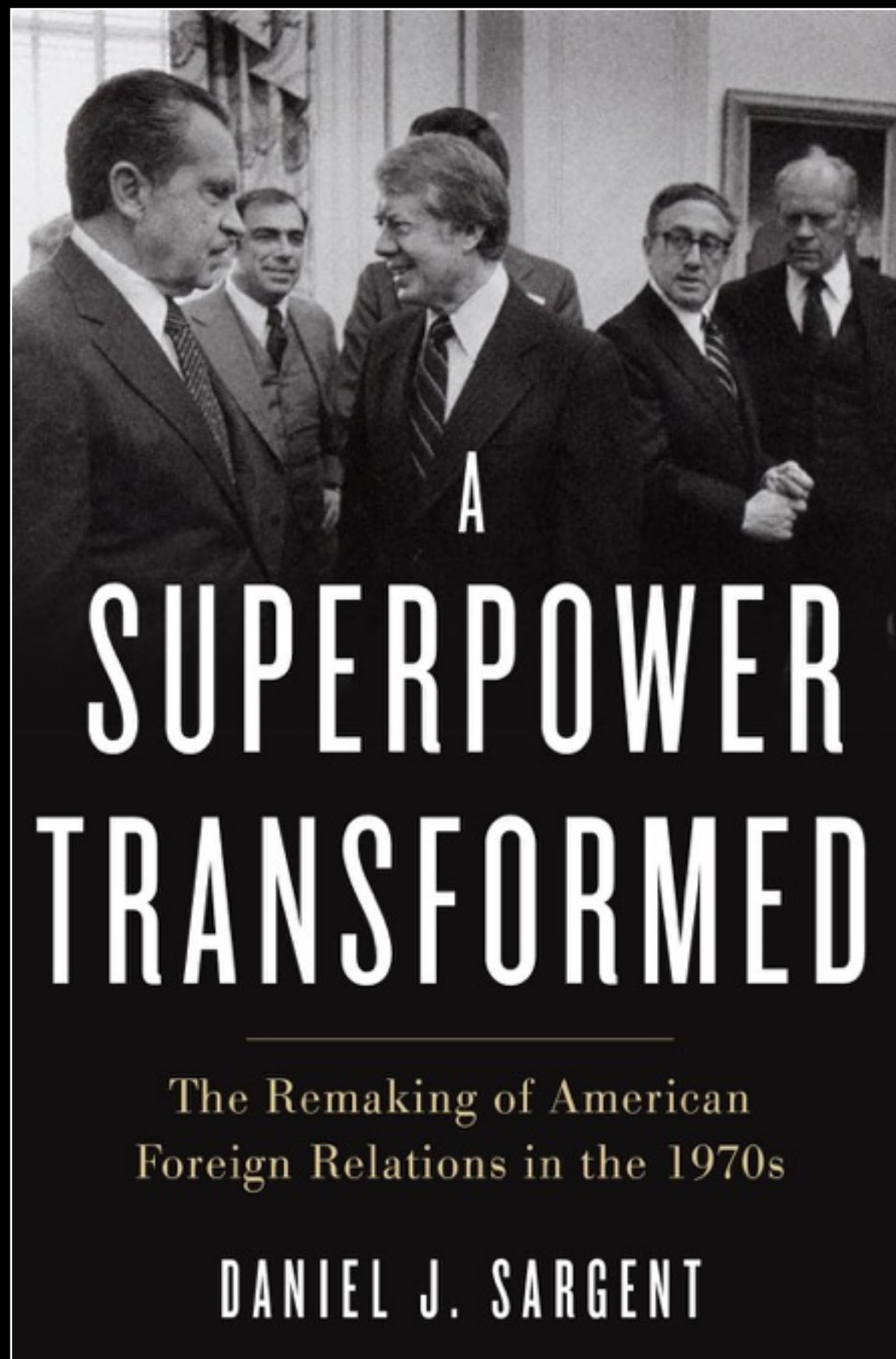


World Order Politics:

The Carter Administration's Bid for a New U.S.
Foreign Policy (and What We Can Learn From It)

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University of California, Berkeley



A
**SUPERPOWER
TRANSFORMED**

The Remaking of American
Foreign Relations in the 1970s

DANIEL J. SARGENT

Crises of the Cold War order



Brandt and Kosygin, Moscow, 1970



Peace Moratorium, Washington, 1969

Nixon's bid for stability

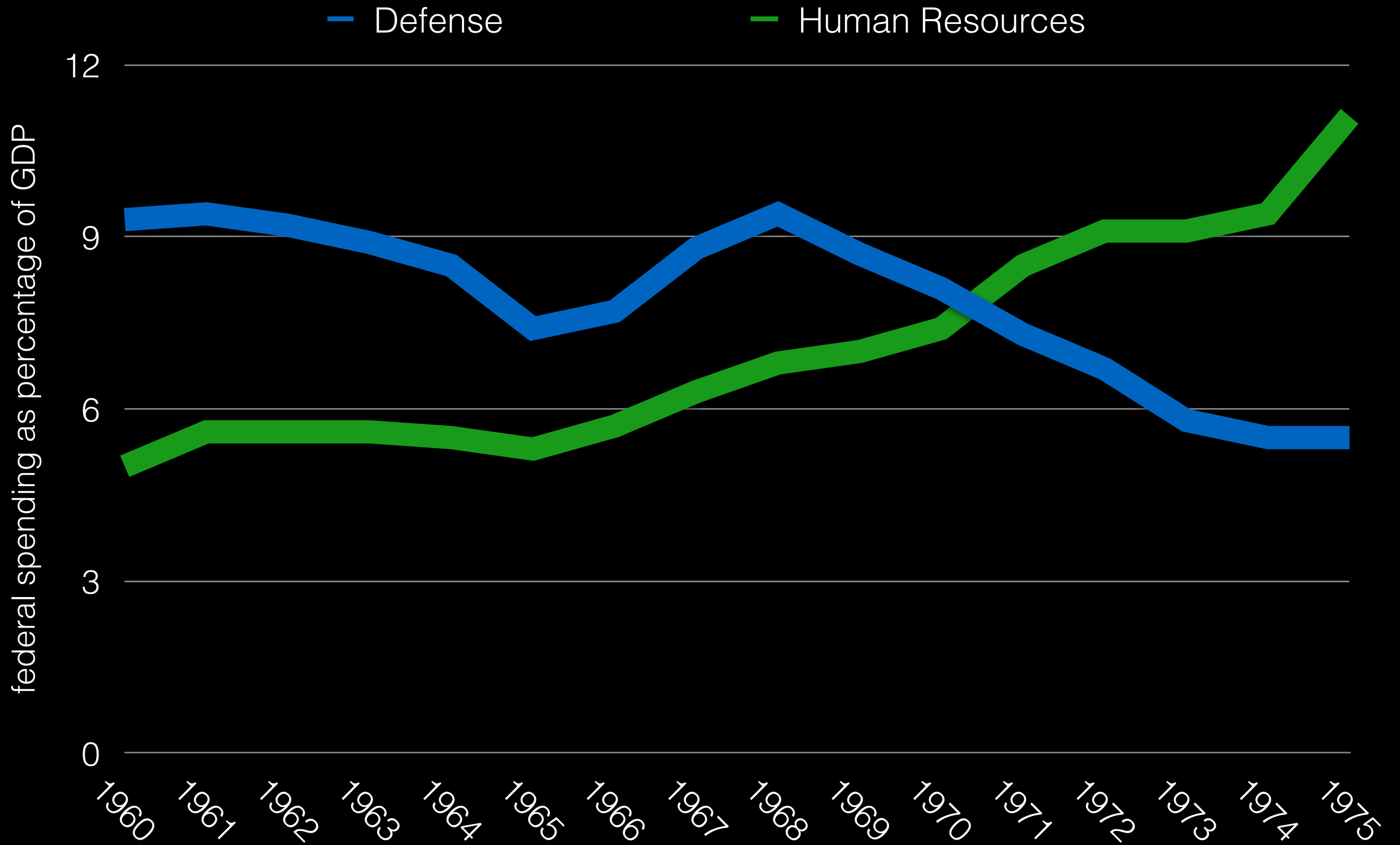


Beijing, February 1972



Moscow, May 1972

Nixon's bid for stability



Nixon's bid for stability



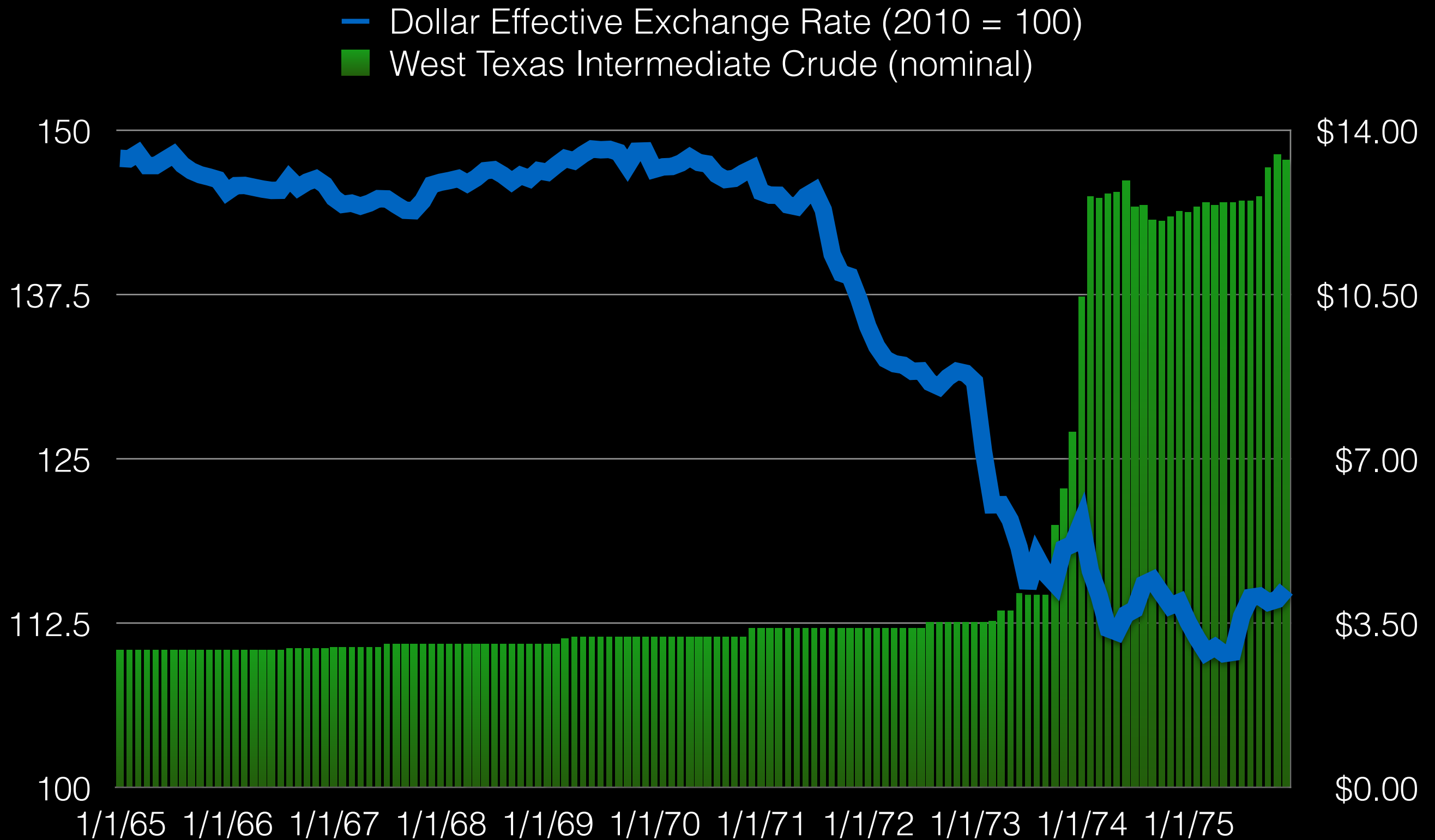
Nixon and the Shah, April 1969

Globalization and human rights



Senator Henry Jackson, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn
Senator Jesse Helms, and Senator Clifford Case

The shock of interdependence

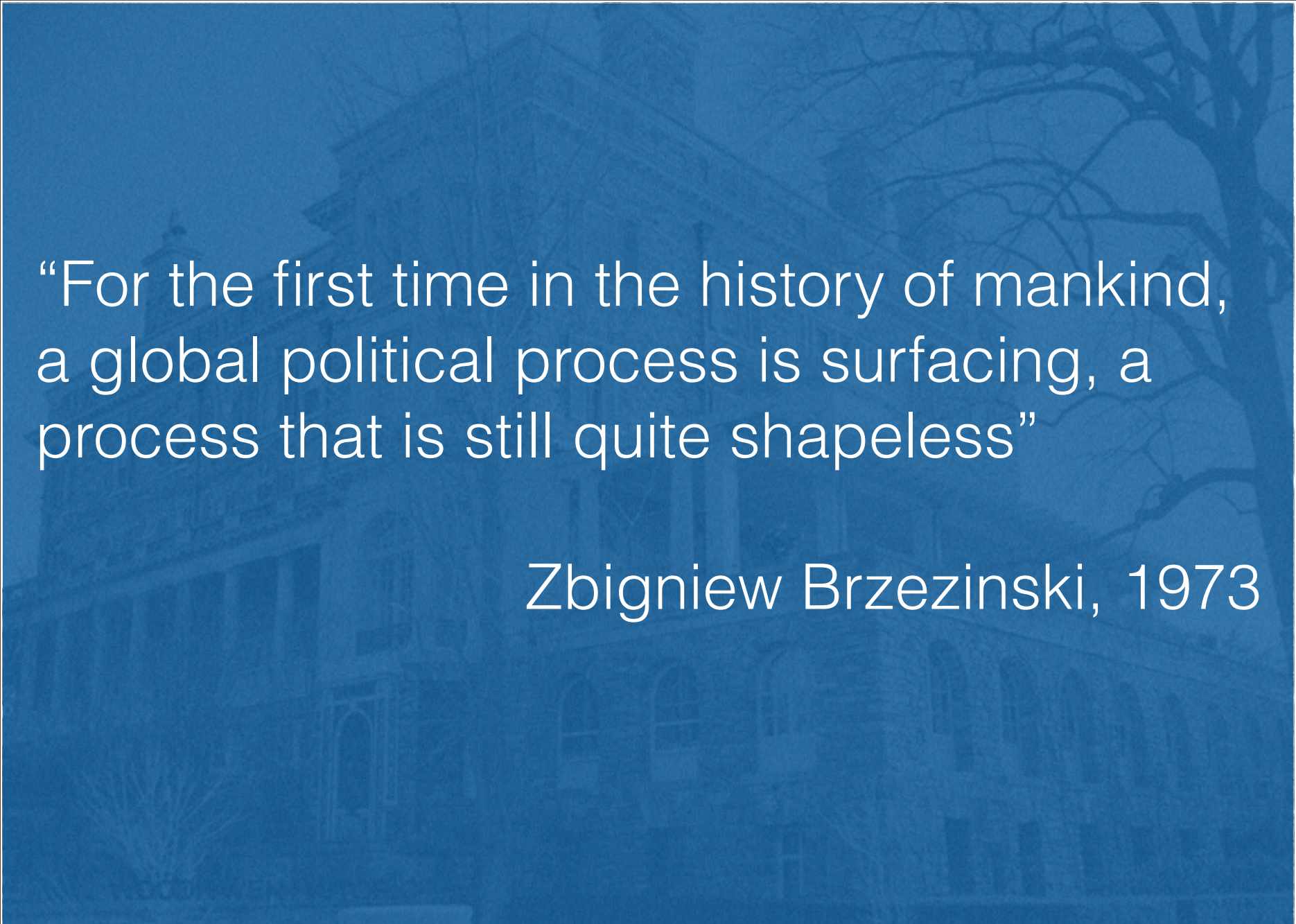


The shock of interdependence



Stuttgart, November 1973

World order politics in opposition

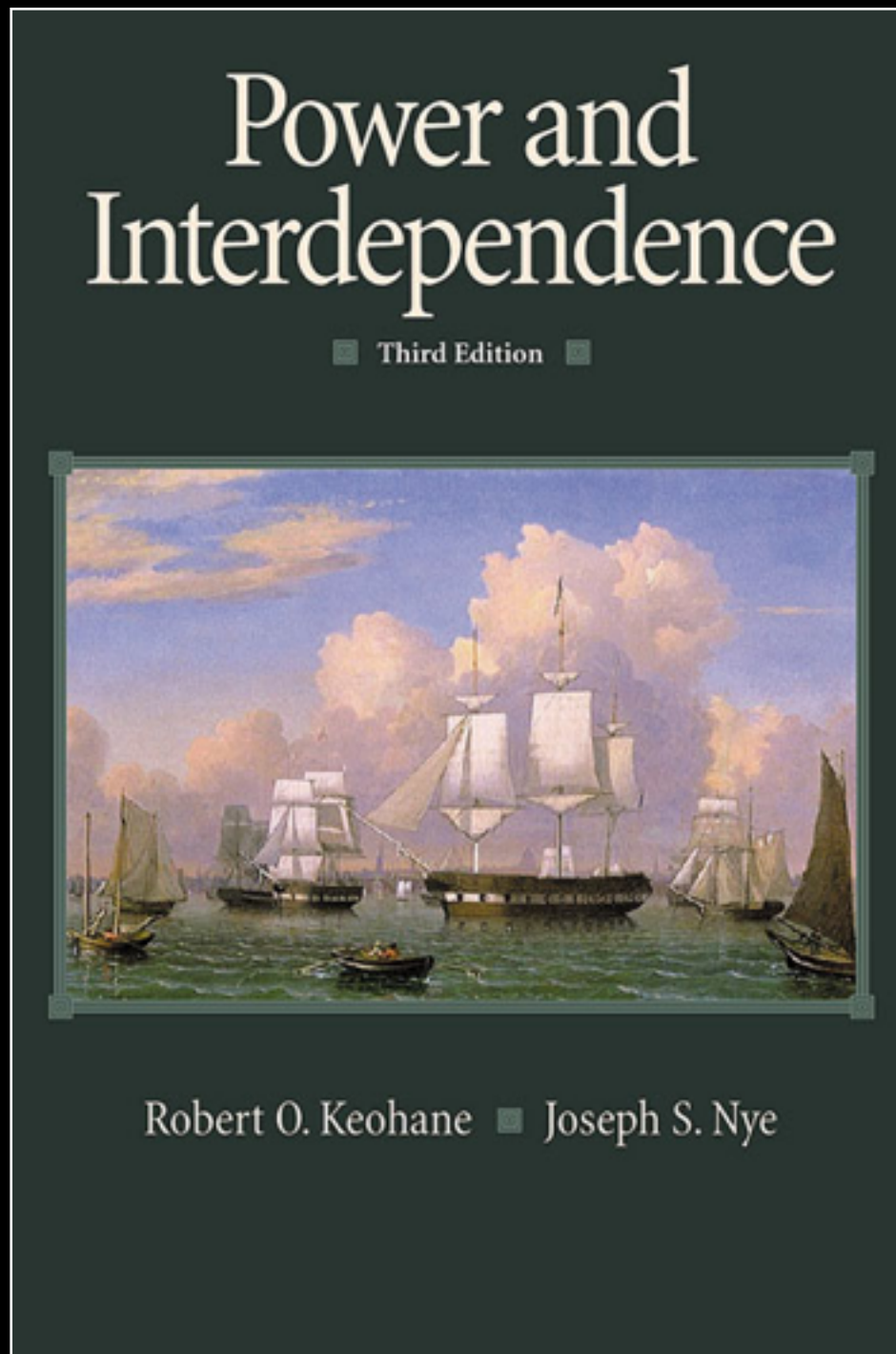


“For the first time in the history of mankind,
a global political process is surfacing, a
process that is still quite shapeless”

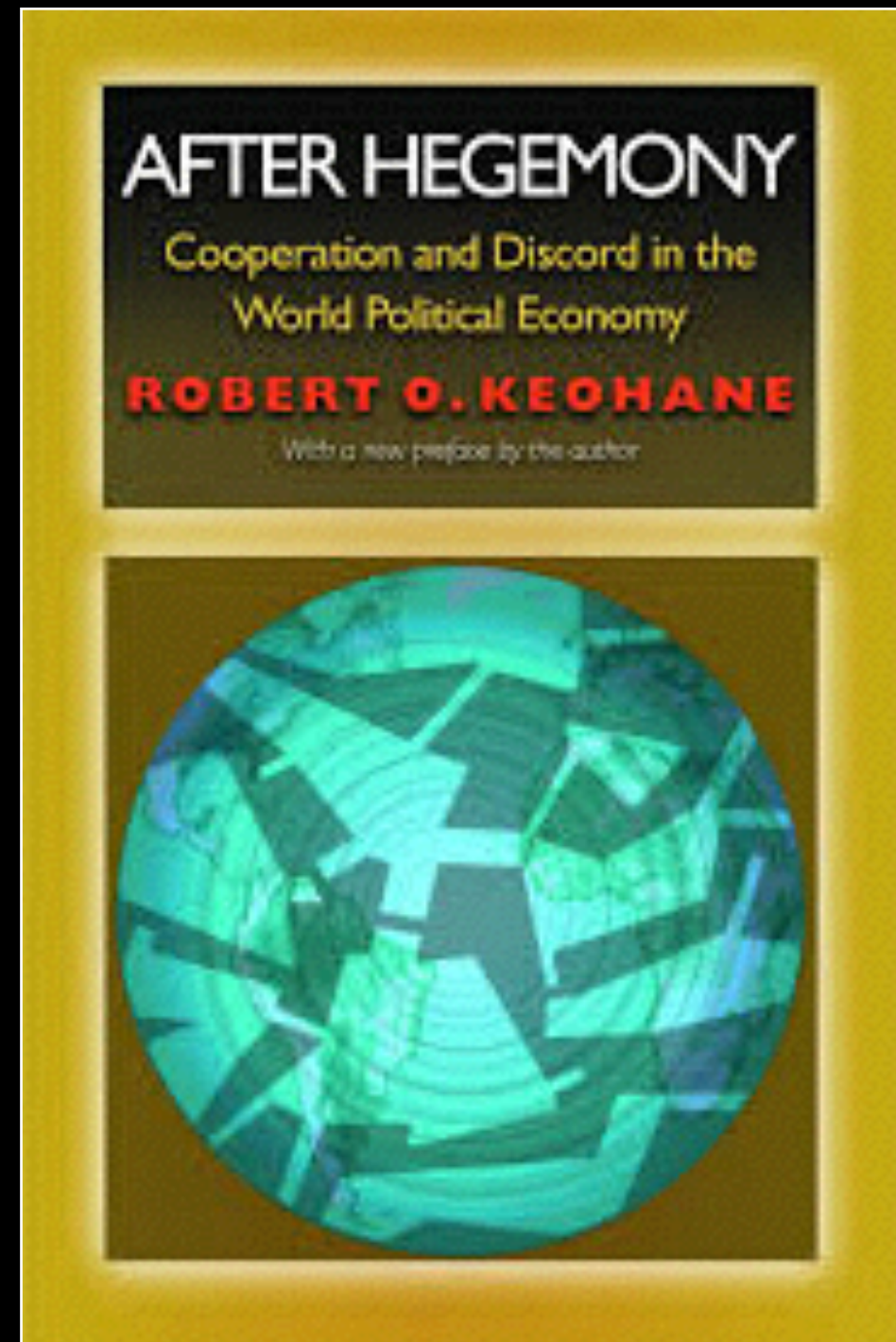
Zbigniew Brzezinski, 1973

Rockefeller Estate, Pocantico Hills, New York

World order politics in opposition



Pub. 1977



Pub. 1984

Kissinger's improvisation

“The energy crisis indicates the birth pains of global interdependence... Will we consume ourselves in nationalistic rivalry, or will we acknowledge our interdependence and shape cooperative solutions?”

Henry A. Kissinger

President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger

Kissinger's improvisation



Henry Kissinger at the United Nations

Kissinger's improvisation



Rambouillet, France, November 1975

Carter's post-Cold War strategy



“a new phase in U.S. foreign policy going beyond the Atlanticist / East-West Cold War framework of the years 1945–1976”

“Memorandum on Foreign Policy Priorities,” 1976

Jimmy Carter and Zbigniew Brzezinski, December 1976

Carter's post-Cold War strategy



Jimmy Carter at Notre Dame, May 1977

Carter's post-Cold War strategy

Carter's strategy:

- USSR no longer “a unifying threat”
- novel challenges of interdependence
- human rights for “politically awakening” world
- U.S. must build “wider framework of international cooperation suited to the new and rapidly changing historical circumstances.”

Jimmy Carter at Notre Dame, May 1977

Macroeconomic coordination



London Summit of the G-7, May 1977

Macroeconomic coordination



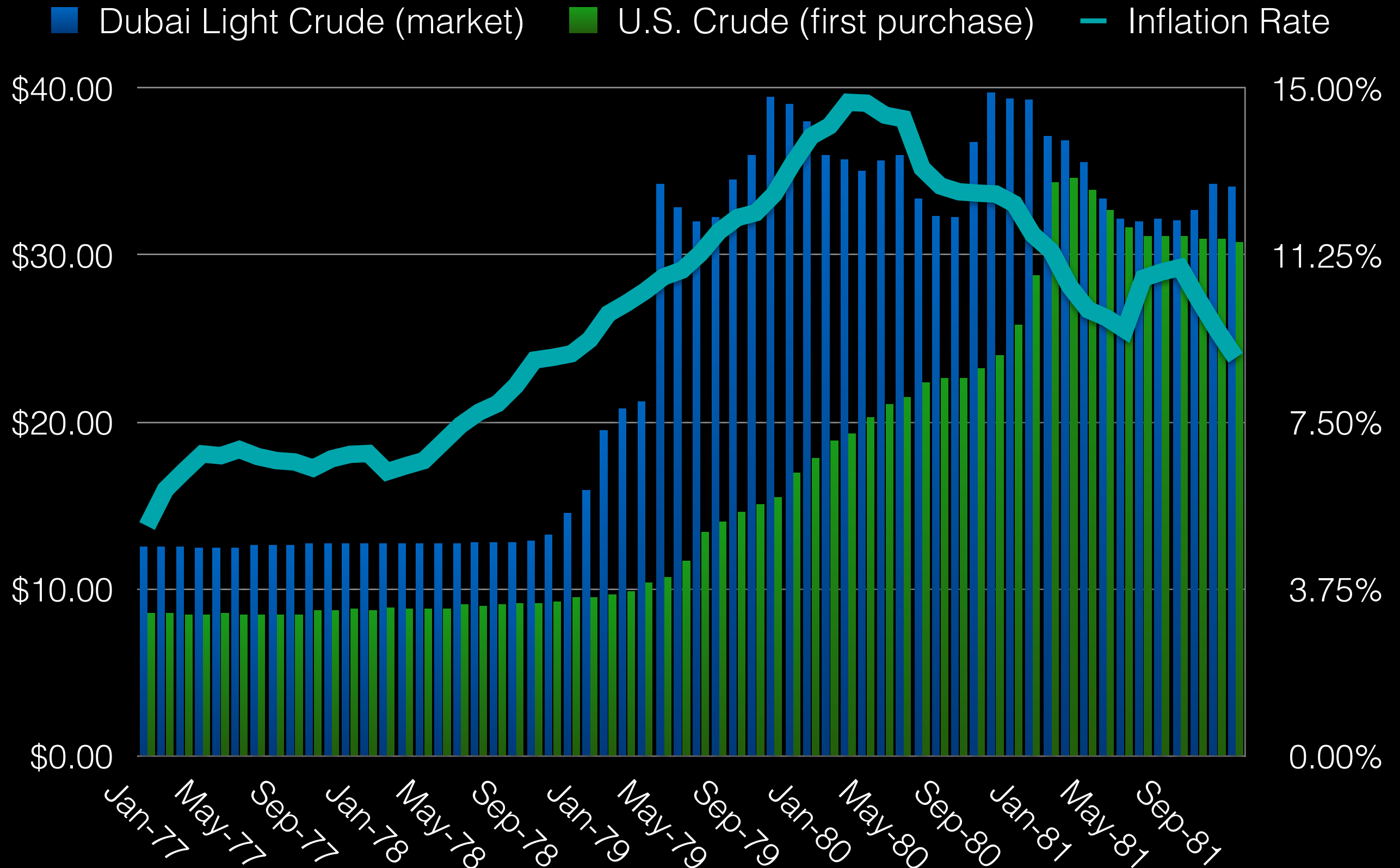
Bonn Summit of the G-7, July 1978

Human rights—and their limits



Jimmy Carter and Shah Resa Pahlavi, December 1978

The limits of world order politics



The Cold War's resurgence



Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev, June 1979

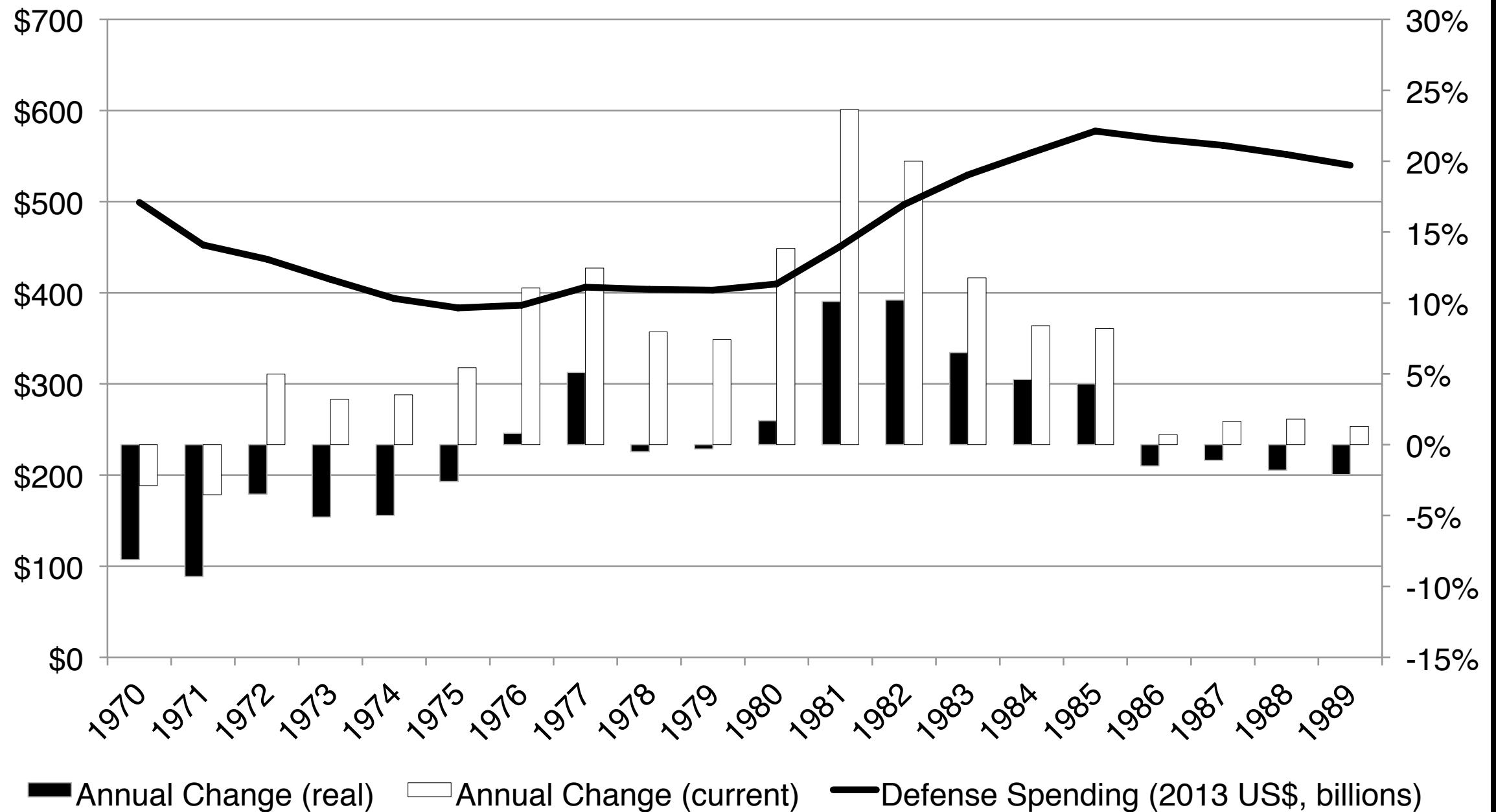
The adaptation of 1979/80



Zbigniew Brzezinski, Afghanistan-Pakistan border, February 1980

The adaptation of 1979/80

Fig. 10.5: Defense Appropriations, 1970-1989



Source: Department of Defense, "National Defense Budget" (Greenbook), 2013

The 1970s reevaluated



The Carter administration reevaluated



“we knew what the strategy was”