

what they would do in the event of a collapse that's well within the realm of possibility. Alas, say the authors, there's no sign they're doing that.

## FOREIGN POLICY &amp; DEFENSE

## Latin America Rising

**THE SOURCE:** "The Post-American Hemisphere" by Russell Crandall, in *Foreign Affairs*, May–June 2011.

WHY HAS THERE NEVER BEEN A military coup in Washington?

Because there's no U.S. embassy there.

So goes an old Latin American joke. But according to Russell Crandall, a professor of international politics at Davidson College, it's a joke whose time has passed. U.S. influence in Latin America has been ebbing for the last decade, as Washington's attention has turned toward the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and

homegrown powers such as Brazil, Colombia, and Chile have become ascendant.

Latin America is flourishing. In recent years it has enjoyed unprecedented economic, political, and diplomatic success. Brazil stands out, with an economy that grew 7.5 percent last year, but the average for the region was an impressive 5.6 percent. More than 40 million Latin Americans escaped poverty between 2002 and 2008. Free elections and active civil societies are the new normal, and "armed revolution is now dead in the region that was once its cradle." The recent global economic calamities were not enough to knock Latin America off its promising trajectory. Even most leftist governments, disposed to "fiscal profligacy," reacted with prudent, market-friendly policies.

But present successes could breed fresh challenges, Crandall warns. New alliances and enmities may emerge that could threaten the balance of power.

Brazil is now the leader of the

region, as demonstrated by its key role in creating the Union of South American Nations in 2008. But Colombian, Mexican, and Peruvian officials complain privately about Brazil's "arrogant" diplomacy. One official said, "The new imperialists have arrived, and they speak Portuguese."

Without the United States aggressively policing them, the region's authoritarians—Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, Cuba's Fidel and Raul Castro, and Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega—have sought to play a larger role in regional affairs. But they have been "the biggest losers" in Latin America's realignment, Crandall says. "Nothing hurts [them] more than when other Latin American governments, especially leftist democratic ones, opt for and succeed with capitalist, democratic, or U.S.-friendly policies."

The United States, long used to being Latin America's "master," must adapt to the new realities. So far, Crandall thinks President

## EXCERPT

## The Accidental Revolutionaries

*Like it or not, the United States is a revolutionary power. Whether our government is trying to overthrow foreign dictators is almost irrelevant; American society is the most revolutionary force on the planet. The Internet is more subversive than the CIA in its prime. The dynamism of American society is constantly creating new businesses, new technologies, new ideas, and new social models. These*

*innovations travel, and they make trouble when they do. Saudi conservatives know that whatever geopolitical arrangements the Saudi princes make with the American government, the American people are busily undermining the core principles of Saudi society. It's not just our NGOs educating Saudi women and civil society activists; it's not just the impact of American college life on the rising generation of the Saudi elite. We change the world even when we aren't thinking anything about global revolution—when Hollywood and rap musicians are just trying to make a buck, they are stoking the fires of change around the world.*

—WALTER RUSSELL MEAD, professor of foreign affairs at Bard College, on his blog, *Via Meadia* (June 12, 2011)

Barack Obama is on the right track. His administration's emphasis on mutual respect and equal partnerships has pulled the rug out from under the anti-American authoritarians. A strategy of "patience and understated leadership" will allow the United States to quietly pursue its interests and will enable regional powers to cooperate without the appearance of subservience.

## FOREIGN POLICY &amp; DEFENSE

## How Stuxnet Changed the World

**THE SOURCE:** "Rise of a Cybered Westphalian Age" by Chris C. Demchak and Peter Dombrowski, in *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Spring 2011.

IF THE INTERNET EVER TRULY existed as a free and open global commons, that era vanished forever last year with the launching of the Stuxnet worm. Infected thumb drives and printer spooler software were used to bypass Iranian computer security measures, allowing Stuxnet to reach its target: the centrifuges at the heart of Iran's nuclear program. The crippling attack, whose source remains unknown, reportedly set the Iranians back by months, if not years. Other

nations took note.

Once a virtually borderless world, the Internet is being fenced in. Chris C. Demchak and Peter Dombrowski, both professors at the Naval War College, compare the process to the epoch-making Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which not only ended the Thirty Years' War but also established the nation-state, with clearly demarcated territories under its control, as the dominant institution, along with a new system of interstate relations.

Stuxnet was only the most dramatic of a series of developments that are leading to a new Westphalian cybersystem. Mysterious hackers briefly shut down Estonia's government and banking sites in 2007. Daily attacks on U.S. ".gov" and ".mil" sites "numbered in the millions" by 2008.

Policing the Internet is no longer a matter of punishing individual hackers and other domestic miscreants. Now governments are fighting organized crime and protecting against state-spon-

sored cyberattacks. In 2008, Sweden passed a controversial law allowing police to monitor all Internet traffic in and out of the country. Britain's new Conservative government has "declared cyberthreats to be a top-tier national security issue." And the United States recently established a new Cyber Command that, significantly, is under military rather than civilian control.

Of course, some countries have other motives for restricting the Internet. In China, the government has channeled all Web traffic in and out of the country to three gateways and is developing a new version of the Internet that will label every Chinese computer with its own unique Web address. That will make it much easier for Beijing to control debate and dissent within China.

Not long ago, the authors say, there was much optimistic talk of governing the Internet through some new kind of international arrangement. No longer. The Internet will recapitulate the world of nation-states.

Even nations that do not choose to erect cyberborders will be forced to do so. "Attacks across borders will become state responsibilities, whether or not the state approves or guides the attacks," the authors write. The Internet will soon have a new world order.



Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was not in a dancing mood after the Stuxnet attack.