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## Robert D. Kaplan: The Revenge of Geography Study Guide, 2013

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# ROBERT D. KAPLAN: THE REVENGE OF GEOGRAPHY

## STUDY GUIDE, 2013

### Steven Alan Samson

## PREFACE: FRONTIERS

### Outline

- A. OBJECTIVE: TO GROUND-TRUTH THE GLOBE IN THE 21C (xiii-xxii)
  - 1. Northern Iraq
    - a. Arabistan vs. **Kurdistan**
    - b. Peshmergas [Kurdish fighters: "Those who face death"]
    - c. Al-Anfal Campaign [Saddam Hussein was tried on charges relating to the 1986-1989 campaign but was executed for the Dujail Massacre in the Shiite South]
    - d. Effective Secession of Kurdistan
  - 2. Romania
    - a. Mountains are a conservative force
      - 1) James C. Scott
    - b. Nicolae Ceaușescu
    - c. Carpathians
    - d. Border
      - 1) Hungarian Puszta: part of the Eurasian steppe
      - 2) Goulash communism
  - 3. Turkmenistan
    - a. Krasnovodsk: beginning of Turkestan
    - b. Kara Kum Desert
    - c. Turkmenistan's hopelessness
  - 4. Afghanistan/Palestinian Border
    - a. **Khyber Pass**
      - 1) The mountain defile from Peshawar into Afghanistan
    - b. Indo-Islamic continuum
  - 5. Germany
    - a. Berlin Wall
    - b. Cold War
    - c. Golo Mann: heart of Europe as a big prison
    - d. First Reich of **Charlemagne**
      - 1) Martin Luther
      - 2) Thirty Years' War
      - 3) Duel between Prussia and Habsburg Austria
  - 6. The Map: The Beginning of Discerning a Historical Logic
    - a. People's position on the map
  - 7. Korean DMZ
    - a. Formalized hatred on display
  - 8. Erudition of Now Deceased Scholars
    - a. We need to recover a now lost sensibility about time and place
      - 1) Elite molders of public opinion instead talk of a flat world
    - b. Foreign policy analysis needs to engage also with relief maps and population studies
  - 9. Middle East
    - a. Crisis of central authority
    - b. Tunisia
    - c. Libya

- 1) Tripolitania and Cyrenaica
  - d. *Fossa regia*: Scipio's demarcation ditch
    - 1) Sidi Bouzid
  - e. Arab revolt for democracy [cf. James Chowning Davies's J-curve theory]
  - f. Egypt
  - g. Yemen
  - h. Syria
  - i. Cohesiveness and autocracy
  - j. **Ernest Gellner: Segmentary society**
  - k. Tribalism
10. Geography

### Review

Kurdistan  
Ernest Gellner

Khyber Pass  
segmentary society

Charlemagne

## PART I: VISIONARIES

### CHAPTER ONE: FROM BOSNIA TO BAGHDAD

#### Outline

- A. WHEN WE LOST OUR SENSE OF GEOGRAPHY (3-5)
  - 1. Collapse of the Berlin Wall
    - a. How its erasure blinded us to real geographic impediments
  - 2. Notion That All Human Divisions Are Surmountable
    - a. Democratic triumphalism [liberal universalism]
    - b. Globalization
  - 3. Francis Fukuyama: Hegelian "End of History" is an example of this optimism
  - 4. First Intellectual Cycle of the Post-Cold War: End of Illusions
    - a. "Realist" and "pragmatist" became pejorative words
  - 5. Precedent: The Earlier Wilsonian Idealism
    - a. Dismissal of realities
    - b. Vision of freedom and prosperity
    - c. Yet Reality Returned after the War: The next struggle for survival
    - d. Evil wore new masks
  - 6. African Reality
    - a. Mass murder and belated humanitarian interventions
    - b. Idealist triumphalism proved catastrophic in the decade post-9/11
  - 7. Havoc Wreaked on America's Good Intentions in the Near East
    - a. Limits of liberal universalism
- B. REVIVAL OF THE CONCEPT OF CENTRAL EUROPE (5-9)
  - 1. Timothy Garton Ash's Definition
  - 2. **Mitteleuropa**
    - a. Modernist art
    - b. Endangered intellectual world of Jewry [see Janik and Toulmin's *Wittgenstein's Vienna* and Schorske's *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*]
    - c. Claudio Magris: Defense of the particular against the totalitarian
  - 3. Culture as a Geography
    - a. Central Europe: Rebuke to the geography of the Cold War
    - b. Prison of nations [label applied to Austria]
    - c. Balkans dismembered from Central Europe

4. **Balkans:** Synonymous with Turkish and Byzantine Empires
    - a. Normal living standard
    - b. High degree of poverty and repression
    - c. Yugoslavia as a temporary exception
    - d. **Oriental despotism** [Marx's term]: Communism likened to a second Mongol invasion
    - e. Relatively liberal Hungary vs. totalitarian Romania
    - f. Influence of the Middle East
    - g. Violent ethnic *mélange* of Yugoslavia
  5. Vision of Central Europe as a Moral and Political Cynosure
    - a. Cosmopolitanism
    - b. Road to Baghdad had roots in Balkan interventions
  6. Yearning for the Restoration of Central Europe [cf. mythical Ruritania]
  7. **Isaiah Berlin's** Bourgeois Pragmatism
    - a. Antidote to trendy monistic theories
    - b. He loathed determinism
  8. The Hurdle That Central Europe Faces
- C. PROBLEM WITH EXALTED DIVISION: CENTRAL EUROPE HAS NO REALITY ON THE RELIEF MAP (9-12)
1. Geographic Determinists
    - a. **Halford J. Mackinder** and **James Fairgrieve**
    - b. Central Europe: A **crush zone** ["shatter zone" is a later designation]
  2. Mackinder's **Heartland**
    - a. Dynamics of two world wars and the Cold War
    - b. Historic Prussia
    - c. West Germany: Inside NATO's oceanic alliance
    - d. **Saul Cohen:** The old **boundary zone** between East and West Germany
      - 1) It is also the line demarking the Heartland and the Coastland [cf. the **Fulda Gap** that left Frankfurt open to attack]
  3. Central Europe Lacks Geographical Substance
    - a. Effect of the reunification of Germany: renewed battle for Europe
    - b. We don't yet know which way Germany will swing
    - c. Debellicized [anti-war] nature of today's united Germany
    - d. Awareness of geography and strategy as a survival mechanism
    - e. Possible role as a balancing power
  4. Will Central Europe Survive the Onslaught of New Great Power Struggles?
    - a. Habsburg Austria: the power base of a vibrant culture
    - b. Liberalism ultimately rests on power
  5. Humanitarian Intervention in the Balkans
    - a. Bosnia as the Spanish Civil War of the 1990s
  6. James Joyce's *Ulysses*
    - a. Struggle against suffering and injustice
  7. Vision of Interventionism
    - a. Illusion of painless victory
    - b. Timothy Garton Ash: Another "low, dishonest decade" in the 1990s
- D. DECADE OF THE 1990S (12-17)
1. Slavonia and **Krajina:** Austrian Military Frontier Bordering the Ottoman Empire
    - a. Pannonian Plain
    - b. Southern bank of the Sava River
    - c. Marchlands of the Habsburg and Turkish armies
  2. Breakup of Yugoslavia
    - a. Krajina: populated by Croat and Serb refugees from Ottoman Sultanate
    - b. Mixed ethnic region
    - c. Nazi occupation
    - d. Croat puppet state
    - e. Ethnic cleansing by Serbs [Republic of Krajina, 1991-95], then of Serbs

- f. Violence spread to Bosnia
- 3. Horror and Revulsion
  - a. **Timothy Garton Ash** on former Yugoslavia: Giant version of a separator
- 4. Charges of Appeasement of **Slobodan Milosevic**
- 5. Fear of Another Munich [1938 Conference associated with Appeasement of Hitler] Led to the Gulf War
- 6. **Munich Analogy** Revived in Bosnia and Kosovo
  - a. Munich is about universalism
  - b. Phantoms of Vietnam were once and for all exorcised
- 7. Military Force Became Synonymous with Humanitarianism Itself
  - a. **Leon Wieseltier**: Use of force is a **first resort against genocide**
  - b. Criticism of the “exit strategy doctrine”
- 8. Rwanda Precedent
- 9. Air War in Serbia Dismissed as Inadequate
- 10. Idealists Urged Military Intervention
- 11. Decade of Air Power
  - a. Doing mountains
  - b. Iraqi no-fly zones
  - c. Danger of adventurism
  - d. Three-dimensional map returns
- E. DISREGARD OF GEOGRAPHY LEADS TO OVERREACH (17-19)
  - 1. Wieseltier’s Sentiment in 1999 Was Increasingly Common among Liberal Intellectuals
    - a. Consequences of Clinton’s refusal to remove Milosevic like those of Bush
  - 2. Wieseltier’s Anxiety about Arrogance in 2006
  - 3. The Author Also Admits That He Got Too Close to His Story
  - 4. Strategic Dividends of the Balkan Interventions
    - a. NATO Expands
  - 5. Power of the Military
    - a. Hidden hand that allowed universalist ideas to matter more
  - 6. Lessons of Too Many Munichs
  - 7. Return of the Vietnam Analogy
- F. DECADE OF THE 2000s (19-21)
  - 1. Realist and Pragmatist Become Terms of Respect
    - a. Changed view of ethnic and sectarian differences
  - 2. February 22, 2006
    - a. Vietnam analogy superseded Munich
    - b. Myth of the omnipotent new U.S. Military
  - 3. **Vietnam Analogy** is Domestic in Spirit [So Was the Reaction to the Tet Offensive, 1968]
    - a. Thinking tragically
    - b. Vietnamese communists
    - c. Philippines experience
  - 4. Vietnam Analogy Thrives Following National Trauma
    - a. Excessive cost of Iraq
    - b. Moral problem of untamed use of power
  - 5. **Thomas Hobbes**
    - a. Fear of violent death: cornerstone of enlightened self-interest
    - b. Lost contact in the man’s natural condition
    - c. Horrific violence resulted from the breakdown of order not an organized death machine
    - d. Philosopher of the second cycle of the Post Cold War
  - 6. Totalitarianism vs. Anarchy
- G. LOGISTICS OF A 2004 RESUPPLY MISSION TO IRAQ (21-22)

## Review

Mitteleuropa

Balkans

oriental despotism

Isaiah Berlin  
crush zone  
boundary  
Timothy Garton Ash  
Leon Wieseltier

Halford J. Mackinder  
Heartland  
Fulda Gap  
Slobodan Milosevic  
Vietnam analogy

James Fairgrieve  
Saul Cohen  
Krajina  
Munich analogy  
Thomas Hobbes

## CHAPTER TWO: THE REVENGE OF GEOGRAPHY

### Outline

- A. REALIST DICTUM: LEGACIES SET LIMITS (23-24)
  - 1. Vietnam vs. Munich
    - a. **Fouad Ajami**: Easy prejudice of low expectations
  - 2. Art of Statesmanship
  - 3. True **Realism**
    - a. Thucydides: *History of the Peloponnesian War*
    - b. **Hans J. Morgenthau**: *Politics among Nations*
- B. HANS J. MORGENTHAU (2426)
  - 1. **Thucydides**: Three Motivations
  - 2. Realist View
    - a. Appeal to historical precedent
    - b. **Inadequacy of good intentions**
      - 1) Neville Chamberlain
      - 2) Winston Churchill's naked ambition
      - 3) Paul Wolfowitz's intentions
    - c. Democracy and morality are not synonymous
    - d. **Moral law**: States are subject to it but we should not pretend to certainty
  - 3. States Operate in a More Constrained Moral Universe
  - 4. Human Nature Makes for a World of Incessant Conflict and Coercion
    - a. John Randolph of Roanoke on power
    - b. International institutions
    - c. Instability of the balance of power system
    - d. Universal moral conscience
- C. THE REVENGE OF GEOGRAPHY (26-29)
  - 1. Confusing Opposition to the Iraq War is the Realism
    - a. Morgenthau's opposition to the Vietnam War
    - b. Realism is supposed to make one uneasy
      - 1) No Hobbesian Leviathan to punish the unjust
      - 2) **Central question**: Who can do what to whom?
  - 2. Ashley J. Tellis: Realism is Alien to the American Tradition
  - 3. Realists Value Order above Freedom
    - a. Iraq
    - b. World government will forever remain elusive
    - c. Raymond Aron and José Ortega y Gasset: war inherent to a system of states
    - d. **Sovereignty** and alliances arise out of differences with others
  - 4. The Map: Definition
    - a. **John Brian Harley** on **cartography** as a discourse of power
    - b. Prussian education
    - c. Pyramid of national power
    - d. Realism
  - 5. Backdrop to Human History
    - a. Mackinder: A map is a series of generalizations at a glance
    - b. Geography: a bridge between the arts and science
    - c. Maps are a rebuke to notions of equality and unity

6. Geography Was Once an Honored Discipline [Ellsworth Huntington's Determinism Helped Discredit It]
    - a. First order of reality
  7. Embrace of Geography Through Realism
    - a. Revenge of geography follows the defeat of geography
      - 1) Second cycle vs. first Post Cold War cycle of air power and humanitarian intervention
    - b. Back to the lowering basics
  8. Basis of Hope
    - a. We may stretch some limits
    - b. Overstretching of resources can cause an isolationist backlash
- D. CENTRALITY OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCIPLINE (29-33)
1. W. Gordon East
    - a. Human agency has room to maneuver
    - b. Geography informs rather than determines
    - c. It is a major constraint
  2. **Nicholas J. Spykman: Geography Does Not Argue**
    - a. Most permanent factor in foreign policy
      - 1) United States
      - 2) Russia
      - 3) France and Germany
  3. Continuing Geographical Realities in These (Previous) Three Cases
  4. Crete and the Cycladic Islands: Detached Fragment of Europe
  5. Germany and Britain: Continental Power vs. Island
    - a. Germany's dangerous location has fostered both militarism and pacifism
    - b. Britain's insularity protected it from an overbearing military establishment
  6. China and Brazil
    - a. Comparative advantage of China due to its location
  7. African Poverty
    - a. Lack of many good natural harbors
    - b. **Few rivers are navigable** from the sea. As Thomas Sowell noted in "The Tragedy of Africa:" "An aircraft carrier can dock on the Hudson River in midtown Manhattan but there is not a single river where that is possible on the vast continent of Africa, which is larger than Europe or North America."
    - c. Sahara Desert hindered human contact from the north
    - d. Equatorial forests
    - e. Artificial borders
  8. Feeble Economies
    - a. High proportion of the most feeble economies are **landlocked**
    - b. Tropical
    - c. Technological diffusion
    - d. Location of poorest regions
  9. Sanskrit Chilled to Silence at 500 Meters Elevation
    - a. Indian culture was a lowland phenomenon
  10. United States
    - a. John Adams
    - b. **John Keegan: Sea protected both Britain and America from land-bound enemies of liberty** [Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn referred to our "ocean moats"]
    - c. Europe's militarism and pragmatism resulted from geography
      - 1) No room for miscalculation
    - d. Effects of two oceans
      - 1) Direct access to the two principal arteries of politics and commerce
      - 2) Isolationism
    - e. America long resisted great power politics
    - f. **Oscillation between quasi-isolationism and idealist-minded interventionism** [cf. long-cycle theories and extroversion vs. introversion in foreign policy]

- E. GEOGRAPHY: FORGOTTEN, NOT CONQUERED (33-36)
1. Military Logistics
    - a. Colin S. Gray: That technology has conquered geography is a plausible fallacy
    - b. Williamson Murray: Harsh geographic reality imposed by two oceans
    - c. Terrain determines the pace and method of fighting
    - d. Limits of air power
    - e. Limits of small- and medium-sized states
  2. The Relief Map
    - a. Globalization has spurred the **rebirth of localisms**
    - b. Mass communications and economic integration [globalization] have **weakened** some states
    - c. Pan-Islamism vs. individual Muslim states that are under siege from within
  3. **Iraq and Pakistan**
    - a. Illogically-conceived states
    - b. Tyrannical repression by Saddam Hussein was geographically-determined
    - c. No natural borders between ethnic groups
  4. Author Argues for Modesty in Order to Curb Excessive Zeal in Foreign Policy
- F. RAISING GEOGRAPHY ON A PEDESTAL IS DANGEROUS (36-37)
1. **Isaiah Berlin's** Admonition
    - a. Historical Inevitability: Determination of vast impersonal forces should be rejected
    - b. Human motives matter
  2. Reference must be made to geography, history, and ethnicity
  3. **Raymond Aron's Probabilistic Determinism**
    - a. Human choice operates within certain contours
    - b. Norman Davies on causality
    - c. How the Balkans and Iraq differ
  4. Seeing through the Eyes of Great Scholars

## Review

Fouad Ajami	realism	Hans J. Morgenthau
Thucydides	inadequacy of good intentions	moral law
central question	sovereignty	John Brian Harley on cartography
Nicholas J. Spykman	Africa: lack of navigable rivers	impoverish states often landlocked
John Keegan	oscillation in foreign policy	rebirth of localisms
globalism's weakening effects	Raymond Aron	probabilistic determinism

## CHAPTER THREE: HERODOTUS AND HIS SUCCESSORS

### Outline

- A. THREE CHICAGO SCHOLARS: MORGENTHAU, MCNEILL, HODGSON (38-39)
1. Defining Realism
  2. Audacity of Massive Works of Herodotean Scope
- B. **WILLIAM HARDY MCNEILL** (39-49)
1. *Rise of the West*
  2. Movements on Both Sides of the Mediterranean Basin
  3. **Freya Stark**: Egypt vs. Iraq
  4. **Mesopotamia** Cut across One of the Bloodiest Migration Routes
    - a. Objects of plunder
    - b. Chronic war
    - c. A series of conquerors
  5. **Ibn Khaldun** on Decadence and Invasion
    - a. Suffocating tyrannies



- b. Iraqi stability, 1921-1958
- 6. How Egypt Differed
  - a. Defensible boundaries and the Nile
  - b. The **Nile**
  - c. Mesopotamian contrast: oppressive law and bureaucracy
- 7. **Peripheral Civilizations**: India, Greece, and China
  - a. Interactions with barbarian invaders
  - b. Northerly mountains of first two
  - c. China was even more isolated
- 8. Ebb and Flow of Civilizational Frontiers
  - a. Inundation of **steppe peoples**
  - b. The Mongols and the **Silk Route**
  - c. China's separate sphere
  - b. Tibet and Mongolia: Lamaists opposed Sinification
  - e. History is a study in fluidity
- 9. Emphasis on Civilizational Interaction
- 10. **Oswald Spengler**
  - a. High Culture
    - 1) Cosmopolitanism is rootlessness
  - b. Fate of an urban Western civilization that is increasingly divorced from the soil
- 11. Aryans in the Gangetic Plain vs. in Mediterranean Europe
  - a. **Monsoonal cycle**
  - b. Ionia's precocity due to contact with Asia Minor and the Orient
- 12. History of the Jews
  - a. Western **Diaspora** [dispersion]
- 13. Story of Western Europe
  - a. **Advantages** which the development of technology brought into play
  - b. Harsh climate
  - c. Proximity of Scandinavia and its military pressure
  - d. Britain's earlier national existence
- 14. Civilizational Difficulties and Downfalls
  - a. Eskimos: example of an arrested civilization
  - b. Arnold Toynbee and Jared Diamond
  - c. Europe's perfect degree of civilizational difficulty  
[cf. Toynbee's challenge and response theory]
- 15. Closing of the Barbarian Spaces
  - a. Encroachment of civilizations upon barbarism
- 16. **Civilizational Closure**
  - a. Began with the **voyages of discovery**
  - b. Continued with **industrial revolutions**
  - c. Final **collapse of the steppe peoples**
  - d. Unification under a largely Western urbanized culture
- 17. Remaining Frontiers
  - a. Increasing density of human and electronic interaction
  - b. How does geopolitics change?
  - c. Overlapping ranges of missiles
- 18. **Hans J. Morgenthau**
  - a. Great power conflict once deflected into **empty spaces**
  - b. 19C **imperial expansion**
  - c. Late 19C consolidation of nation-states and empires
  - d. Disappearance of the dichotomy between center and periphery
- 19. **Han Bureaucracy** Ended the Warring States Period
- 20. Continuing Dangers: Map Keeps Closing in
  - a. China
  - b. Metamorphosis of religion and identity
  - c. Islam's vast impersonal slum settings

- 1) Middle East of **megacities**
- d. Christianity
- e. Europe's environmental paganism
- f. War
- g. Nuclear proliferation
- h. Space still matters

C. **MARSHALL HODGSON** (49-56)

1. *Venture of Islam*
2. Eurocentric Vision as a Distortion
  - a. **Mercator projection**
  - b. **Oikoumene**: inhabited quarter
    - 1) Nile to Oxus [Amu Darya in Central Asia]
  - c. Herodotus's world
3. Fluid World of Late Antiquity
4. Region Where **Islamicate Culture** Was to Be Formed May Be Defined Negatively
  - a. Residual group of lands in which the Greek and Sanskrit traditions had no roots
    - 1) Greek and Sanskrit had only transient growth in this 3000 mile swath
  - b. Two geographical features: **trade routes and aridity**
5. Urban Life in the **Oases** Was Favored
  - a. Money and power converged at **junction points** along the trade routes
  - b. World of trade and contracts
    - 1) Ethical behavior and just dealing were paramount for stability
  - c. Islam as a **merchant's creed**
6. **Mecca** in the Hejaz
  - a. Intersection of trade routes
  - b. Independence of Sassanid power in Iran [Persia]
  - c. Exposed to urbane religious and philosophical influences
    - 1) Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Hellenism, Judaism
  - d. Prophet Muhammad
7. Islam Was Nested into Merchant and Bedouin Patterns
8. **Bedouin Arabia** Bracketed by Three Agricultural Lands
  - a. Syria, Iraq, Yemen
  - b. Two arcs (Syria and Iraq) of the Fertile Crescent became rival centers of Islamic power
9. Ancient Precedents for the Modern States
  - a. Ancient **redoubts** [strongholds, fortresses] of civilizations
    - 1) Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and Iraq
  - b. Islam was not determined to be a single polity
  - c. Iranian Highlands
    - 1) American invasion of Iraq in 2003 opened the door to the reentry of Iran
  - d. Shifting border near the Euphrates River
  - e. Sassanid Empire conquered by Islam, 644
    - 1) Year 22 of Islamic calendar following the **hegira** [Hijra]
  - f. Anatolian highlands was finally captured by Seljuk Turks for Islam
    - 1) **Battle of Manzikert**, 1071
10. **Seljuk Turks**
  - a. Failure to impose and maintain stable rule over the heart of Islamdom
    - 1) Geography was at work here
    - 2) The later Ottomans were more successful but their rule was often weak
  - b. Turkic rule over India and Bengal [**Moghul dynasty**]
  - c. Horse nomadism of the Mongols and Turks
  - d. **Mongol-Turkic invasions**: Most significant event of the 2nd millennium AD
11. **Ottoman Turks**
  - a. Revealing the pivotal trends effecting Afro-Eurasian societies
  - b. Sufi mysticism
  - c. Monolithic **military caste system** under the *padishah*

- d. Limits placed on campaigns
  - 1) Sphere of operations from the gates of Vienna to Mosul
  - 2) The army sometimes wintered in Sofia or Aleppo
- e. Absolutist system concentrated in **Constantinople**
  - 1) Geographic situation became an all-determining factor
- f. Decay and demoralization
- 12. Hodgson as an Old-World Intellectual Aided by Scientific Rigor
  - a. Main stage: ancient Greek Oikoumene [extended by Alexander the Great]
  - b. Convergence of Eurasian and African land masses
  - c. Ultra strategic location
  - d. Migration patterns
- 13. **Herodotus**
  - a. Partial determinism
- D. HERODOTUS' HISTORIES (56-59)
  - 1. **Custom** Is King of All (Pindar)
  - 2. Memory of Civilizations
    - a. **Scythians**
      - 1) Artabanus warned Darius not to make war against them
  - 3. Evocation of What Human Beings Are Capable of Believing
  - 4. Story of Phidippides
  - 5. Nature Had Not Yet Been Eclipsed by Man
    - a. Wonder-filled fear of the natural elements
    - b. Our inability to understand or defend ourselves against religious movements that reverse the Enlightenment
    - c. New **geography of slums and shanty towns** has an equally intense psychological effect
      - 1) It puts a premium on space
  - 6. Seething-with-Culture **Archipelagic Landscape of Greece**
    - a. Peoples of Asia and Greece have fought each other for millennia
    - b. Tension between Greeks and Turks reduced by the 1920s ethnic cleansing
  - 7. Self-interest Is Calculated within a Disfiguring Whirlwind of Passion
  - 8. Complexities of **Moirai** (Fate)
    - a. Heroes: Ones who overcome fate
  - 9. Islam as a Global Force Started with the Actions of Individual Men in Mecca
    - a. The role of individual struggle in history
  - 10. Geopolitics and the Quasi-Determinist Theories That Emanate from It
    - a. Introducing a group of men who should make liberal humanists profoundly uneasy
      - 1) Little room left for human agency
    - b. Need to establish a framework for realism

## Review

William McNeill	Freya Stark	Mesopotamia
Ibn Khaldin	the Nile	peripheral civilizations
steppe people	Silk Road or Route	Oswald Spengler
monsoonal cycle	Diaspora	Western Europe's advantages
civilizational closure	Hans J. Morgenthau	empty spaces
imperial expansion	Han bureaucracy	megacities
Marshall Hodgson	Mercator projection	Oikoumene
Islamicate culture	trade routes and aridity	oases
Mecca	Bedouin Arabia	redoubts
<i>hegira</i>	Battle of Manzikert	Seljuk Turks
Moghul Dynasty	Mongol-Turkic invasions	Ottoman Turks
military caste system	Constantinople	Herodotus
Scythians	geography of slums and shanty towns	

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE EURASIAN MAP

### Outline

- A. GEOGRAPHY: THE BASIS FOR STRATEGY AND GEOPOLITICS (60-62)
  - 1. Napoleon on Strategy
    - a. Geopolitics
    - b. Knowing a nation's geography is the key to knowing its foreign policy
  - 2. **Halford Mackinder's Theories**
    - a. Morgenthau's dismissal of geopolitics as a pseudoscience
    - b. Nazi misuse of geopolitics
    - c. Mackinder's **balance of power** objective
    - d. His continuing relevance
    - e. Unsettling, underlying truth but also a risk of taking it too far
  - 3. The generalists answer to academic specialization
- B. MACKINDER'S GEOGRAPHICAL PIVOT (62-69)
  - 1. "The **Geographical Pivot of History**"
    - a. Archetype of the geographical discipline
    - b. It recalls the work of Herodotus and Ibn Khaldun
  - 2. Epic Sweep of the Article
    - a. He announced the ending of the **Columbian epoch** soon after 1900 [cf. the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Taylor, which as later critiqued by James C. Malin]
  - 3. Contrast between Medieval Christendom and the Columbian Age
    - a. **Closed political system** of world-wide scope [But unknown people groups were still being discovered as late as the 1960s]
    - b. Every explosion of social forces will be re-echoed from the far side of the globe
  - 4. **Lack of Room for European Empires to Expand**
    - a. Recognition that European wars would play out on a global scale
    - b. Col. Thomas Suitt: "Attrition of the same adds up to big change" [On military logistics, see Kaplan's "Fort Leavenworth and the Eclipse of Nationhood," Atlantic, 1996 <http://www.theatlantic.com/past/issues/96sep/leaven/leaven.htm>]
    - c. Closed and crowded chessboard in terms of population and weaponry
    - d. Middle East of megacities
  - 5. European History is Subordinate to Asia's [Noted by Paul Valéry over a Century Ago]
    - a. European struggle against Asiatic invasion
    - b. Russian flatland
    - c. Nomadic invaders from the naked southern steppe
    - d. Hard and cruel races of the grasslands: Huns, Bulgarians, Magyars, Mongols
    - e. Rise of European powers in defense against these invaders [the mortar]
    - f. The pestle was the land power from the Heartland
  - 6. **Mongol Invasions**
    - a. Golden Horde
    - b. **Russia denied access to the Renaissance**
  - 7. Why Europe Was Able to Emerge as the Political Cockpit of the World
    - a. Sahara blocked African influences
    - b. Medieval Europe conditioned by what happened on the Asian steppe
    - c. **Crusades:** Beginning of Europe's collective modern history
  - 8. Four **Marginal Regions** of Eurasia Correspond to Four Great Religions
    - a. East monsoon lands of Buddhism
    - b. South monsoon lands of Hinduism
    - c. Europe of Christianity

- d. Middle East of Islam
  - 1) **Ultimate unstable transition zone**
  - 2) Precursor of Hodgson's Oikoumene
- 9. Geographical Pivot: The **Steppe Lands**
- 10. **Columbian Epoch** [Western Europe Covered the Oceans with Its Fleets]
  - a. Discovery of a **sea route to India** [Portugal's Vasco da Gama, 1498]
  - b. End run around a geopolitical cage
- 11. Russian Expansion on Land
  - a. Siberia
  - b. **Granary of the southwestern steppe** [Ukraine]
  - c. Russia outflanked the Islamic Iranian world
  - d. **Liberal sea power vs. reactionary land power**
    - 1) Similar to Athens vs. Sparta
  - e. USA: An island nation bordered by two oceans
- 12. Steam and the **Suez Canal** [c. 1870]
  - a. Mobility of sea power around the **southern rimland** of Eurasia
  - b. Railways [a major factor in the Civil War and wars of German unification]
- 13. The Pivot Region's Location: Vast Area of Euro-Asia Inaccessible to Ships
- 14. Centrality of an Expanded Russia
  - a. Gates of the marginal regions of Eurasia
  - b. Tectonic forces of geography and technology
  - c. Russo-Japanese War
- 15. Rise of the Soviet Union
  - a. Struggles for Mackinder's rimlands
  - b. Expansion of Soviet railways
  - c. Rimland bases and the containment strategy
  - d. Chinese migration
- C. MACKINDER'S *DEMOCRATIC IDEAS AND REALITY* (69-74)
  - 1. His Limited Imperialism
  - 2. Limited Geographical Determinist
    - a. Human agency can overcome the dictates of geography
    - b. Aron defended Mackinder: Geography can be conquered through technological innovation
  - 3. Human Victory Consists in Our Rising Superior to Mere Fatalism
  - 4. Geography Must Be Treated with the greatest Knowledge and Respect
  - 5. **Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince***
    - a. "Instructional guide for those who do not accept fate and require the utmost cunning to vanquish more powerful forces"
    - b. It is a challenge to rise above predetermined reality
  - 6. Mackinder Was the Opposite of a Determinist
    - a. He was open to the ironies of history as they unfolded
  - 7. Mackinder's Anticipation of a Global, Not Merely Continental, System
    - a. The **Continental System** was dying in 1904
      - 1) It had been a product of the **Congress of Vienna**
    - b. Struggle for the Heartland
    - c. 1919 Warning: **Unresolved Duel between Sea Power and Land Power**
  - 8. World Presented from Two Perspectives: Seaman's and Landsman's
    - a. Nile Valley Civilization: protection by deserts and marshes
    - b. [Minoan] Crete: first base of western sea power
    - c. Challenge of Persian land power
    - d. Macedonian landmen and mountaineers
    - e. Macedonian conquest turned the Aegean into a closed sea
    - f. Roman and later Saracen [Arab] conquests
  - 9. Petersburg vs. Moscow
  - 10. Dry-Land Area [of the World-Promontory] as a Vast Cape
    - a. Closed System

- b. **World Island**
- c. Eurasia
- 11. Old World Has Become Insular
  - a. British sea-power encompassed the World Promontory
- 12. **Indian Ocean**: Vascular Center of the World Economy
- D. **HEARTLAND THESIS** (74-78)
  - 1. Simplistic Dictum
  - 2. Collapse of Empires: Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, [German, Russian]
  - 3. Tier of Independent **Buffer States**
    - a. Eastern Europe: key to the Heartland
    - b. James Fairgrieve's idea of a crush zone
    - c. Bolshevik Russia: A Jacobin [French Revolutionary] Czardom
  - 4. Mackinder's Miscalculation
    - a. **Arnold Toynbee** recognized that German dominance would result from national self-determination
    - b. German conquests in Eastern Europe became **Cold War Soviet satellites**
    - c. Mackinder's Wilsonian idealism
    - d. Ideal of a league of democracies
  - 5. Location of the Heartland
    - a. "Heartland" was originally Fairgrieve's term
    - b. Tibetan and Mongolian uplands added to the Pivot area
    - c. So was the belt of countries from Scandinavia to Anatolia [Turkey]
    - d. Middle East: passage-land from Europe to the Indies
    - e. Arabia, like Europe, is heavily influenced by the Heartland
    - f. Iranian plateau connects the Heartland to Arabia
  - 6. **Greece**
    - a. Only buffer land that did not fall into the Soviet orbit after WWII
    - b. Part of the strategic southern ridgeline of NATO
  - 7. Relative Insularity of the Monsoon Lands of India and China
  - 8. Use of the Eurasian Center as a Referent Point
    - a. Wealth in oil and strategic minerals and metals
    - b. Heartland: a register of power around the World-Island
    - c. Soviet Union: preeminent land power
    - d. Soviet quest of sea power led to its Afghanistan misadventure
    - e. Principal geopolitical dilemma of our time: Russia's current effort to **reconsolidate the Heartland**

## Review

Halford Mackinder	balance of power	"Geographical Pivot of History"
Columbian epoch	closed political system: lack of room	Mongol invasions
Renaissance skipped Russia	Crusades	Marginal Regions
ultimate unstable transition zone	Steppe Lands	sea route to India
granary of southwest steppe	liberal sea power	reactionary land power
Suez Canal	southern rimland	Niccolò Machivelli
unresolved issue between sea power and land power		Continental System
Congress of Vienna	World Island	Indian Ocean
Heartland Thesis	buffer states	Arnold Toynbee
Cold War Soviet satellites	Greece	Russia's effort to reconsolidate the Heartland

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE NAZI DISTORTION

### Outline

- A. HEIRS TO LAND POWER (79-80)
  - 1. Russia's Historically **Deep Insecurity**
  - 2. Germany
    - a. Unification under **Otto von Bismarck**
    - b. Wilhelm II's abjuration of Bismarck's caution
    - c. Discrediting of geopolitics and geography
- B. **GEOPOLITIK**
  - 1. **Friedrich Ratzel**
    - a. **Lebensraum**
    - b. Friedrich List
    - c. **Charles Darwin**
    - d. Idea of the organic-biological state
  - 2. **Rudolf Kjellén**
    - a. Sweden's past grandeur: Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII
    - b. Greater Germany
    - c. German railway to Mesopotamia [the link to Baghdad was completed in 1940]
    - d. **Volkstaat** [people's state] would require a large amount of *Lebensraum*
    - e. Annihilation of the individual
  - 3. **Karl Haushofer**
  - 4. **Robert Strausz-Hupé**
    - a. Foreign Policy Research Institute
- C. STRAUZ-HUPÉ'S CRITIQUE OF NAZI *GEOPOLITIK*
  - 1. Karl Haushofer
    - a. Rise of Japan
    - b. **Rudolf Hess**
    - c. **Adolf Hitler**
    - d. *Mein Kampf*
    - e. Mackinder on Land-Locked Peoples
  - 2. Mackinder on the Limits of Sea Power
    - a. Threat of German naval development
    - b. **Industrial Revolution** meant a world of big states
    - c. Haushofer's mystical view of the Heartland
      - 1) Strategic citadel [fortress] into which vital industries could be withdrawn [An analogy may be made with the ancient walls from Athens to Piraeus]
  - 3. Haushofer's Inversion of Mackinder's Thesis
    - a. Call for the extinction of the independent states of Eastern Europe
    - b. Goal: Dissolve the British Empire and break up the Soviet Union
      - 1) One-third of German people were seen as living under **alien rule**
    - c. **German New World Order**: presupposed Greater East Asia and Pan America
  - 4. Mackinder's Edwardian Viewpoint
    - a. Fear of Russia [cf. the Crimean War and threats to India]
    - b. Fixation on buffer states
    - c. Strausz-Hupé absolves the more individualistic Mackinder of the Germanic yearning for "Wagnerian finality" [reference to Richard Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelungen* cycle that ended with the *Götterdämmerung*, "twilight of the gods"]
  - 5. Haushofer's Crazy and Dreamy Ideology
    - a. Coherent **doctrine of empire**
    - b. Overthrow of the **balance of power** [the League of Nations had already overthrown it in the name of collective security]
    - c. Perversion of **Lord George Curzon's** lecture on frontiers
      - 1) Decadent nations seek stable borders; virile ones build roads instead [Versailles Treaty fixed western borders but left eastern borders fluid]
    - d. Nihilistic warfare for space
  - 6. Haushofer's Lack of Fixed Principles
    - a. **Molotov-Ribbentrop** [Russo-German] **Pact**, August 1939 [Germany invaded Poland on September 1 and the Soviet Union invaded on September 1]

- b. Invasion of Russia, June 1941
- c. Haushofer's fall from favor
- d. Postwar double suicide of Haushofer and his wife
- D. STRAUZ-HUPÉ GETS THE FINAL WORD (86-88)
  - 1. *Geopolitik* Regarded as the Master Plan for Conquest
  - 2. Strausz-Hupé's Aim [He Later Coauthored *Protracted Conflict*]
    - a. Postwar U.S. role
  - 3. Industrial Age Technology
    - a. Air power
    - b. Advantage of big states
    - c. Postindustrial age
  - 4. Frontiers
    - a. Origin of the **sovereign state** in war
    - b. Curzon: Frontier wars will increase as "the habitable globe shrinks"
    - c. Crowding of the planet
    - d. Result: **Crisis of room** follows from Mackinder's idea of a closed system

### Review

Russia's deep insecurity	Otto von Bismarck	<i>Geopolitik</i>
Friedrich Ratzel	Rudolf Kjellén	Karl Haushofer
Robert Straus-Hupé	Rudolf Hess	Adolf Hitler
alien rule	German New World Order	doctrine of empire
balance of power	Lord Curzon	Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
sovereign state	crisis of room	

## CHAPTER SIX: THE RIMLAND THESIS

### Outline

- A. **NICHOLAS J. SPYKMAN** (89-90)
  - 1. Background
  - 2. "Most Favored Nation from the Point of View of Location"
  - 3. State of International Anarchy
    - a. Safety of balanced power, not domination
    - b. Power configurations of the postwar world foreseen
- B. WESTERN HEMISPHERE (91-95)
  - 1. History Is Made in the Temperate Latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere
    - a. Southern hemisphere
    - b. Relative lack of solar energy compared to the tropics
    - c. Polar regions
    - d. Mackinder's **wilderness girdle**
      - 1) United States as the last great, relatively empty tract
    - e. Spykman: America prospered due to its favorable locations for harbors
  - 2. United States as Hemispheric Hegemon [**Hegemony** Is Leadership]
    - a. Power to spare for activities outside the New World
    - b. South America
  - 3. **American Mediterranean: Greater Caribbean Sea**
    - a. Comparison with Athens and Rome
    - b. Spanish-American War
    - c. Caribbean basin
    - d. **Amazonian divide** [cf. the Sahara as a divide]
  - 4. **Southern Cone**
    - a. Andes



- b. Chile and Peru
    - c. Yawning distances
  - 5. Negative Flip Side: An Unstable Latin America
    - a. Drug war
    - b. **Hugo Chavez** [and his Bolivarian Revolution]
    - c. Globalization has meant an uncomfortably closer relation
  - 6. Worldwide Nazi Threat
    - a. U.S. had no geographical advantage in the Southern Cone
    - b. Equidistant zone
    - c. American dilemma: Potential Nazi **encirclement strategy** [United States secretly negotiated to purchase the Danish West Indies, 1915-1916, to avoid possible German annexation]
  - 7. Foreign Inroads
    - a. Europe, Japan, and China
- C. HEARTLAND AND RIMLAND (96-98)
  - 1. Mackinder's Influence
    - a. Russia's attempt to break through the encircling ring of border (buffer) states
  - 2. Geography of the Heartland
    - a. Soviet empire
    - b. Heartland lies to the north of the belt of mountain and tableland [Anatolian and Persian plateaus]
  - 3. Demographic Giants of the Outer Marginal Crescent: The **Rimland**
    - a. **Maritime-orientation**
  - 4. Convergence of Their Thinking
    - a. Dream of the Soviet Union
  - 5. Spykman's Explanatory Advantage
    - a. Threat by Axis powers
  - 6. Cold War
    - a. **George Kennan's Containment Strategy**
      - 1) Long Telegram
      - 2) Containment = Encirclement
    - b. Kennan's Rimland focus
    - c. **Henry Kissinger** on limited war
    - d. Battlegrounds along the periphery of communism
- D. SPYKMAN'S FUTUROLOGY (98-102)
  - 1. Germany Seen as a Counterweight to Russia
  - 2. Japan Seen as a Counterweight to China
    - a. Thus serving a similar function as Britain
  - 3. Asiatic Mediterranean: Sea of Japan, East and South China Seas
    - a. Chinese air power
  - 4. Opposition to a United Europe
    - a. **Balance of power** is more advantageous to American interests
    - b. Dilemma posed by a **federal Europe**: it would weaken American significance as an Atlantic power and weaken its position in the Western hemisphere
    - c. European superstate would compete for influence over the Southern Cone
  - 5. Spykman's Difference from Kennan's Containment Policy
    - a. Kennan put his faith in the Western way of life
    - b. Spykman's cold-blooded analysis
    - c. Strategic thinking in terms of a round earth and three-dimensional warfare
  - 6. Mackinder's Closed System
    - a. World of multiple hegemony
      - 1) Regional behemoths
  - 7. Northern Polar Map [cf. Alexander de Seversky]
    - a. Concentration of northern land masses
    - b. Starfish-like southern dispersion
    - c. Northern baselines of world politics

- d. South America and Africa
- e. **Polar routes**
  - 1) Arctic warming will give new meaning to sea power
- f. Effects of global warming
- 8. Northern Hemisphere
  - a. World Island
  - b. North America as its most significant satellite
  - c. Rimland
  - d. Check on Russian Heartland
  - e. Arctic: Hub of planes and ships
  - f. Indian Ocean as a maritime interstate highway
- 9. World of Subtle Power Arrangements

## Review

Nicholas J. Spykman	wilderness girdle	hegemony
American Mediterranean	Amazonian divide	Southern Cone
Hugo Chavez	Nazi encirclement strategy	Rimland
maritime-orientation	George Kennan	containment strategy
Henry Kissinger	balance of power	dilemma posed by a federal Europe
polar routes		

## CHAPTER SEVEN: THE ALLURE OF SEA POWER

- A. **ALFRED THAYER MAHAN** (1840-1914)
  - 1. Indian and Pacific Oceans as the Hinges of Geopolitical Destiny
  - 2. Russia's Vulnerability
    - a. Dissatisfaction and aggression
    - b. The **debatable ground**: Rimland
  - 3. Eurasian Heartland
    - a. China
    - b. Afghanistan and Iran
    - c. Middle East
    - d. Indian Ocean **littoral**
  - 4. Flaws in the Sea power Doctrine
    - a. Germany seized the opportunity to organize and mobilize for total war
  - 5. Sea Power Expansion of the United States around the World
    - a. Mahan's lusty **imperialism**
    - b. Concentration of naval power
  - 6. Multinational System of Maritime Alliances [particularly with Britain]
  - 7. *Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*
    - a. The sea is the "wide common"
  - 8. Need for Far-Sightedness
    - a. Weakness of despotism and fierce avarice
    - b. Ignorance of both tragedy and the sea
  - 9. Control of the Seas
    - a. American victory in war for independence due to France's control of the seas
    - b. **Second Punic War**: Roman sea power forced **Hannibal** to cross the Alps
    - c. Navy as a light corps
  - 10. Possession of Overbearing Power on the Sea Is Crucial
  - 11. England and America
    - a. American disadvantage: **distance from Eurasian ports**
    - b. Isthmian canal
    - c. Transformation of the Caribbean

12. **Panama Canal**
  - a. **Factors** that led to its construction
13. Mahan's Call for Global Sea Power
  - a. **Spanish American War** [American Anti-Imperialist League opposed annexation of the Philippines]
  - b. Mahan recognized that America would be drawn into power struggles
14. **Norman Angell**
  - a. His critique of Mahan's supposed determinism
  - b. A defense
15. Angell's Flawed Treatise: *The Great Illusion*
16. Latter-Day Mahanians: Indian and Chinese Strategists
17. **Julian Corbett**
  - a. Need for a "fleet in being"
  - b. Subsequent downsizing of the Royal Navy
18. Current Downsizing of the United States Navy [cf. "penny-wise, pound-foolish"]
  - a. Naval allies
  - b. World is interconnected in pulsing demographic ganglia
  - c. Spirit of **collective security**
19. Two Military Realities in the World-Promontory
  - a. U.S. Navy
  - b. Rising power of China and India
  - c. John Mearsheimer on the **security benefits of hegemony**

## Review

Alfred Thayer Mahan	debatable ground	littoral
imperialism	Second Punic War	Hannibal
distance from Eurasian ports	Panama Canal factors	Spanish American War
Norman Angell	Julian Corbett	collective security
security benefits of hegemony		

## CHAPTER EIGHT: THE "CRISIS OF ROOM"

### Outline

- A. *FIRE IN THE EAST* (114-19)
  1. **Paul Bracken**
    - a. Conceptual map of Eurasia
    - b. "Crisis of room"
    - c. **John von Neumann** [mathematician who was a pioneer in computer science, games theory, and quantum mechanics]
    - d. Finite size of the earth
  2. Appeal of Nationalism and Growth of Military Power
    - a. Technologies of war and wealth creation
    - b. The Army: an instrument of **mass indoctrination**
      - 1) Initially focused inwardly: **nation-building**
    - c. Gradual shift to an outward focus
    - d. Geography is no longer a cushion; it is a prison
  3. Multipolar **Balance of Terror**
    - a. Death of distance
    - b. North Korean missile launch over Japan, 1998
    - c. Concept of Asia created by western powers starting with the Portuguese
      - 1) It was deconstructed into separate regions during the Cold War

- d. **Pacific Basin**
- e. U.S. Military hegemony is receding
- f. Asia enlarges as subunits collapse
  - 1) It is becoming a claustrophobic and volatile conglomeration [cf. René Girard on the crisis of degree or loss of differentiation, making rivalry more destructive. See *A Theater of Envy*, pp. 164-65]
- 4. **Alliances** Did Not Matter Much in Asia [Unlike the Situation in Europe]
  - a. Now it is missiles and WMDs rather than infantry forces that are being built
  - b. Naval and marine patrols
  - c. India vs. China
  - d. Consequence: a shrinking Eurasian chessboard
- 5. Disruptive Technologies
- 6. Extension of Iran to Israel's Doorstep
  - a. Vulnerability of U.S. forward bases
  - b. A more unstable multipolar management is likely to follow
  - c. Preservation of the asymmetric situation depends on **arms control**
  - d. Cold War uses of nuclear weapons
  - e. "Detachment and rationality" characterized superpower rivalry during Cold War
  - f. This may not be the case in Bracken's **second nuclear age**
- 7. Analogy with the Spread of the Six-Shooter
  - a. "Poor man's nukes" upset the global balance of power
- 8. World Is Becoming Less Eurocentric
  - a. Europe's **traditional balance of power politics**
  - b. The stability of **mutually assured destruction** (MAD) is unlikely
  - c. Closed geography requires Metternichian balance of power statecraft [Austrian **Prince** Klemens von **Metternich** allied Austria with Russia and presided over the Concert of Europe]
- 9. World of Multidimensional Brinkmanship
  - a. Obliteration of obsolete area studies programs
  - b. Pivot and rimland rendered less distinct
  - c. Interconnectedness due to telecommunications
  - d. **Naval power projection** at great distances along the navigable rimland
- B. MAPS OF EURASIA WILL BECOME MORE CLAUSTROPHOBIC (119-28)
  - 1. **Thomas Malthus**
    - [The modern eugenics movement was promoted a century by Neo-Malthusian societies]
    - a. **Youth bulge** [Gunnar Heinsohn's concept]: Angry young criminals and fanatics
    - b. Demography of the Greater Middle East
    - c. Diminishing supplies of groundwater [a specter of future resource wars]
  - 2. Crowded Megacities
    - a. Fertile petri dishes for spreading democracy and radicalism
  - 3. Urban Growth in Developing Countries
  - 4. Dynamic in Favor of Urbanization
    - a. **Ibn Khaldun**
      - 1) Luxury and decay
    - b. **Group solidarity erodes** and Individuals weaken **executive power**
    - c. Fragmentation
    - d. Breakup of sprawling concentrations
    - e. **Radical Islam** is the story of urbanization
    - f. Demonstrators for democracy
    - g. Impersonal quality of urban life accounts for intensified religious feeling
    - h. Reinvention of religion
  - 5. Constantly Enraged Crowds [cf. Gustave Le Bon and José Ortega y Gasset]
    - a. Rumors and half-truths
    - b. Shelter from dander and an effort to escape loneliness
    - c. Breakdown of traditional authority [cf. Max Weber]
  - 6. Society of Strangers [cf. Roger Scruton's *The West and the Rest*]

- a. New urban geography: a map of intense, personal longing
- b. **George Orwell**: tyranny rests on a human proclivity to trade human freedom for group identity [identitarianism or what might be called congregariousness]
- c. Protection of a virtual crowd
- d. Media amplify the rage, ecstasy, and virtue of **presentness**
- e. Obliteration of past and future
- 7. Crowd Psychology
- 8. Megacities
  - a. New and dangerous ideologies
  - b. **Mass education**: badly educated people liberated from fatalism
- 9. Role of the Media
  - a. **Oswald Spengler**
  - b. Animosities up close and personal
  - c. Religious and ethnic disputes inflamed by the mass media
  - d. Political logic that seeks foreign scapegoats for domestic problems

### Review

Paul Bracken	John von Neumann	mass indoctrination
National building	balance of terror	Pacific Basin
alliances	arms control	second nuclear age
traditional balance of power politics		mutually assured destruction (MAD)
Prince Metternich	naval power projection	Thomas Malthus
youth bulge	Ibn Khaldun	group solidarity erodes executive power
radical Islam	George Orwell	presentness
mass education	Oswald Spengler	

## PART II: THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY MAP

### CHAPTER NINE: THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPEAN DIVISIONS

#### Outline

- A. DELICIOUS COMPLEXITY OF EUROPE'S GEOGRAPHY (133-37)
  - 1. European Union
    - a. Largest economy
    - b. European geopolitical perspectives
    - c. 20C Europe as a starting-point
  - 2. Relationship with Russia
  - 3. Internal Divisions
    - a. Narcissism of small differences
  - 4. Political and Economic Disunity
- B. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY (137-48)
  - 1. Western Excrescence of Asia
    - a. **"Congenial" ecozone**
    - b. Deviated and shattered **coastline** (littoral)
    - c. Four seas: Mediterranean, Black, Baltic, North
    - d. Advantageous **riverine topography**
    - e. Land corridors: Moravian Gap, Brenner Pass, plain to the Rhône Valley
  - 2. Maritime Dynamism and Mobility
    - a. Intense range of landscapes

- b. Outbreak of power politics
- c. Lowland corridor, including the North European Plain
- d. Short distances
- 3. Idea of Europe
  - a. Geographical expression of **liberal humanism**
  - b. Several Europes
- 4. Overview
  - a. *Mitteleuropa* [Central Europe, *i.e.*, Habsburg Austro-Hungarian empire]
  - b. Political heart of Europe: From **Benelux** to the approaches of the Alps
  - c. EU Institutions: Brussels, The Hague, Maastricht, and Strasbourg
  - d. **Carolingian** [Charlemagne] monarchy
  - e. **Aachen** [Aix-la-Chapelle]: Europe's medieval core
  - f. Spinal column of Old World civilization
  - g. Low Countries protected by **English Channel** and **Frisian Islands**
  - h. Cold climate
  - i. Proving grounds of **Francia** (Kingdom of West Franks), the **Holy Roman Empire** (revived by Otto I), and **Burgundy** (part of the Middle Kingdom of Lothair)
  - j. Displacement of Rome by city-states like Trier and Liege
- 5. Rome and Greece: Antechambers of the Anciently Civilized World
- 6. Initial Flowering along the Mediterranean
  - a. Roman expansion to the North Sea
  - b. *Oppida*: Julius Caesar
- 7. Rome's Breakup
  - a. Formation of peoples
    - 1) **Treaty of Westphalia**, 1648
  - b. Chain Effect
- 8. Birth of the World of the Middle Ages
  - a. Arab sweep through North Africa in the 7C
- 9. **Fernand Braudel**
  - a. Mediterranean societies fell into traditionalism and rigidity
  - b. Poor soils favored large holdings [*latifundia*] under the control of the wealthy
  - c. Freer civilization in the north
- 10. Broad Undercurrents
  - a. **Protestant Reformation**
  - b. Geographical factors
  - c. Roger II in Sicily
  - d. **Renaissance**
  - e. Portugal and Spain
  - f. Mineral-rich Carolingian core
- 11. Division between Frankish West and Byzantine East
  - a. Migration route of the **Danube valley**
  - b. Three Europes of the East: **Byzantine** (Greek Constantinople), **Ottoman** (Turkish Istanbul), and **Habsburg** (Austria [Eastern Reich] Vienna)
- 12. Divisions of the Roman Empire
  - a. Western empire gave way to **Charlemagne's** (Carolingian) kingdom in the 9C
  - b. Eastern empire (**Byzantium**) shrank until conquest by Ottoman Turks, 1453
  - c. Border between them ran through what later became Yugoslavia
    - 1) Western Catholic Slovenes and Croats vs. Eastern Orthodox Serbs
  - d. Carpathians
    - 1) A gradation or shift of balance compared to Northwest Europe and even North Central Europe (Poland and Hungary)
  - e. Impoverished Balkans
- 13. Cold War Divisions
  - a. The **Warsaw Pact** constituted a full-fledged eastern empire, ruled from Moscow
    - 1) "Soviet prison of nations"
  - b. **European Union**: Built out of the original Carolingian base

- c. NATO
- 14. Soviet Thrust into Central Europe
  - a. Role of Adolf Hitler
- 15. Carolingian Europe Rules [Britain Now Seeking a Revised Relationship]
  - a. **Balance of power** may shift eastward
  - b. Lagging south
  - c. Greece
    - 1) Ahead of the Balkans only because it was spared the ravages of communism
- 16. Economic Consequences of the Warsaw Pact Breakup
- 17. Map of the Holy Roman Empire
  - a. 21C Regional success stories
  - b. Center vs. periphery
  - c. Northerly subregions
- 18. **Dissolution of European Society**
  - a. Graying [demographic winter]
  - b. Muslim growth [new nomadism]
  - c. Demographic decline [West goes from 1/3 to 1/8 of world's population]
- 19. Map of Europe is about to Move Southward
  - a. Evolution of North Africa
    - 1) Tunisia and Egypt: **Shadow zones** of deepening EU involvement
  - b. Mediterranean will become a connector
- 20. Arab Revolutions
  - a. Mackinder: **Sahara Desert** is Europe's real southern boundary
- 21. European Union: One of the World's Greatest Post-Industrial Hubs
- C. UNITED GERMANY (148-151)
  - 1. Less Influence for the European Union [Germany is more dominant now]
  - 2. **Trade Links** with East and West
  - 3. Trade
    - a. Developing economic niches and relationships
    - b. Aggressive modernism
    - c. Tradition of small independent states still guides Germany's **federal system**
    - d. Regional flavor has been preserved
  - 4. German-Polish Reconciliation
  - 5. German Quasi-Pacifism
    - a. American security presence
    - b. Refugees threat
  - 6.. Resurgent Russia
    - a. Traditional need for a **cordon sanitaire** [set of buffer states] of compliant regimes
    - b. Europe's need for **natural gas from Russia**
  - 7. The Choices
    - a. Debellicized Europe with a Finlandized Eastern Europe vs. a Germany able to stand up to Russia
    - b. Former scenario would prove the fears of Mackinder
      - 1) No *Mittleuropa*
      - 2) Only a maritime Europe and a continental one with a crush zone between them
    - c. Latter scenario would help realize the idea of Europe with a flourishing tier of states between Germany and Russia
- D. GREECE (151-153)
  - 1. Europe Shifted Laterally Westward after the Age of Exploration
  - 2. To This Day Europe Is Shifting to the East
  - 3. **Greece as the Unifier** of Two European Worlds
    - a. Equidistant between Brussels and Moscow
      - 1) Cultural proximity to both due to Eastern Orthodoxy

- b. Greek independence movement
- c. Greek people sided with Russians in favor of the Serbs during Kosovo War
- d. Greece barely remained in the Western camp during the Cold War
- e. **How it might have been different** had negotiations between Churchill and Stalin gone differently
- f. Greek financial crisis

## Review

congenial ecozone	coastline	riverine topography
liberal humanism	Benelux	Carolingian monarchy (Charlemagne)
English Channel	Francia, Holy Roman Empire, and Burgundy	
Treaty of Westphalia	Fernand Braudel	Protestant Reformation
Renaissance	Danube valley	Byzantine, Ottoman, Habsburg empires
Warsaw Pact	European Union	balance of power
dissolution of European society	shadow zones	Sahara Desert
Germany's trade links	federal system	natural gas from Russia
Greece as unifier		

# CHAPTER TEN: RUSSIA AND THE INDEPENDENT HEARTLAND

## Outline

- A. THE CAUCASUS (154-55)
  - 1. **Alexander Solzhenitsyn** on the Caucasus
  - 2. Land Bridge
    - a. Congeries of proud peoples
- B. RUSSIA: WORLD'S PREEMINENT LAND POWER (155-60)
  - 1. Locked by Arctic Ice in the North
    - a. Land powers are perennially insecure
      - 1) Expansion in each of the other directions
  - 2. Severe Cold
    - a. Northern latitudes, remoteness for open seas, and **continentality** [the greater thermal variation over land as the moderating influence of the ocean dissipates]
    - b. Relative mildness of the Caucasus and Russian Far East [both near water]
  - 3. Capacity for Suffering
    - a. **Communalism** and a certain willingness to sacrifice the individual for the common good
    - b. Compulsion
    - c. Disdain for personal freedom [Yet Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, who knew Russia, concluded that Russians are far more individualistic than Americans]
  - 4. **Geographic Belts**
    - a. Northern **tundra**
    - b. Central **taiga** often with permafrost
    - c. Southern **steppe** [cf. Argentina's Patagonia and Pampas, Canadian-American Great Plains, and the Columbia Plateau]
  - 5. Forest People That Conquered Asiatic Nomads
    - a. **Mongol hordes** [camp, der. Turkish *ordu*; Urdu is the language of the camp]
    - b. Breaking out of the **Tatar** [Mongol-Turkic] yoke
  - 6. **Insecurity** of the Eastern Plain
    - a. James Billington on Russian culture
    - b. Landscape of anarchy
  - 7. Religion



- a. Orthodox Easter
  - b. Hint of paganism [cf. Rimsky-Korsakov's Russian Easter Overture]
  - c. **Nicolas Berdyaev** on the Russian Communist emphasis on totality [cf. *The Origins of Russian Communism*]
8. Insecurity Inculcated the Need for Conquest [overcompensation]
- C. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT (160-68)
- 1. **Kievan Rus**
    - a. Contact with the Byzantine Empire
    - b. Joining of **Vikings** [the Rus or Varangians] and eastern Slavs
    - c. Large tracts of land favored empire
  - 2. Steppe Nomads
    - a. Batu Khan
  - 3. Russian History Shifted North
    - a. **Moscow**
      - 1) Autocracy and paranoia
      - 2) Hub of Russia's river highways
    - b. Impenetrable forest tracts
  - 4. **Ivan IV Groznyi** [the Terrible or the Dread]
    - a. Russia's first imperialist
    - b. Greek refugees
    - c. Defeat of Kazan Tatars and Sibir [from which Siberia is derived]
    - d. Cruelty
    - e. Speed of Russian irruption across Siberia
  - 5. Khanate of **Astrakhan**: Tatar Offshoot of **Golden Horde** [Also Known as the Kipchak Khanate]
    - a. Nogai Horde: Nogai (dog) was the son of Tatar and grandson of Jochi, the eldest son of Genghis Khan
    - b. Sea of grasslands
  - 6. Baltic
    - a. Defeat by **Hanseatic League** and **German Livonia** [a Branch of the Teutonic Order]: This cut Russia off from the West
  - 7. **Cossacks**
    - a. Original meaning of kazak: freelance Tatar warrior
    - b. Frontiersmen
    - c. Nikolai Gogol's *Taras Bulba*
    - d. Ukraine: borderland
  - 8. **Time of Troubles** [the Subject of Operas by Glinka, Mussorgsky, and Dvořák]
    - a. Boris Godunov: a transitional figure at the end of the Rurik Dynasty
    - b. Collapse of medieval Muscovy (Third Rome): invasions by Sweden and the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth
    - c. Michael Romanov
  - 9. Romanov Dynasty
    - a. Conquests
    - b. Recovery from reverses
    - c. Napoleon's retreat
  - 10. **Peter I The Great**
    - a. St. Petersburg
      - 1) Swedish invasion of the Masurian Marshes (in Belarus)
      - 2) Scorched earth tactics
    - b. Russia remained Eurasian
    - c. **Alexander Herzen** on Russian provincialism
  - 11. The Gates of the Levant and India
    - a. Tashkent and Samarkand
    - b. Silk Route
  - 12. Internal Enemies
    - a. **Chechens**

- b. Caucasus trade routes
  - c. Sufism
  - d. North Caucasus
  - e. Artificial units
  - f. Exile to Central Asia in 1944
13. Mackinder's Pivot Theory
- a. **Russian railway building**
  - b. Spurs to Merv and Samarkand
  - c. Kara Kum and Kyzyl Kum deserts
  - d. **Great Game**: Russian expansion south met British resistance from India
  - e. Baku to Batumi
  - f. Bering Strait
- D. RUSSIAN GEOGRAPHY (168-74)
1. Vast Lowland Plains
- a. Heartland: Temptation of a warm water outlet on the Indian Ocean
  - b. Cossacks, fur trappers, and traders sent as far as the Yenesei River
    - 1) The immense territory spanned seven major mountain ranges
  - c. **Boreal riverine empire**
  - d. Western and eastern Siberia
2. Resources
- a. Animal furs
  - b. Mineral
  - c. Hydroelectric power
  - d. Lena River
  - e. **Great portage system** linked the boreal riverine system
  - f. Czarist and Soviet **penal systems**
  - g. Mines
  - h. **Oil and natural gas**
  - i. Conflict with China
3. Amur River and Ussuri River
- a. Site of conflict between czarist Russia and Qing China
  - b. Russian Far East, 1860
  - c. Nikolai Makarov: NATO and China as rivals
4. East Asian Power Dynamics
- a. Russo-Japanese War
    - 1) Issue of Manchuria
5. Russian Revolution
- a. Seizure of parts of the Trans-Siberian Railway
  - b. Japanese occupation of Vladivostok
  - c. Defeat of White Russian forces
  - d. Margins reabsorbed: Central Asia [Mongolia added to Soviet orbit]
  - e. Renewed Russian imperialism
  - f. Capital moved to Moscow
  - g. USSR
  - h. **Prison of nations**
6. Aggression
- a. **Manchuria** [afterwards, the Japanese seized Manchuria]
  - b. Xinjiang
  - c. Outer Mongolia
  - d. Baltic annexations
  - e. Hitler's 1941 invasion
  - f. Post War revenge [the ethnic cleansing of Germans has gotten little press; see J. Otto Pohl, *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937-1949*; Nikolai Tolstoy has dealt with forced "repatriation" of overseas Russians]
7. System of Communist **Satellite States**
- a. Soviet occupation

- b. Territory promised in the Nazi-Soviet pact
  - c. Occupation of Manchuria
  - d. Korean Peninsula
  - e. Soviet Heartland power vs. American sea and air power
- E. RUSSIA'S CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES (174-82)
1. Cold War
    - a. **Mikhail Gorbachev**
      - 1) Inflexible empire of subject peoples
      - 2) "Emperor's New Clothes" revelation led to its breakup
    - b. **Philip Longworth**: repeated expansion and collapse
    - c. Denis Shaw: Russia is a weak state
  2. Reduction in Russia's Size
    - a. Territorial losses
    - b. Its vastness
    - c. Loss of half the population of the USSR
  3. Geographic Vulnerability
    - a. Geopolitics rehabilitated
    - b. **Gennady Zyuganov's** desire to restore control over the Heartland
    - c. Russia has become a **revisionist power**
      - 1) **Near-abroad**
    - d. Vladimir Zhirinovsky
  4. Doctrine of Eurasianism
    - a. Zbigniew Brzezinski
    - b. Russia's centrality
    - c. Ethnic resistance to Eurasianism
    - d. The Caucasus
    - e. Central Asia
  5. Geography as the Backdrop against Which the Battle of Ideas of Plays Out
    - a. Ideals are basic to national identity
    - b. Malaise where a people have nothing but geography to unite them
    - c. Russia's population decline
    - d. Toxic pollution
    - e. Regional separatism of Muslims
    - f. Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
  6. **Dmitri Trenin**
    - a. Soft power
    - b. Russian language as *lingua franca* [free or common tongue]
    - c. Ideal of liberal democracy
    - d. Need to emphasize Russia's extremities
    - e. **Vladivostok**
    - f. **Pacific Rim development** bypassed Russia
    - g. China's emergence as the great power in Eurasia
    - h. Russian strategy
  7. Russia's Earlier Opportunity
    - a. 1917
    - b. *Ancien regime* [Old regime] was oriented westward
  8. Vladimir Putin's Low-Dose Authoritarianism
    - a. Rejection of "shock therapy"
    - b. Failure to orient Russia toward Europe and the Pacific
    - c. Wealth of natural resources is not enough
  9. Resource Reserves
    - a. Natural gas
    - b. Oil
    - c. Hydropower
    - d. Militarization
  10. Ukraine and Russia

- a. Pivot state in near abroad
  - b. Religious split: Uniate priests can marry like Orthodox
  - c. **Zbigniew Brzezinski**
  - d. Poland becomes the pivot if Ukraine falls under Russian sway
  - e. Politics of natural gas
  - f. 2008 invasion of Georgia
11. Pipeline Geography
- a. Ukrainian base leased to Russia's Black Sea Fleet
  - b. Azerbaijan's **Caspian Sea oil**
  - c. European dependence on Russia
12. Other Russian Levers
- a. Baltic naval base, *et al.*
13. Resurgent Islam
- a. Need for a friendly Iran
- F. CENTRAL ASIA (183-87)
1. Anarchy on the Kazakh Steppe
- a. Individual states out against the ethnic grain
  - b. Fear of pan-movements
  - c. Anomalies
    - 1) **Syr Darya Valley** [one known as the Jaxartes and paired with the Oxus (Amu Darya); the old Soviet Cosmodrome is located in it]
  - d. Sovietism
  - e. Weakness of **pan-Turkism** and **pan-Persianism**
2. Modest Stability
- a. Wealth in natural resources
    - 1) Bargaining power
  - b. Tengiz oil fields
  - c. Natural gas of Turkmenistan
  - d. Kyrgyzstan
  - e. Lingering resentment over Soviet occupation
3. Fickleness of Global Energy Prices
- a. Chinese investments
4. **Kazakhstan**
- a. **Astana**
  - b. Sir **Norman Foster**
  - c. Super-giant fields
  - d. Mineral reserves
5. Mackinder's Heartland:
- a. Centrality of Kazakhstan
  - b. Indigenous control
  - c. Strategic options in the event Russia causes trouble
    - 1) Georgia invasion, 2008
    - 2) Kyrgyzstan riots
6. China as a Restraining Factor in Central Asia
- a. **Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**
7. Russia's Ability to Move Troops
8. Russia's Best Hope
- a. Liberalize economy and politics
  - b. Provincialism helps guarantee freedom

## Review

Caucasus	communalism	geographic belts
tundra	taiga	steppe
Mongol hordes	Tatar	insecurity
Nicolas Berdyaev	Kievan Rus	Vikings

Moscow	Ivan IV Groznyi	Astrakhan
Golden Horde	Hanseatic League	German Livonia
Cossacks	Time of Troubles	Peter I the Great
Chechens	Russian railway building	Great Game
boreal riverine empire	great portage system	penal systems
oil and natural gas	prison of nations	Manchuria
satellite states	Mikhail Gorbachev	Philip Longworth
Gennady Zyuganov	revisionist (revolutionary) power	near-abroad
Dmitri Trenin	Vladivostok	Pacific Rim development
Zbigniew Brzezinski	Caspian Sea oil	Syr Darya (Jaxartes) valley
pan-Turkism, pan-Persianism	Kazakhstan	Astana
Norman Foster	Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)	

## CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE GEOGRAPHY OF CHINESE POWER

### Outline

- A. MACKINDER'S FEARS ABOUT CHINA (188-89)
  1. Oceanic Frontage
  2. Most Advantageous Position on the World Island
  3. New Civilization
- B. CHINESE HISTORY (189-96)
  1. Middle Latitudes
  2. China's Continentality
    - a. Threats from the Steppeland
    - b. Interplay with nomadic peoples
    - c. Wei River
  3. West-to-East River Flow
    - a. Four great rivers (five if the Pearl is added)
    - b. **Wheat-millet vs. rice culture**
    - c. Grand Canal
  4. Core-Periphery Structure
    - a. Inner Asia: belt of desert
    - b. Pastoral vs. Arable (sown)
  5. Great Wall
    - a. Zhongguo
    - b. Zhou Dynasty
    - c. Han Dynasty
  6. Process of Enlargement
    - a. **Cradle area**
    - b. Warring states period
    - c. Qin Dynasty
    - d. Han Dynasty
    - e. Xiongnu
  7. Historical Pattern
    - a. **Creation of buffers**
    - b. Differences between Russia and China
    - c. Tang Era: Chinese protectorates in Central Asia
    - d. **Silk Route** [or Silk Road, which reached to the Mediterranean Basin]
    - e. Tibetans and Turkic Uighurs
    - f. **Confucian doctrine**: civilian control of the military
    - g. Sacking of Chang'an
    - h. Jin, Liao, and Yuan (Mongol) dynasties
    - i. Song and Ming failures

- j. Qing Dynasty conquests
- 8. Key Question: Whether the Periphery Can Be Kept Under Control
- 9. The Wounds of Territorial Rape Are Still Fresh
  - a. Loss of Nepal and Burma to Britain
  - b. Indo-China to France
  - c. Taiwan and Korea to Japan
  - d. Mongolia and Far East to Russia
  - e. Manchuria
  - f. Humiliation of the extra-territoriality agreements
  - g. **Mao Zedong as an irredentist**
  - h. Expansion idea of China
- C. CHINA'S GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS (196-200)
  - 1. **High GDP Growth Rates**
    - a. Western style modernity combined with hydraulic civilization
    - b. Relentless dynamism
    - c. Tributary relationships
  - 2. **Internal Dynamism Creates External Ambitions**
    - a. Empires are often afterthoughts
    - b. American experience
      - 1) High post-Civil War growth rate
      - 2) Interventions
      - 3) Interior consolidation also led to an outward focus
  - 3. China Is Also Consolidating Its Land Borders and Beginning to Focus Outwards
    - a. Moral progress in international politics is not a Chinese goal
    - b. Its need to secure energy, metals, and strategic minerals
  - 4. Advantageous Power Relationships
    - a. Its *über*-realism
    - b. China requires stability, not virtue, of its partners
    - c. China is reestablishing its former imperial domain
  - 5. Shift in the **Balance of Power** in the Eastern Hemisphere
    - a. China's favorable location
- D. INCOMPLETENESS OF CHINA
  - 1. China's Dangerous Incompleteness
  - 2. Mongolia
    - a. **Chinese migration**
    - b. **Strategic minerals** and building of access roads
    - c. China is the world's **leading consumer of metals**
    - d. Ethnic unrest in Inner Mongolia
    - e. Mongolia's **fast-track economic development**
  - 3. Russian Far East
    - a. Vast forests
    - b. Feebleness of the state
    - c. Migrants from Manchuria and Mongolia
    - d. Creeping Chinese control
  - 4. Cold War Border Disputes
    - a. Amur and Ussuri Rivers
    - b. Detente under Brezhnev
    - c. Sino-Soviet Split
  - 5. **First Island Chain**
  - 6. Development of Northern Asia
  - 7. Central Asia
    - a. Xinjiang province
    - b. Gobi Desert
    - c. Conquest by Qianlong
    - d. Sustained turbulence
    - e. **Uighurs**

8. China's Hearth
    - a. Coastal areas
    - b. Yellow and Wei river valleys
    - c. Spread along great rivers
    - d. Coursed the Yellow River
    - e. Strategic importance of Tibet
    - f. **Turkic republics of Central Asia**
  9. Growing Trade with Central Asia
    - a. Two pipelines
  10. Afghanistan
    - a. Copper mining
    - b. Road building
    - c. Infrastructure
  11. Tibetan Plateau
  12. India as a Rival
    - a. Dalai Lama
    - b. Arunachal Pradesh
    - c. Nepal
    - d. Great Game: Reference to the 19C rivalry between Russia and Britain
  13. China's Borders
    - a. Force multiplier
    - b. The real problem is Chinese society
- E. SOUTHEAST ASIA (207-13)
1. Geographical Incompleteness
    - a. Yuan Dynasty
  2. Burma
    - a. Resources
    - b. Pipelines
  3. Thailand
    - a. Political turmoil
    - b. Cobra Gold
  4. Malaysia and Singapore
    - a. Mahathir bin Mohammad and Lee Kuan Yew
    - b. Racialization of Islam
    - c. Creeping Islamization
    - d. Singapore's fear of China
    - e. Lee Kuan Yew
    - f. Indonesia's similar dilemma
    - g. **Free Trade Area's tributary relationship**
    - h. How China uses ASEAN
    - i. Dumping of industrial goods
    - j. Growing **ASEAN trade gap**
    - k. China is now its lending trade partner
      - 1) Growing hegemony
  5. Korean Peninsula
    - a. North Korea the pivot of East Asia
    - b. Bohai Sea
    - c. Goguryeo
    - d. Korea's outlets to the Pacific
    - e. Tumen River region
    - f. China's goal: buffer state
  6. Prospect of a Reunified Korea
    - a. Korean nationalism
    - b. Enmity toward Japan
    - c. Economic pull from China
  7. Chinese Inroads into the Heartland and the Rimland

8. Opportunities
    - a. PLA
    - b. Lack of an expeditionary capability
    - c. Ability to fill power vacuums without backup
  9. Settling Border Disputes
    - a. Military agreements
    - b. Historical preoccupations with land invasions
    - c. End of Ming forays in the Indian Ocean
    - d. Building a great navy
    - e. Seafaring as a luxury for China
    - f. Contrast with the Norsemen
- F. CHINESE LAND POWER VS. AMERICAN SEA POWER (213-20)
1. Development of **Chinese Sea Power**
  2. Domination of Eastern Seaboard
    - a. Indian Ocean
    - b. First Island Chain
    - c. Energy-rich ocean beds
    - d. Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands
    - e. Great Wall in reverse
  3. Aggressive Solution to Containment
    - a. Limiting factors of navies
    - b. Historical **benevolence of maritime nations**
    - c. China's territorial orientation
    - d. Archipelagic extensions of the Chinese landmass
    - e. Incidents
    - f. Immature power obsessed with territorial humiliations
  4. Anti-Access Niche Capabilities
    - a. Effort to **Finlandize** [Neutralize] East Asia
    - b. New classes of submarines
    - c. Anti-ship ballistic missiles
    - d. Fiber-optic systems
    - e. Fifth-generation fighter
  5. **Essence of Power**
    - a. Maritime greater China
    - b. Clear territoriality
    - c. Bilateral and global issues
  6. Taiwan
    - a. Chinese view: consolidating national patrimony
    - b. American view: model democracy
    - c. Douglas MacArthur: unsinkable aircraft carrier
    - d. Severing the maritime strait jacket
    - e. Emergence of a multi-polar world
  7. 2009 RAND Study
    - a. U.S. inability to defend Taiwan by 2020
    - b. Emphasis on air battle
    - c. Purpose of China's anti-access naval strategy
    - d. U.S. quagmires in Iraq and Afghanistan
  8. Trade between Taiwan and China
    - a. Subtle economic warfare will achieve the same result
    - b. Demise of the Taiwan secessionist movement
    - c. Threat to U.S. bilateral relationships
    - d. Qualitative asymmetric response
    - e. Military aid
    - f. Goal of transforming China domestically
  9. South China Sea
    - a. Gateway to the Indian Ocean



- b. Port development projects
  - c. Piracy, radical Islam, and congested straits
  - d. A “second Persian Gulf”
  - e. Spykman: Circumferential and transmarine expansion
  - f. Strait of Malacca
  - g. Asian Mediterranean
  - h. Vietnam’s fear of China
- G. SEA POWER (221-27)
1. Expansion
  2. Paradox
    - a. Displays of power
    - b. Naval base on **Hainan Island**
    - c. Construction of a Greater China first
    - d. Blue-water force
    - e. Diversion of attention to the Indian Ocean
    - f. Raw material equities in Africa
  3. Balance of Power Hinges on the Future of Taiwan and North Korea
  4. Unstable Security Situation
    - a. Multipolarity
    - b. Naval and missile arms race
    - c. Crude efforts to adjust the balance of power
    - d. Risks of incidents at sea
  5. Empty Spaces on the Map Are Becoming Crowded
    - a. “Crisis of room”
  6. America’s offshore balancing role may be insufficient
    - a. Need for U.S. forces to be in “concert” with allies
  7. Pat Garrett’s Plan
  8. **Oceania**
    - a. U.S. Bases: Spoils of Spanish-American War and World War Two
  9. Guam
    - a. Andersen Air Force Base
  10. South Western Tip of Oceania
    - a. Western Australia
    - b. “Regional presence in being”
    - c. Julian Corbett’s “fleet in being”
  11. Compromise
    - a. American legacy bases
    - b. Operating locations in the Indian Ocean
    - c. Diversification of the U.S. footprint around Oceania
      - 1) Moving away from “master bases”
  12. American Hold on the First Island Chain Is Being Pried Loose
  13. Emergence of a Greater China
    - a. Indian Ocean littoral
    - b. Robert S. Ross
  14. Signal Drama of the Age

## Review

wheat-millet vs. rice culture	cradle area	creation of buffers
Silk Route	Confucian doctrine	Mao Zedong as irredentist
high GDP growth rates	internal dynamism	shift in the balance of power
Chinese migration	strategic minerals	leading consumer of meta;s
fast-track economic development	First Island Chain	Uighurs
Turkic republics of Central Asia	Free Trade Area	ASEAN trade gap
Chinese sea power	benevolence of maritime nations	Finlandization
essence of power	Hainan Island	Oceania

# CHAPTER TWELVE: INDIA'S GEOGRAPHICAL DILEMMA

## Outline

- A. THE ULTIMATE PIVOT STATE (228-29)
  - 1. India's Centrality on the Indian Ocean Littoral
  - 2. Unstable Geopolitics
- B. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY (229-39)
  - 1. Population Centers Are on the Eurasian Peripheries
    - a. Wei River Valley
    - b. Southeast Asia
    - c. India's lack of a single nursery of demographic organization
  - 2. **Ganges River Valley**
    - a. Insufficient platform for expansion of a unitary state
    - b. Other river systems
    - c. **Kaveri Delta**: Core of **Dravidian** life
    - d. Hottest climate of all Eurasian hubs
  - 3. Lack of Political Unity
    - a. Invasions into the plain of the **Punjab**
    - b. **North West Frontier** Province (NWFP)
  - 4. Historic Ties to the North and West
    - a. Tenuous link to the peninsular south
    - b. Higher altitude shadow zones
    - c. Mongol onslaughts
    - d. Iranian influence
    - e. **Mughal** emperors
    - f. Urdu
  - 5. The Historic States Often Lay Astride Our [Geographical] Idea of India
    - a. Security threats posed by current neighbors
  - 6. Subtlety of Indian Geography
    - a. Relief map
    - b. Gradual descent
    - c. Similar culture occupied both high plateaus and lowlands
    - d. Links to Iran and Arabia
  - 7. **Harappan** Civilization
  - 8. Political Organization of the Gangetic Plain
    - a. Aryans
    - b. Nanda Empire
    - c. Mauryan Empire
    - d. Threat of Alexander the Great
    - e. Buddhism and Jainism
  - 9. **Mauryan Empire**: Buddhist
    - a. Greek imperial practice
    - b. **Kautilya**
    - c. Complex alliance networks
    - d. Decentralization
    - e. Four regional centers under **Ashoka**
  - 10. Decline
    - a. Invasions through the Khyber Pass
    - b. Regional dynasties
    - c. Kushan Empire
  - 11. Gupta Empire
    - a. Weak system of client states

- b. Hinduism
    - c. Southern Peninsula
  - 12. Muslim Migrations
    - a. Arabs
    - b. Turks
    - c. Mahmud of Ghazni
    - d. **Delhi Sultanate**
  - 13. Delhi
  - 14. **Mughal Empire**
    - a. Babur
    - b. Nobility
  - 15. **Aurangzeb**
    - a. Deccan Plateau
    - b. European footholds
  - 16. India's Interest in Afghanistan
- C. BRITISH LEGACY (239-45)
  - 1. Sea Power
  - 2. Unification of the Subcontinent
    - a. **Rail lines**
  - 3. Britain: Neutrality between Hindus and Muslims
    - a. Muslim stronghold
  - 4. **Tumultuous British Departure**
    - a. Result: deeper division
    - b. Earlier frontiers were not so stark
  - 5. What Pakistan symbolizes to India
  - 6. Secular Democracy vs. Islamic Republic
  - 7. Existential Fear
    - a. NWFP
    - b. Porous border
    - c. AfPak lack of geographical coherence
    - d. Earlier Central Asian threats to India
  - 8. India's Immediate Sphere of Influence
  - 9. **Afghanistan** is Part of the Subcontinent
  - 10. Pakistan's Geography
    - a. Four ethnic groups
    - b. Punjabi-dominated army
  - 11. Ideological Premise of Pakistan
    - a. **Mohammed Ali Jinnah**
    - b. Refugees after independence
    - c. Religious mixture
    - d. Pakistan is less inclusive
  - 12. **Punjab**: Geographic Heart
    - a. The demographic cores
  - 13. Conundrum
    - a. No earlier issue about who controlled the trade routes into Central Asia
  - 14. Indus-to-Oxus Region
    - a. ISI
    - b. Revival of ancient Bactria
- D. AFGHANISTAN (245-48)
  - 1. Vital Statistics
  - 2. Geography
    - a. Pashtunistan
  - 3. Emergence as a Country
    - a. **Ahmed Khan**
    - b. Buffer state
    - c. Possible realignment

4. Centralized Control
    - a. Constitutional monarchy
      - 1) Zahir Shah
    - b. Coups of the 1970s
    - c. Soviet invasion
  5. Prospect of a Greater Pakistan
    - a. Clandestine empire
    - b. Indian support for the Soviet puppet regime
    - c. Support for Karzai
  6. Potential Hub of Eurasia
    - a. China and India drivers of Central Asian trade routes
    - b. Zaranj-Delaram highway
- E. RIVALRY WITH CHINA (248-51)
1. Greater India Is Like a Map of Early Modern Europe
    - a. Competing ethnic and national groups
    - b. **Bipolar struggle** between India and Pakistan
    - c. Closed and claustrophobic geography
  2. Rivalry with China
  3. **Aksai Chin**
    - a. Uprising in Tibet
  4. Disputed Border
    - a. Air force
    - b. Navy
  5. Chinese Port-Building on the Indian Ocean Littoral
    - a. Overlapping naval spheres of interest
    - b. **Gwadar**
    - c. Expansion of the port of Karwar
    - d. Kyaukpyu and Sittwe
  6. Death of Distance
  7. New Embrace of Overlapping Missile Ranger
- F. INDIA'S FRONTIERS (252-54)
1. Insurrections
  2. Afghanistan
  3. Nepal
    - a. Lowlands
  4. Bangladesh
    - a. Border posts
    - b. Refugees
  5. **Kashmir**
    - a. Karakoram Range
    - b. Ladakh Range
    - c. Wars
  6. Effect of Cyberspace and the New Media
  7. Shadow Zones

## Review

Ganges River Valley	Kaveri Delta	Dravidian
Punjab	North West Frontier Province	Harappan civilization
Mauryan Empire	Kautilya	Ashoka
Delhi Sultanate	Mughal Empire	Aurangzeb
rail lines	tumultuous British departure	Afghanistan
Mohammed Ali Jinnah	Ahmed Khan	bipolar struggle
Aksai Chin	Gwadar	Kashmir

# CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE IRANIAN PIVOT

## Outline

- A. THE OIKOUMENE (255-60)
  - 1. McNeill: Fringes of the Anciently Civilized World
    - a. Ravaged by invaders
    - b. Geographic barriers sufficient to provide for a rise of civilizations
    - c. Hodgson's Nile-to-Oxus
  - 2. **Marshall Hodgson's Vision of the Oikoumene**
    - a. Easily definable zone
    - b. United by Islam and legacies of nomadism
    - c. Divided by rivers, oases and highlands
    - d. John Fairbank's pluralism with a vengeance
  - 3. Classical Legacy of Division
    - a. Volatile politics
    - b. Arabic unifies, Persian and Turkish predominates in northern plateaus
    - c. **Alfred Thayer Mahan's debatable ground**
    - d. Instability of the center of the dryland earth
  - 4. Vast Quadrilateral
    - a. Densely packed axis of instability
    - b. Oil and gas reserves
    - c. Pathologies
    - d. Nuclear proliferation
  - 5. **Youth Bulge** [Gunnar Heinsohn]
    - a. Democratization
    - b. No favorable comparisons with Mexico, which is more institutionalized
    - c. Arab-Israeli conflict
- B. NILE-TO-OXUS (260-61)
  - 1. The Terrain
    - a. Northern plateau region
      - 1) Bosphorus-to-Indus
    - b. Need to disaggregate the region
    - c. **Gaza flotilla**
    - d. Arab Spring began with self-immolation of a Tunisian fruit and vegetable vendor
- C. ARABIAN PENINSULA (261-66)
  - 1. Three Geographical Features
  - 2. Saudi Arabia
    - a. Population growth rate
    - b. Unemployment
    - c. Oil and gas reserves
  - 3. Najd
  - 4. **Wahhabism**
    - a. Pilgrimages (hajj) regarded as paganism
    - b. Cosmopolitanism of **Hijaz** [once ruled by the Hashemites who now rule Jordan]
    - c. Exclusion of the seaboard areas
  - 5. Yemen
    - a. Demographic core of the peninsula
    - b. Network of oases
    - c. Firearms
  - 6. Saudi Arabia Held Together by Highways and Air Links
    - a. Loyalty to extended family
    - b. Secure borders with the Sheikdoms
    - c. Sheikdoms created by British deals
  - 7. Vulnerability in the Southwest

- a. Qat
- D. IRAN/PERSIA (266-70)
  - 1. Iranian Plateau
    - a. Population growth rate
    - b. Comparison with Turkey
    - c. Iran's oil and gas reserves
    - d. Heartland-Rimland locational advantage
  - 2. Oil and Natural Gas
    - a. Persian Gulf's Caspian Sea
    - b. Iran's domination of the Persian Gulf
    - c. Arabian Sea frontage
    - d. Caspian coast
  - 3. Geographic Situation
    - a. Zagros Mountains
    - b. Freya Stark
    - c. Deserts of Turkestan
    - d. Iran straddles Middle East and Central Asia
    - e. Iranian influence in Caucasus and Central Asia
    - f. Azeri Turks
    - g. Shah Ismail
    - h. Wide sphere of Iranian influence
  - 4. Iran's Pivotal Position
    - a. **Mediterranean inroads:** Gaza, Lebanon, Syria
    - b. Sassanian palace seats at Ctesiphon for Roman and Chinese emperors
    - c. The clerics are as arrogant as the late Shah
    - d. Moscow
  - 5. Peter Brown: Castile of the Near East
    - a. Ancient world's **first superpower**
    - b. Kurds and Afghans
  - 6. Historical Continuity
    - a. Literature and cultural traditions
      - 1) Hebrews and Iranians
    - b. Farsi
    - c. Competing power centers
    - d. Institutionalization
    - e. Middle East's U-Joint or pivot
    - f. Fundamental to global geopolitics
  - 7. Axworthy: Idea of Iran
    - a. **Civilizational attractor**
      - 1) Soft power
    - b. Language variants
- E. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (270-72)
  - 1. Origins
    - a. Medes
    - b. Cyrus the Great
    - c. Achaemenid Empire
    - d. Its extent
    - e. Largest empire to date
    - f. Oikoumene
  - 2. Parthian Empire
    - a. Khorasan
    - b. [Sassanid Empire omitted]
  - 3. **Abbasid Caliphate**
    - a. Umayyad caliphs (Damascus) replaced in the mid-8C
    - b. Baghdad
    - c. Iranian despotism

- d. Philip Hitti: Abbasids succumbed to Persian practices
- 4. Quintessence of an **Oriental Despotism**
  - a. **Charles Martel** (Tours, 732) defeated an imperial, luxurious Persian bureaucracy
- 5. **Mongol Conquest**
  - a. Irrigation system destroyed
  - b. Poetry
  - c. Succession of non-Persian empires
  - d. Persian language
  - e. Iranian Empire of the mind
  - f. Toynbee on what might have been
- F. **SHIISM (272-76)**
  - 1. **Oppressive Aura of the Clergy**
    - a. Mahdi
    - b. Sufism
    - c. Ayatollah Ali Sistani
    - d. Symbiotic relationship of Iraq and Iran
  - 2. **Shiism: Arab Phenomenon That Came Late to Iran**
    - a. Iran's bureaucratic state
    - b. Safavids introduced Shiism a
      - 1) The militant Sufi order, the Safaviyeh, had originally been Sunni
    - c. **Twelver Shiism:** The twelfth imam was supposedly occulted or hidden as a child and will return at the head of a host at the end of history
    - d. Role of Oljaitu
    - e. Shah Ismail instituted a state clergy
  - 3. **Safavid Empire**
    - a. Agent of Iranianization of minorities
  - 4. Rise of the **Ayatollahs**
    - a. Violent rejection of the voluptuous and sophisticated traditions of the past
    - b. Vitality and modernity of the Iranian revolution
      - 1) High quality of Iranian culture
    - c. Originality of the revolution: The ayatollahs read Marx and Feuerbach, while combining" philosophical syncretism with an exacting legalism"
  - 5. **Olivier Roy: The Shiite Imagination Is Adaptable to the Idea of Revolution**
    - a. Social justice and martyrdom
    - b. Hegel and Marx were incorporated by mullahs into their sense of history
    - c. Broad-based revolutionary fraternity with links to the Sandinistas and the ANC
    - d. Clerical rule degenerating into brutal repression
    - e. **Islamic Revolution** attached itself to the strength of the Iranian state
  - 6. Merger of the Clerical Regime with the Iranian State
    - a. Green movement
      - 1) World-class democracy movement
      - 2) Driven underground
    - b. What its success might portend
- G. **CENTRAL ASIA (276-81)**
  - 1. What Has Not Yet Happened
    - a. The **Persian language [Farsi] and culture** was the conduit of Islamization into the 'Stans
    - b. Azerbaijan adopted the Latin alphabet [as did Turkey]
    - c. Uzbekistan: wary of Iran's Islamism
    - d. Tajikistan: Sunni but Persian-speaking
  - 2. Growing Ties
    - a. Iranian-built hydro-electric projects
    - b. Natural gas pipeline from southeastern Turkmenistan
    - c. Rail link
    - d. Turkmenistan: world's fourth largest gas reserves
    - e. Kazakhstan

- f. Iran is the shortest route from Central Asia to reach international markets
  - 3. Hub of Pipeline Routes
    - a. Substate, terrorist empire-of-sorts [Hezbollah]
  - 4. Iranian prestige in Parts of the Arab World
    - a. Lack of carry-over in Central Asia
    - b. Central Asian ties to Israel
    - c. Repression by the clerical regime has dulled its appeal
    - d. Prospective appeal of a democratic Iran
  - 5. Sunni Arab Liberalism Could Be Aided by a Liberal Iran
  - 6. Iran's Post-Modern Empire
    - a. **Arab Spring:** Iran an inspiration against pharaonic Arab governments
      - 1) Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Mahdi movement
    - b. Domestic opposition
    - c. Battle for Iranian hearts and minds
  - 7. **Nader Shah**
    - a. Reign ended in misrule and economic disaster
  - 8. Fall of the Shah, 1979 [Reza Pahlavi]
  - 9. Reaction to 9/11 and Assistance to the United States
  - 10. Iran Will Be Pivotal
- H. IRAN'S POST-MODERN MILITARY EMPIRE
- 1. **Robert Baer** on Iran's **Three-Pronged Strategy**
    - a. Hezbollah in Lebanon
    - b. Gaza
    - c. Syria and Iraq
    - d. Persian Gulf
  - 2. Absence of Enlightenment
    - a. It is an empire of the mind that rules through fear and intimidation
  - 3. Iraq
    - a. Shiite shrines in Najaf and Karbala
    - b. Qom
    - c. Undermining of Iran
    - d. Iraqi hatred
    - e. Potential liberation of two countries
  - 4. Prospect of Peaceful Regime Change in Iran
  - 5. Iran as an Amorphous Empire

## Review

Marshall Hodgson	Oikoumene	Alfred Thayer Mahan's debatable ground
youth bulge	Gaza flotilla	Wahhabism
Hijaz	Mediterranean inroads	ancient world's first superpower
civilizational attractor	Abbasid Caliphate	oriental despotism
Charles Martel	Mongol conquests	Shiism
Safavid Empire	ayatollahs	Olivier Roy
Islamic Revolution	Persian language and culture	Arab Spring
Nader Shah	Robert Baer	three-pronged strategy

# CHAPTER FOURTEEN: THE FORMER OTTOMAN EMPIRE

## Outline

- A. ANATOLIAN LAND BRIDGE
  - 1. Iran and Turkey Defined by Mountains and Plateaus Overlooking Desert Arabia
    - a. They form a northern vaulted ceiling over the Asian part of the Arab world



2. Turkey and Iran: Middle East's Richest Agricultural Economies
    - a. Nuclear potential unlike Arab countries
  3. Turkey Is Its Own Region
    - a. Stable platform in the midst of chaos
    - b. Lack of dry-land contiguity: somewhat of an island-nation
      - 1) It is not pivotal in the way Iran is to its neighbors
  4. Headwaters of **Tigris and Euphrates**
    - a. Leverage
    - b. Southeast Anatolia Project
    - c. Turkey's heightened political profile
  5. Ottoman Empire
    - a. Focus on Europe
      - 1) Central Europe and the **Carolingian Empire**: a magnet for Turkish tribes
    - b. Clustering near Europe
    - c. Social disruption of eastern Anatolia
  6. Demography
    - a. Proximity to the Iranian plateau
    - b. Nomadic wandering
    - c. Europe's political fragmentation: West, Venice, Papacy, and the Balkans
    - d. Balkan wealth provided leverage for consolidating Anatolia
  7. Ottoman Sultanate: Sprawling, Multinational Empire
    - a. Death throes followed by defeat in WWI
    - b. **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk** sought to Europeanize Turkey
    - c. Secular laws
    - d. Kemalism: pro-Western, secularist doctrine
    - e. EU membership issue : Rejection shocked the Turkish body politic
  8. Atatürk's Nationalism
    - a. Salonika: Multilingual outpost of cosmopolitanism
    - b. Turkish identity
    - c. Strategy to build a **uniethnic Turkish State**
    - d. Anatolian is more deeply rooted in the Islamic civilization of Asia Minor
    - e. **Democracy favors Islamism**
  9. Transition from Kemalism
    - a. Military and the ultra-secular Istanbul elite
    - b. **Turgut Ozal's** reforms liberalized the state economy
    - c. Result: Creation of a **nouveau riche of devout Muslims**
    - d. Islamism
    - e. Western orientation of Ozal and the generals
  10. Ozal's Death Shattered a National Consensus
    - a. Elite gradually discredited
    - b. **Tayyip Erdogan**
  11. Creeping Islamism
  12. Iraq Invasion
    - a. Reaction against the Bush Administration
    - b. Pendulum swing
  13. U.S. Hoist on Its Own Petard
    - a. Military regime proclaimed as pro-NATO, pro-Israel
    - b. The democratic Turkey that has emerged is anti-American, anti-Israel
  14. Banned Virtue Party (Islamic Welfare Party) Reincarnated as the **Justice Party**
    - a. Majority was imminent in 2000
    - b. Changed attitude toward Israel
- B. TURKISH GEOPOLITICS
1. Turkey's Centrality
    - a. Balancing act
  2. Palestine
    - a. **Israeli commando raid**: A public apology was issued in March 2013

- b. Turkey's pivot from West to East
- c. Globalization and Islamic consciousness
- d. Rise of middle: the nations
- 3. Turkish Hegemony over Muslim Civilization for 850 Years
  - a. Defeat of Ottoman Empire in 1918 [caliphate abolished in 1924]
  - b. Growing visibility of Muslims
- 4. Arab Spring: Uprisings against Tired Autocracies
  - a. Turkey is exemplar of Islamic democracy
  - b. Its soft power projection
- 5. Possible Silver Lining
  - a. **Rumi**: 13C Sufi poet and mystic
    - 1) Founder of Turkic *tariqat*
  - b. His legacy
  - c. Eclectic nature of Turkish Islam
  - d. Industrial base and middle class
  - e. Land bridge
  - f. National independence struggles
  - g. Birth of modern terrorism
- 6. Factors Favoring Turkish Hegemony
  - a. Turkey's earlier isolation
  - b. Hostile relations with Syria
  - c. Israel
  - d. Justice Party
- 7. Rapprochement with Its Neighbors
  - a. **Ahmet Davutoglu**
  - b. Influence in the Balkans
  - c. Championing of the Palestinians
  - d. Neo-Ottomanism
- 8. Relationship with Iran
  - a. Persian the language of Ottoman diplomacy
  - b. Rivalry
  - c. Neither was colonized
  - d. Separate spheres of influence
- 9. Issue of a Nuclear Iran
  - a. West's efforts to forestall
  - b. Diplomatic maneuver by Turkey and Brazil
  - c. Support for Hamas in Gaza
  - d. Prospect of becoming an energy hub
  - e. Energy transfer nexus for Iran
- 10. Turkey As a Hard Core Region of Its Own
  - a. European conduit for Iranian and Caspian Sea Oil
  - b. Capacity to neutralize the Arab Fertile Crescent
- 11. Rise of Middle Level Powers
- 12. Competition with Iran
  - a. NATO and Israel
  - b. Subtle patterns
  - c. Revolution in global communications
- C. ARAB COUNTRIES
  - 1. Current Countries Had Little Meaning before the 20C
    - a. Jordan as a buffer state
    - b. Iraqi dictator toppled
    - c. Arab Spring
    - d. Stress on post-Ottoman state system
    - e. Collapsing regimes of the Levant
  - 2. Arab Uprisings: Power of Communications Technology
    - a. Tunisia and Egypt

- b. Libya
  - c. Yemen
- D. MESOPOTAMIA
1. Iraq
    - a. Political evolution
    - b. Vast oil reserves
    - c. Three legacies
  2. Tragic History of Occupation
    - a. Freya Stark
  3. Lack of Demographic Cohesion
    - a. Tigris and Euphrates
    - b. Sumerians vs. Akkadians
    - c. Assyrians vs. Babylonians
    - d. Suffocating tyrannies
    - e. Blood-curdling anarchy
  4. Burden of History
    - a. Vilayets
    - b. Witches' brew created by Britain
  5. Rise of **Arab Nationalism** [Ba'athist national socialist renaissance movement]
    - a. Pan-Arabism vs. Iraqi nationalism
    - b. Coup against the Hashemite king Faisal II and PM Nuri al-Said
    - c. Wanton and perverse violence consistent with decades of state-inflicted murder
    - d. Line of East bloc-style tyrannies from Qasim to Saddam Huseein
  6. Prospects for Democracy
    - a. 1921-1958
    - b. Weak state
    - c. Oil wealth and infighting
  7. Opportunity for Another Hub?
    - a. Saudi Arabia
    - b. Egypt
  8. Syria
- E. THE LEVANT
1. Syrian Plain
    - a. Artificial piece of territory
      - 1) Baathist ideology and personality cult
  2. Epicenter of Turbulence
    - a. Aleppo
    - b. Damascus souk
    - c. Homs and Hama
    - d. The Druze
    - e. The Alawites
    - f. Hafez al-Assad
  3. Weak Identity and pan-Arabism
    - a. Greater Syria
    - b. Philip K. Hitti
    - c. Stoics and Neoplatonists
    - d. **Umayyad Empire** [the first Muslim empire]
  4. Ghost of Its Former Self
    - a. Loss of Lebanon to France in 1920
    - b. Assassination of PM Rafik Hariri
    - c. Demand for Syrian withdrawal
  5. Alawite Regime
    - a. **Bashar al-Assad**
    - b. Jihadist safe houses
    - c. Post-Assad Syria
  6. Heart of the Levantine World

- a. Adonis
  - b. Cosmopolitanism
- 7. Weaker Syria
  - a. Youth bulge
  - b. Beirut
- 8. Jordan
  - a. **Hashemite dynasty**
  - b. Demographics
  - c. Refugee population
- 9. The Crowd is the New Post-Modern Tiger
- F. ISRAEL
  - 1. Jordan River Valley
    - a. Rift Valley
    - b. The crossing
  - 2. Geographic Determinism
  - 3. Imminent Minority Status of Jews in Israel
    - a. Arab birth rate
    - b. The fence
    - c. Right of return
    - d. Israeli Arabs
  - 4. Greater Israel as an Economic Concept
  - 5. Universal Values Must Be Contingent on Circumstances
  - 6. **Eastern Question:** Decline of the Ottoman Empire in the 19C
    - a. Settled by WWI
    - b. Modern Arab State system

### Review

Tigris and Euphrates	Carolingian empire	Mustafa Kemal Atatürk
Uniethic Turkish state	democracy favors Islamism	Turgut Ozal
nouveau riche of devout Muslims		Tayyip Erdogan
Justice Party	Israeli commando raid	Rumi
Ahmet Davutoglu	Aran nationalism	Umayyad Empire
Bashar al-Assad	Hashemite dynasty	Eastern Question

## PART III: AMERICA'S DESTINY

### CHAPTER FIFTEEN: BRAUDEL, MEXICO, AND GRAND STRATEGY

#### Outline

- A. *ANNALES* GROUP (319-24)
  - 1. Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch
  - 2. **Fernand Braudel**
    - a. Rich forest soils of northern Europe
    - b. Poverty-stricken Mediterranean soils
    - c. Need to be aware of our limitations
  - 3. Restoration of **North Africa** in Mediterranean Studies
    - a. Mass migration of workers
    - b. Role of deeply structural forces
    - c. Relevance to an age of climate change

- d. Era of scarcity and environmentally driven events
- 4. Hugh Trevor-Roper's Summary
  - a. Braudel as a **summation of strategic thinkers**
- 5. Barry Cunliffe's View
  - a. Varying wavelengths of time
    - 1) **Longue-durée** of geography
    - 2) *Conjonctures*
  - b. Basic Structures
  - c. **L'histoire événementielle**
- 6. Speculations
- B. CENTER FOR A NEW AMERICAN SOCIETY CONFERENCE, 2009 (324-28)
  - 1. Af-Pak
  - 2. **Andrew Bacevich**
    - a. Massive state failure in Mexico
  - 3. Elemental Critique of American Foreign Policy
    - a. Attempts to get beyond the short term
  - 4. Voices That Question Its Fundamental Direction
    - a. America's **three primary geopolitical dilemmas**
  - 5. Failure to Address Impact of a Precipitous **Withdrawal from Afghanistan**
  - 6. Irresponsibility of Such a Withdrawal
    - a. We have now acquired substantial stakes in the outcome
    - b. Critics' showed view that we should not have gone there
    - c. What the critics ask: What are the costs of our blunders?
    - d. **Jakub Grygiel**: Geographic isolation is a strategic blessing
  - 7. How Much Has Been Squandered by Our Expansionary Strategy?
    - a. **Michael Lind**
      - 1) Little of our national debt is due to military spending
      - 2) A study of the blunders of empires past puts things into perspective
- C. A SURVEY OF THE BLUNDERS OF EMPIRES PAST (328-32)
  - 1. Ming Army, 1449
    - a. Panic
    - b. Slaughter
    - c. **Ming decline**
    - d. Retreat from maritime Asia
  - 2. America in Iraq
    - a. Losses
    - b. Strength of the army
  - 3. Late **Medieval Venice**
    - a. Seaborne empire
    - b. Reasons for decline
      - 1) Deadly balance of power politics
    - c. American air- and sea-power
  - 4. Indian (Sepoy) Mutiny against Britain
    - a. Efforts of Reformers
    - b. Transition from ad hoc imperium
  - 5. Sicilian Expedition
  - 6. Decline of Rome
    - a. **Edward Luttwak's** analysis 1976
      - 1) **Julio-Claudian** system: Republican empire (1C BC-AD)  
[Machiavelli regarded a republican empire to be especially oppressive of those who were in subjugation to it; cf. Thucydides' Melian Dialogue]
        - a) Overwhelming formation of Rome troops in a "vast circle" around Rome
        - b) **Economy-of-force principle**
      - 2) **Antonine** system: Territorialization of the empire (mid-2C AD) in which troops [occupation forces] were deployed in the client states themselves

[Machiavelli held that it is better for princes to take up residence in the occupied province]

- a) Romanization of barbarian tribes
  - b) Banding together of tribes in a common culture that was still not their own [but capable of defiance]
- 3) **Diocletian's** defense-in-depth (late 3C AD)
- a) Border peoples coalesced into formal confederations able to challenge Rome
  - b) Fewer feared Rome because its legions were spread thin even to the breaking point cf. Paul Kennedy's imperial overstretch]
7. Problem of **Imperial Overstretch**
- a. America's role in patrolling the commons
    - 1) Taken for granted
  - b. Need to revise the American grand strategy
  - c. Need to restore America's surge capacity
  - d. Rome's ultimate failure to adapt
8. Rome's Real Failure
- a. It did not provide a mechanism for a **strategic retreat**
- D. PLANNING A DEFT EXIT FROM HEGEMONY: STRATEGIC RETREAT (332-34)
1. Byzantium as a Model
- a. Use of diplomacy and intelligence to sabotage enemies while avoiding costly interventions
  - b. America's vulnerability in the Southwest
  - c. David Kennedy: income gap between United States and Mexico
2. Dramatic Impact of Moving Latin History Northward
- a. Effects of **NAFTA**
  - b. North-south destiny of the United States
  - c. Widening of the Panama Canal
3. American's Southern Frontier
- a. Boundary lines
  - b. Nogales
    - 1) Sharp contrasts
  - c. Vulnerability of America's quiet streets
  - d. Arnold Toynbee on **frontiers**: Balance favors the more backward society [cf. Diocletian's Rome]
4. Mexico's Demography
- a. Distance from the concerns of East Coast elites [disdain for "flyover country"]
- E. MEXICAN-AMERICAN INTERACTIONS (334-41)
1. **Valley of Mexico**: Once Dominated by a Great Lake
- a. Two Aztec Venices: Tenochtitlán and Tlatelolco
  - b. Nile Valley of the New World
    - 1) Center of the cultivation of maize
2. Mexico Exhibits No Geographical Unity
- a. Mountain
  - b. Two separate peninsulas: Baja California and Yucatan
  - c. Northern Mexico's unification
3. Northern Mexico
- a. **Doubling of population** since NAFTA
  - b. **Maquiladoras**
  - c. Monterrey
  - d. Cultural polarity: *Norteños vs. Chilangos*
  - e. Sonoran desert
  - f. Rio Grande valley
  - g. North-central highlands
    - 1) **Ciudad Juárez** [across from El Paso]
    - 2) Murder rate

- 3) Geronimo's lair
    - h. Other remote highlands
  - 4. Drug-Related Homicide
    - a. Military offensive
    - b. Prospective loss of control by the central government
  - 5. **Samuel Huntington**
    - a. *Who Are We?*
    - b. America is a **nation of Anglo-Protestant immigrants**
    - c. America's **classical liberalism**
  - 6. Demographic **Reconquista** [Reference to Reconquest of Spain from Moors]
  - 7. **Peter Skerry**: America's immigrant wave is the least diverse
    - a. **Assimilation** [Americanization] made less likely
      - 1) Earlier variety and dispersal of immigrant stream made assimilation more likely
  - 8. Geography at the Forefront
    - a. Mexico's historical claim to American territory
    - b. Mexican War
    - c. Low Mexican naturalization rates
  - 9. Demographic Shift along the Borders
  - 10. Blurring of America's Southwest Frontier
    - a. Huntington's solution: Rely on American nationalism
    - b. Overwhelming organic connection between America and Mexico [a *Time* magazine cover proclaimed "Amexica" in 2001]
    - c. Cosmopolitanism is inevitable
  - 11. Polynesian-cum-Mestizo Civilization
    - a. Sprawling suburban city-states
    - b. America as the preeminent **duty-free hot zone**
    - c. **Asset-stripping** of world talent: the brain drain
    - d. Continued unique identity
  - 12. This Vision Requires a Successful Mexico
    - a. Post-Cartel Mexico
    - b. Continued American sway
  - 13. Mexico as a Potential Disaster
    - a. Offensive against the drug lords
    - b. Military-style assaults by the cartel
    - c. Question of the Mexican state's viability
    - d. Assassinations
    - e. Families of the elites sent out of the country
  - 14. Mexico at the Crossroads
    - a. U.S. preoccupied in Asia
  - 15. U.S. Military's Record of Success in the Mexican Border Area
    - a. Binational cooperation
    - b. Porfirio Díaz
    - c. Posse Comitatus Act [meant to prevent militarization of law enforcement]
- F. PROSPECT FOR A UNIVERSAL STATE (341-44)
  - 1. **Arnold Toynbee**
    - a. Borders advance in the more backwards society's favor
    - b. Conjoining of Mexico and America in some form
    - c. **A Roman limes**: Northern boundary of the Roman Empire
  - 2. Universal States
    - a. Past examples
    - b. Rome mastered the problem of **dual loyalty** [Apostle Paul was born a citizen]
    - c. Would it be a panacea for a Time of Troubles [early 16C Russia]?
  - 3. Monumental Shift in National Myth and Sovereignty
    - a. Hitchhiking across America
    - b. Appalachians

- c. Greater Mississippi basin and Intercoastal Waterway
- d. Great American Desert
- e. **Arnold Guyot**: America seen as a **continental core** even in 1849
- f. James Fairgrieve
- 4. Another Conceptual Geography is Overlapping with the East-West Axis
  - a. Coronado
  - b. Lewis and Clark
  - c. New Hispanic migrants
- G. PROSPECT (344-46)
  - 1. The Options
    - a. Bilingual suprate of sorts
    - b. Dysfunctional border region
  - 2. Cultural and Political Interchanges across the Seas Will Become More Organic
    - a. Mexico's centrality to any **American grand strategy**
  - 3. Future **Millet System** [System of Self-Rule in the Ottoman Empire]
    - a. Organic, united North America as a balancer of Eurasia
    - b. Greater Caribbean free trade zone
  - 4. All Fronts and Areas Are Interrelated
  - 5. America's Challenge
    - a. Intellectual cause of a global Mitteleuropa
    - b. Mackinder: A world balanced is a world free

## Review

Fernand Braudel	North Africa	summation of strategic thinkers
<i>longue-durée</i>	<i>l'histoire événementielle</i>	Andrew Bacevich
primary geopolitical dilemmas	withdrawal from Afghanistan	Jakub Grygiel
Michael Lind	Ming decline	late medieval Venice
Edward Luttwak	Julio-Claudian system	economy-of-force principle
Antonine system	Diocletian's defense-in-depth	imperial overstretch
strategic retreat	Arnold Toynbee on frontiers	Valley of Mexico
doubling of population	maquiladoras	Ciudad Juárez
Samuel Huntington	America: a nation of Anglo-Protestant immigrants	
classical liberalism	demographic <i>Reconquista</i>	Peter Skerry
assimilation	duty-free hot zone	asset-stripping
Roman limes	dual loyalty	Arnold Guyot
continental core	American grand strategy	millet system