

# Conservative Internationalism (CI): Armed Diplomacy To Create A World of Decentralized Democracies and Open Markets

Henry R. Nau  
George Washington University

Canon Institute for Global Studies, Tokyo, Japan,  
January 23, 2014

# Choices Today Creating World Tomorrow

- Realist World (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Sovereignty, Conflicting Ideologies and Cultures, Balance of Power, Mercantilist Markets (zero sum)
- Liberal World (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Interdependence, Collective Security, Universal International Institutions, One-Size-Fits-All Global Economy (non-zero sum)
- Conservative World: Sovereign but Democratic Republics Living in Peace With One Another, Collective Defense Against Non-Democracies, Open Regional Free Markets

# Major Groups in U.S. (and Japan?) Domestic Foreign Policy Debate

Nationalism/Realism: Defend America, Balance Power

Nationalists only in Western Hemisphere

Realists in Other Hemispheres to Prevent  
Hegemons – Europe and Asia

Liberal Internationalism: Spread Freedom through  
International Trade and Institutions, not Balance of  
Power, Force is “Last Resort”

Conservative Internationalism: Spread Freedom by  
Armed Diplomacy and Open Markets on Borders of  
Existing Free Countries – Europe, Asia. ME

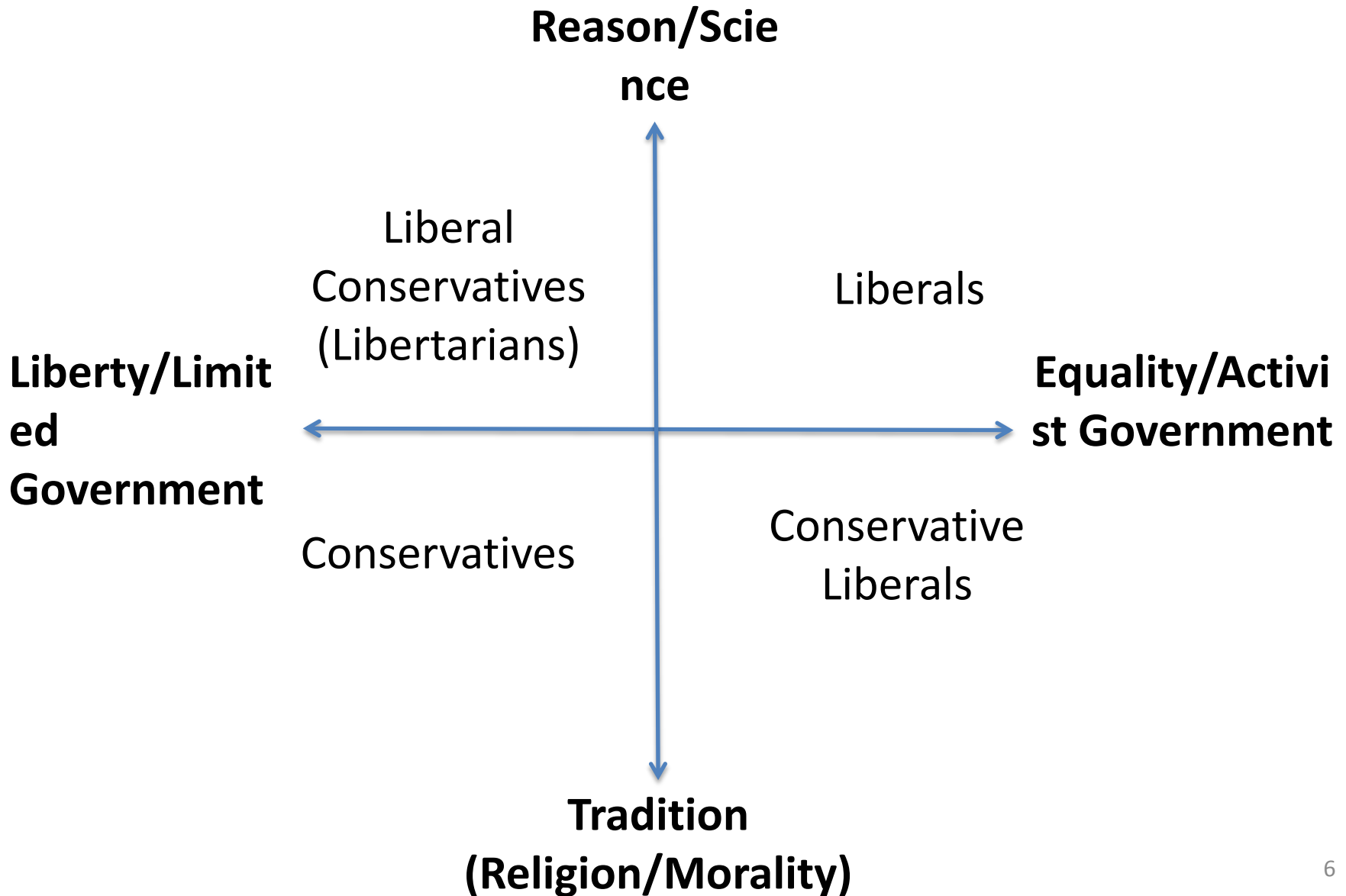
# Explain CI In Five Parts

- What is CONSERVATIVE as opposed to liberal?
- What is INTERNATIONALIST as opposed to nationalist and realist?
- What is ARMED DIPLOMACY as opposed to balance of power or use of arms only as last resort after diplomacy fails?
- How to discipline armed diplomacy by SETTING PRIORITIES – Geo-Ideology not Geo-Politics?
- How to COMPROMISE to move negotiations toward freedom and open markets?

# Conservative vs. Liberal

- Conservative used to mean government based on authority of monarch, emperor, religion, state, or traditional elites.
- But most governments today are liberal, not conservative. They base authority on individual liberty and equality.
- In most democracies, there are two varieties of liberalism
  - Conservative liberalism tilts toward liberty over equality: decentralized government and religious or traditional, market-based, civil societies
  - Social liberalism tilts toward equality over liberty: centralized government and expert-based bureaucratic decision-making.
- These differences translate into different views of world affairs
  - Republican Party and Tea Party movement in America (LDP in Japan?) do not support centralized international institutions such as the UN and remain skeptical that material progress alone yields political or moral progress
  - Democratic Party and labor unions in the United States (DPJ in Japan?) support universal international institutions and count on material prosperity to facilitate moral or democratic progress

# Conservative vs. Liberal



# Nationalist/Realist vs. Internationalists

- Nationalists/Realists: Pursue Security, Not Freedom or Regime Change – Realist World
- Liberal Internationalists: Pursue Values (Freedom) through Stronger International Institutions – Liberal World
- Conservative World: Pursue BOTH Security and Values Because Security is Function of Political Neighborhood as well as Balance of Power.

# Armed Diplomacy

- Liberal Internationalism counsels using force only *after* negotiations fail
- Conservative Internationalism counsels use of force *before* and *during* negotiations
  - As background leverage to get adversary's attention in negotiations
  - As leverage on the ground to prevent adversary from gaining objectives by force outside negotiations
  - As leverage to bargain inside negotiations



# Setting Priorities

- Prioritize freedom on the borders of existing freedom
  - Border between free countries and Russia in Europe
  - Border between free countries and China in Asia
  - Border around Israel
- Address threat AND pursue freedom in border countries – Ukraine, Turkey, Korean peninsula.
- Address threat BUT get out quickly in remote regions – Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan.
- In last decade, United States has done just the opposite – pushed freedom in remote regions at expense of freedom on borders of freedom

# Timely Compromises To Advance Freedom

- No use of military force without diplomacy
- Objective is not military victory in conventional sense but negotiated outcome that weakens despots and moves needle toward freedom
- Let non-democracies see that there is a better world.
- Use military alliances to leverage open regional markets

# Timely Compromise to Advance Markets

- Realist World: Cutthroat Competition
- Liberal World: One Size Fits All (Appropriate When US Dominated)
- Conservative World (Appropriate in More Multipolar World?)
  - Bottom Up Initiatives (TPP and TTIP) at Regional Level
  - Light Regulation of Trade and Finance at Global Level
  - Possible Only through Structural Reforms at Domestic Level

# Summary

- Conservative: Preserve National Sovereignty
- Internationalist: Build Neighborhood of Common Values
- Arm Diplomacy to Bargain Effectively with Non-Democracies:
  - Set priorities for countries on borders of existing freedom (South Korea, Taiwan)
  - Use Military Leverage (Alliances) to Trade Confidently
- Stop Cycling, Find Middle Ground Between Withdrawal (Realist World) and Overreach (Liberal World)

# Why Would CI Do In Syria?

Mission is regime change, not international law

Install a better but not democratic regime

Push back on ground, arm moderate rebels

Negotiate with but weaken Assad by openness

Give Turkey priority for democracy in region, Egypt for stability, and Iran for greatest threat