatives: They are actual or potential democrats
    - c. Realists: They pursue their rational self-interest
  - 2. International Relations Requires Reading the Best Books

## Review

John Quincy Adams	Monroe Doctrine	liberal internationalists
Woodrow Wilson	Kellogg-Briand Pact	Henry Cabot Lodge
Realists	Hans Morgenthau	Neoconservatives
moral equivalence		

# I. THE STAGE AND ITS CHARACTERS

## Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (15)
  - 1. Indispensable Prerequisite for Dealing with Other Countries: Understand One's Own
  - 2. Resources: Samuel Huntington and Walter McDougall
- B. THE STAGE (15-17)
  - 1. Deep Differences within the "Global Village" [Marshall McLuhan's Phrase]
    - a. Bosnia vs. Japan
  - 2. Geography Makes a Difference
  - 3. **Halford Mackinder** [Author of "The Geographic Pivot of History," the **Heartland Theory**]
- C. GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY (17-32)
  - 1. World Island [Euro-Afro-Asia] (so named by Halford Mackinder)
    - a. **Heartland** [Pivot Area]
  - 2. **Siberia**

- a. Lena, Ob-Irtysh, and Yenisey rivers
  - b. Oil and gas produced in self-contained camps
  - c. Trans-Siberian Railroad
  - d. Route of Mongol invasions
  - e. **Steppes** of Central Asia
  - f. **Silk Road**: a 4000-mile long network of trade routes between China and the West that dates back before 115 BC
  - g. **Tamerlane** [Timur-e Lang= Timur the Lame]: Turkic-Mongol descendant of Genghis Khan who ruled an empire from the Caucasus through Persia to India
  - h. Peoples: Azeris, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz (all Turkic), Tajiks (Persian)
3. Southwest of the Urals
- a. Ural, Volga, Dnieper, and Don river valleys
  - b. Caucasian Peninsula: Armenians, Azeris, Georgians, Chehens
4. European Russia
- a. Northern European Plain: Poles, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians , Moldovans
  - b. Continental climate
  - c. shrinking population
5. **Iranian and Turkish (Anatolian) Plateau**
- a. Persians and Turks
  - b. Pivotal position between east and west
  - c. Strategic location atop scarce water supplies allows them to dominate the Arabs
  - d. Iranian and Turkish practice of Islam differs substantially from that of the Arabs
6. **Fertile Crescent**
- a. Irrigated Areas
  - b. Marsh Arabs (Shiite)
  - c. Sunni Arabs
  - d. Kurds
  - e. The clash of empires has been the history of this land
  - f. No longer agriculturally self-sufficient
7. **Arabian Peninsula**
- a. **Hashemite** Arab princes of the Hejaz (heirs of the Sharif of Mecca and descendents of Ali and Fatima) (now the royal family of Jordan)
  - b. **Abd-al-Wahhab** and the Wahhabi tribes of Nejd ruled by the family of Ibn Saud
  - c. Saudi kingdom
  - d. Red Sea coast
8. North Africa
- a. Sahara Desert
  - b. Egypt
  - c. Sudan
  - d. Ethiopians [The chief Ethiopian languages are Semitic, not Nilotic]
  - e. Mediterranean coast: St. Augustine
  - f. Exports to Europe: Algerian wine
  - g. Exports, except for refugees, stopped after independence
  - h. Today these lands teeter between secular despotism and Islamist despotism
9. West Coast of Africa
- a. Dakar
  - b. Decay and warfare
  - c. Congo River
10. River Valley Region
- a. Highlands and savanna
  - b. Tribalism
11. **South Africa**
- a. Continent's largest producer of goods and services
12. Indian Subcontinent
- a. Himalayas

- b. Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra
- c. Religious groups (Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs): uneasy truce imposed by British
- d. British role in the creation of the two Pakistans
- e. Afghanistan
- 13. Greater China
  - a. Han Chinese
  - b. Manchus
  - c. Mongols
  - d. Uighurs (Xianjiang province) and Tibetans
  - e. Indochina (connected to China by river valleys)
  - f. China (Zung Guo): **cultural characteristics**
  - g. Matteo Ricci
- 14. **Rimlands** [so named by **Nicholas Spykman** in contrast to the Heartland; corresponding more to Mackinder's Outer or Insular Crescent than to the Inner or Marginal Crescent; cf. Alfred Thayer Mahan's debated and debatable zone]
  - a. Japan (linguistically, Japanese is usually classified as Altaic, not Sinic)
- 15. Oceania
- 16. New World
  - a. Mountainous spine (cordillera) and deserts in the rain-shadow of the High Sierra
- 17. South America
  - a. Southern Cone
  - b. Brazil
  - c. Amazon River
  - d. Inca Empire of the Andes
- 18. North America
  - a. Mexico
  - b. United States and Canada: **leading exporters of food**
- 19. Europe
  - a. Divisions: Eastern Orthodoxy, Latin Catholicism, Northwestern Protestantism
  - b. Nations
  - c. European way of life is passing away: Aging minority in lands once theirs
- D. CIVILIZATION AND THE CHARACTER OF NATIONS (32-39)
  - 1. Mentalities and Patterns of Behavior
    - a. Samuel Huntington and Adda Bozeman
  - 2. Points of View
    - a. **Propositions** of our **Judeo-Christian Civilization**, e.g., the law of contradiction
    - b. Its particular and exclusive character
    - c. The West went where other civilizations never ventured
  - 3. The Difficulty of Cross-Cultural Communication
    - a. Differences in word meanings
    - b. Cultural clashes within civilizations
    - c. **No way of life ever survives the death of its original ideas** [cf. Roger Scruton on the culture of repudiation and:; cf. challenging sovereignty, p. 45, UN Human Rights panels, p. 51, subversion, p. 64, ally-shopping, pp. 88-89]  
NOTE: Paul Kengor's *Dupes* (and many similar books) deals with the ensemble of means by which countries are subverted (see pp. 64-67 below). For example [http://www.americanthinker.com/2010/11/duped\\_in\\_north\\_korea\\_from\\_obam.html](http://www.americanthinker.com/2010/11/duped_in_north_korea_from_obam.html)
  - 4. Modern China Is an Overlay
    - a. Ancient habits of obedience to authority
    - b. Modern syncretism
    - c. Bureaucratic control
    - d. Intellectual openness
  - 5. Civil War within Islam
    - a. **Sunni vs. Shia**
    - b. **Ghazw** of the Bedouin [*ghazis* were incorporated raiders, mercenaries]; e.g., Tamerlane]

- c. Division of Islamic civilization; **dar al harb** (abode of war)
- d. Absorption of the gamut of western civilization
- 6. Hindu Civilization (Not Buddhism)
  - a. English language: vehicle for education (especially for Dalits)
  - b. New culture of individual achievement
- 7. Japanese Civilization
  - a. Shinto
  - b. Residue of Buddhist habits
  - c. Lack of Christian influence
  - d. Tribal self-worship (cf. Franz Rosenzweig on paganism)
  - e. Consensus and unity
- 8. Judeo-Christian Civilization
  - a. Self-questioning
  - b. World's greatest struggles have taken place within it
  - c. Local factors
  - d. **Revolutionary [antithetical] movements** [cf. medieval Gnostics, Roger Scruton's culture of repudiation]
  - e. Desire to remake the world [after a new image]
  - f. Modern environmentalism
- 9. Civilizations Only Set the Boundaries
- E. REGIMES (39-44)
  - 1. International Personality of Peoples
    - a. Germany
    - b. Japan and China
    - c. Character depends on the regime
  - 2. Varieties of Contemporary Despotism
    - a. **Karl Wittfogel's *Oriental Despotism***
  - 3. Insecurity of Despots
    - a. Introverted periods
    - b. Use of **indirect strategies** in lieu of war [cf. Basil Liddell Hart]
    - c. Terrorism: the Middle East weapon of choice
    - d. Soviet policy forbade war
    - e. The provocative weakness of the prey makes them targets of despots
  - 4. **Democracy**
    - a. Switzerland: widespread use of the **referendum**
    - b. Elsewhere, governments are controlled by parliamentary majority parties
    - c. **Electoral politics**: A mere overlay on the relationship between the state bureaucracy and its clients [bureaucratic clientelism, no vote on Lisbon Treaty]
    - d. United States: Main political decisions still made by elected officials
    - e. Congo: a self-designated "democratic republic"
  - 5. Regimes in Peace and War
    - a. Imperialist Athens and Rome, introverted Sparta
    - b. Switzerland: armed to the teeth
    - c. European democracies: more bloody-minded than the kings had been
    - d. European pacifism
    - e. Alexander Hamilton in *The Federalist*, no. 6
  - 6. Small, Self-Selected Ruling Elites
    - a. Iran: Council of Guardians
    - b. Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates: monarchs serve as chairmen of the board of these family-owned enterprises
  - 7. Distinction between Despotism and Oligarchy
    - a. Despotic single-mindedness
    - b. **Oligarchic factionalism** [feudalism=self-sufficient factions]
    - c. Illustration: Machiavelli's contrast between the Turkish Empire and feudal France
    - d. Machiavelli's operational judgment applies even more strongly to democracies

8. Alexander Hamilton's List of the Causes of Hostility among Nations

**Review**

Halford Mackinder	Heartland	Silk Road
Tamerlane	Iranian and Turkish Plateaus	Fertile Crescent
Abd-al-Wahhab	South Africa	British role in India
China's cultural characteristics	Rimland(s)	leading exporters of food
Judeo-Christian Civilization	death of original ideas	<i>ghazw</i>
dar-al-harb	revolutionary movements	Karl Wittfogel
indirect strategies of despots	Swiss use of referendum	Europe's electoral politics
Machiavelli on despotism and oligarchy		

## II. THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IN HISTORY

**Outline**

- A. HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM (45-52)
  - 1. Origins
    - a. **Treaty of Westphalia**
    - b. Evolution away from the classical model of non-interference
    - c. Use of non-state actors and international institutions to **challenge sovereignty**  
[Detailed by Dore Gold, John Bolton, and others]
  - 2. Classics of Statecraft
    - a. *Shahnameh*
    - b. *Arthasastra*
    - c. Sun Tzu's *Art of War*
  - 3. **Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War***
    - a. Causes: mutual fears, clashing interests, hunger for honor [cf. Thomas Hobbes]
    - b. Athens and Sparta both reflected their different **domestic identity**
    - c. A complete education in international relations
  - 4. Roman Empire
    - a. ***Jus Gentium*** [law of nations]
    - b. Christendom
    - c. Each prince was to be a ***defensor pacis*** [cf. Marsilius of Padua]
    - d. ***Diplomae***: credentials of medieval negotiators (***diplomati***)
    - e. Presumption that peace and the law-order should govern the relations of princes
  - 5. Renaissance Diplomacy
    - a. Medieval presumption undermined by conflicts between emperors, popes, anti-popes, and imperial electors
    - b. **Jean Bodin**: concept of **sovereignty**
    - c. Shift of diplomacy from common law to a **contest between amoral sovereigns**
  - 6. International System Is Not a Community of Nations
    - a. Few of its member states represent actual nations
  - 7. Westphalian System of **Mutual Recognition**
    - a. Assumption: European epicenter consists of sovereign homogeneous nation-states
    - b. Universal extension of the system
    - c. Recognition of sovereignty extended to ex-colonies and non-colonies
    - d. **Ethnic conflicts** challenge most sovereignties from within
  - 8. The Westphalian System's Common Ground Is Narrow
    - a. It substituted individual states' sovereignty for the common standards of Christian **canon and customary law** that had ruled since the days of **Charlemagne** (800)
    - b. **Hugo Grotius** and Emmerich de Vattel drew on the *Jus Gentium*

- c. Modern international law is the sum of various promises
  - 9. Each Nation Is Equal Only in Its Sovereign Right to Judge What It Owes and Is Owed
    - a. Promise-keeping is a matter of convenience
    - b. Self-binding character of the web of agreements
  - 10. Sovereigns's Interests May Be Parallel But Never Common (J. Q. Adams)
    - a. **Sovereign autonomy**: essence of international law (anarchic system of states)
    - b. Elimination of Poland, 1795
    - c. The Great War [a war between cousins: George V, Wilhelm II, Nicholas I]
  - 11. Uses and Abuses of International Relations
    - a. International Air Transport Agency
    - b. UNESCO: balancing act between member state agendas
    - c. IPCC: instrument of non-state interest groups
    - d. UN Human Rights Council, panels, and Durban Conference: instruments of ideological war against Judeo-Christian civilization
  - 12. United Nations
    - a. Divergence of reality from its founding hopes:
- B. DAY-TO-DAY INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN OUR TIME (52-55)
  - 1. Divisions of **International Law**
    - a. Private law: customary reciprocity
    - b. Administrative law: Works of necessity
    - c. Political law: lack of commonality
  - 2. **Elihu Root**
    - a. System of arbitration enforced by consensus of the dominant Christian nations
  - 3. **Versailles Peace Conference**
    - a. Birth of unnatural, unsustainable entities: more nations with less in common
    - b. Hope invested in imaginary communities based on shared aspirations
  - 4. The **United Nations Falsified (Betrayed) These Aspirations**
    - a. Inclusion of the Soviet Union as one of the UN's pillars
    - b. Open Admissions Policies
    - c. The requirement that a country have a de facto government was dropped
  - 5. Elevation of **Yasser Arafat**
    - a. UN recognized Arafat's (personal) sovereignty over the Palestinian Authority
    - b. Lowering of standard for membership
    - c. Prevailing hypocrisy in today's UN
  - 6. Struggle over Which Regimes and Ways of Life Are Legitimate
    - a. Westphalian assumption of non-interference has been has been rejected
    - b. Soviet push for Western "reparations" or transfer of resources
    - c. Euro-American dictation of the internal affairs of other peoples in not uncommon

## Review

Treaty of Westphalia	Thucydides	<i>Jus Gentium</i>
<i>defensor pacis</i>	<i>diplomati</i>	Jean Bodin
sovereignty	system of mutual recognition	canon and customary law
Charlemagne	Hugo Grotius	sovereign autonomy
Elihu Root	Versailles Peace Conference	United Nations betrayal
Yasser Arafat	Western reparations	

## III. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POWER

### Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (57-58)
  - 1. Instruments Must Be Viewed in the Context of Policy Objectives and Strategies



- a. Instruments are neither strategies nor policies
  2. Defining the Terms
    - a. **Strategy** is the concrete art of balancing means and ends
    - b. **Policy** is an “ensemble of continued pursuits, of decisions matured, of measures brought to term.” (**Charles de Gaulle**)
    - c. Both are measured against the statesman’s objectives
  3. The Arts of International Relations (Below) Are Means by Which to Move Other Countries
- B. DIPLOMACY (58-59)
  1. Diplomats’ Words Will Be **Persuasive Only If They Represent a Competing Reality**
    - a. **Diplomacy** is the content of the messages it conveys
    - b. Diplomacy is about **truth**, precisely conveyed
  2. Most Diplomatic Discourse Imitates a Business Transaction
    - a. The negotiator’s skill lies in ensuring that both sides have an accurate picture
    - b. Different rules apply when the objectives of the two sides are not mutually compatible
    - c. In such exceptional cases, diplomatic contact serves belligerent “side effects”
  3. The Skillful Crafting of Offers
- C. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PRESTIGE, OR “SOFT POWER”
  1. Motives: Affections, Enmities, Fears, Honors, and Interests
  2. **Soft Power** Is No Substitute for the Ordinary Tools of Statecraft
  3. The Triumph of More Attractive Ways of Life
    - a. Every great empire has combined military power and policy prudence with attractive ideas of how people should live [Cf. Francis Schaeffer’s *How Should We Then Live?*]
    - b. **Joseph Nye**’s notion of soft power “supposes that a nation’s innocuousness and propensity to please are attractive enough to reduce or eliminate the need for statecraft [cf. J. Budziszewski on the cupidity of our idols of the marketplace]
  4. The Effects of Force Are Not Canceled by Ideas
    - a. **Hans Morgenthau: Prestige** is having a reputation for power, for **gravitas**
    - b. Incapacity or unwillingness to protect friends and put enemies out of action breeds **contempt**
    - c. Peoples are moved more powerfully by **hate and fear** than by attraction
    - d. Force of religion and forms of worship
  5. Importance of Appealing to Minds and Hearts
    - a. Cold War public diplomacy
  6. Successful Appeals
    - a. Need to reflect the audience’s interests
    - b. Appeals have to be verified by actions and ratified by success
    - c. Success moves hearts and minds; failure repels viscerally
- D. ECONOMIC STATECRAFT (62-64)
  1. Economic Favors and Strictures Are Blunt Tools
    - a. Limits of **Bribery**: It is easier to buy foreign leaders than to make them stay bought
    - b. **Sanctions** cannot force compliance with demands that would damage the regime or its important objectives
  2. Deadliness of Economic Warfare
    - a. Wholesale WWI **Allied starvation blockade** of Germany and the low countries
    - b. Acts of economic warfare must risk widening the conflict
  3. Decisiveness
    - a. Economic incentives without decisive measures are counterproductive when not taken seriously
    - b. Illustration: Japan vs. the United States, 1940-1941
  4. Sending a Message
 

[“If you want to send a message, use Western Union” – Samuel Goldwyn]

    - a. Sparta used Pericles’ sanction against Megara as an excuse for declaring war
- E. SUBVERSION (64-67)

1. Interference Is Part of Normal Relations
  2. **Three Facts about Subversion**
    - a. All societies have internal divisions
    - b. Wise statesmen leverage their contacts in foreign camps
    - c. Success depends upon the target's susceptibility

An illustration of subversion as an essentially criminal enterprise:  
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/25/AR2010112502233.html>
  3. When Is Subversion Most Effective?
    - a. When dissidents are independent advocates of inherently appealing policies
  4. Subversion Is Endemic
    - a. United States as a model to be emulated [cf. René Girard on mimetic desire]
    - b. Soviet Union seen by many as a harbinger of justice [cf. Roger Scruton on the culture of repudiation and Michael Polanyi on moral inversion]
    - c. Support of like-minded individuals and groups
    - d. Foreign agents seek to control allies, but this makes them less effective
  5. Successes and a Failure
    - a. Members of the English court were made **pensioners of Louis XIV**
    - b. Spread of Saudi largess in Washington and Houston
    - c. Henry Kissinger's failed commercial deals with the Soviet Union
  6. Force
    - a. Jacobo Arbenz fled **Guatemala**, 1954
    - b. John F. Kennedy's indecisiveness at the **Bay of Pigs**, 1961
  7. Terrorism
    - a. Sunni insurgents in Iraq worked with Spanish terrorists in 2004 to topple the Spanish government
- F. WAR (67-71)
1. **Ultimate Test of Statesmanship:** Choosing and Managing War and Peace
    - a. War is the chief midwife in the birth and death of nations
    - b. War is always a matter of life and death for all participant nations [so it should never be entrusted to the unserious. See the author's *No Victory, No Peace*]
  2. **Kinds of War**
    - a. Tribal
    - b. Limited
    - c. Civilizational [depicted in *Avatar*]
  3. **Strategic Objects:** Destruction or Pacification of the Enemy
    - a. Cold War: Soviet Union vs. the West
    - b. **Phony War**, 1939-1940: No intention of freeing Poland
    - c. Germany's *Blitzkrieg* and the Battle of Britain, 1940-1941
  4. Military Occupation and nation-Building
  5. Appropriate Military Operations
    - a. Why **Napoleon** failed at war
    - b. **Prerequisites for going to war**
  6. Assumption That War Is Irrational
    - a. Norman Angell
    - b. Martin Van Creveld
  7. Rational Choice
    - a. Acts of intimidation
    - b. Soviet-era terrorism

## Review

strategy	policy	diplomacy
soft power	Joseph Nye	Hans Morgenthau
prestige vs. contempt	bribery	sanctions
Allied starvation blockade	pensioners of Louis XIV	three facts about subversion
Guatemala	Bay of Pigs	ultimate test of statesmanship

kinds of war  
prerequisites for going to war

strategic objects

Phony War

## IV. CONTEMPORARY GEOPOLITICS

### Outline

- A. THE CENTER (73-75)
  - 1. Russia
    - a. Effects of the Soviet regime on the population: dispirited, dwindling, dependent, and diffident
    - b. Economy limits its government's capacity to do big things
    - c. Neo-Soviet leadership [Putin's cult of the personality]
    - d. The Soviet-era "autopilot" measures success in competition with the United States
  - 2. **Invasion of Georgia**
    - a. Acquisition of a Black Sea base
    - b. Discouraged building the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline
    - c. Put pressure on Ukraine
  - 3. Relations with China
    - a. 1960s clashes with the Soviets
    - b. China sought US nuclear protection in 1969
    - c. Russia hopes to divert China's ambition to the western Pacific
- B. EAST ASIA (75-77)
  - 1. Japan's Rise
    - a. The prizes it sought: China, Indonesia, Singapore
    - b. Its conquests: Korea, Manchuria, Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere
  - 2. **United States Navy: Mistress of the Western Pacific**
    - a. Three generations of peace
    - b. Soviet challenge to this order near the end of the Cold War
    - c. Preference for American hegemony (*Pax Americana*)
  - 3. The Passing of East Asia's Order
    - a. North Korea
    - b. China's goal
    - c. Japan's nightmare
    - d. Sino-Japanese contest for hegemony
- C. SOUTH ASIA (77-79)
  - 1. India/Pakistan Schism
  - 2. India's Economy
  - 3. Pakistan
    - a. Recruiting ground for Wahhabis from Saudi Arabia
    - b. Islamist subculture
  - 4. A Reorientation of Pakistan to the Middle East Would Be Destructive
- D. MIDDLE EAST (79-85)
  - 1. **Iran**
    - a. Centuries of **oppression of the Shi'ites by Sunnis**
    - b. Persian identity and Muslim faith have never been reconciled
    - c. Revolution of 1979
    - d. **Ayatollah Khomeini's** coalition
    - e. secularized radical clerics
    - f. Iranian foreign policy: to leverage the status of Shia through the Middle East
    - g. Arab opposition to Iranian nukes
  - 2. **Saudi Arabia**
    - a. Regime gains legitimacy through its support of the **Wahhabis** [a Salafist sect]

- b. Members of the royal family live un-Islamic lives
  - c. Tribalism of Saudi society
  - d. Dependency on revenues from oil extracted by outsiders
  - e. Oil revenues subsidize Wahhabism
  - f. The United States has been Saudi Arabia's guarantor since 1957
3. **Syria**
- a. **Ba'ath Party** (secular national socialist) and the Alawite sect
  - b. Assad family
  - c. **Hezbollah** (Iran-created Shi'ite Party of God) in Lebanon
4. Egypt
- a. **Gamal Abdul Nasser**: overthrow of King Faruk (Farouk)
  - b. Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan*) crushed
  - c. Post-1970 orientation to the United States
  - d. **Hassan al-Banna** and **Sayyid Qutb**
  - e. Egypt is hostage to Islamism's growing attractiveness
  - f. Migration to Europe of populations with Islamist mentalities [the early literature of modernization dismissed the staying power of "traditional society"]
5. Israel
- a. Prosperity
  - b. State of war
  - c. Israel has become an international issue through oil embargoes and terrorism
- E. EUROPE (85-87)
- 1. Former Center and Driving Force
  - 2. Aging Europe's **Passivity**
  - 3. Question of How to Deal with a truculent Russia and Muslim Immigrants
    - a. **Imperialistic Muslim immigration**
    - b. Internalization of Muslim quarrels
  - 4. Harder-Line East vs. Softer West [New Europe vs. Old Europe]
    - a. Great Britain as the mugwump or balancer
    - b. Germany has left the West into blocking accession of former Soviet satellites into NATO
  - 5. Foreign Policy
    - a. Leveraging United States policies and backseat driving
- F. THE AMERICAS (87-89)
- 1. Latin America
    - a. Ally-shopping by Old World governments
    - b. Future of Latin America depends on whether it ties its fortunes to the United States or aligns with other states against it

## Review

what Russia gained from the invasion of Georgia	role of the US navy
oppression of Shiites by Sunnis	Ayatollah Khomeini
Ba'ath Party	Hezbollah
Hassan al-Banna	Sayyid Qutb
imperialistic Muslim immigration	Wahhabis
	Gamal Abdul Nasser
	Europe's passivity

# WHAT IS ALL THIS TO AMERICA—AND TO THE STUDENT OF IR?

## Outline

- A. GEORGE WASHINGTON'S OBJECTIVE (91-92)

1. International Trade
  - a. The American colonists lived or died by trade
2. Dependence on International Financing
3. Central Question: What Is the Purpose of American Foreign Relations?
4. **George Washington's Objective**
  - a. Induce Americans to recognize their distinct character and interests
  - b. **John Quincy Adams:** Founding generation sought the widest possible reciprocal commercial relations with other peoples while avoiding their quarrels and demanding mutual respect
5. **Progressive Era**
  - a. America comes down from the hill to act as mediator
6. **Reforming** the World Gave Way to **Conforming** to the Rest of the World's Standards [cf. David Riesman's shift from the **inner-directed** to the **other-directed** culture type And James Kurth's Protestant Deformation]
7. Foreign Policy Heightens Domestic Quarrels [cf. Washington's *Farewell Address*]

## Review

George Washington  
reformation vs. conformity

John Quincy Adams

Progressive Era