

# DOWNLOAD PDF THE POWER OF THE PAST AND THE FEAR OF THE FOREIGN

## Chapter 1 : Foreign policy of the John F. Kennedy administration - Wikipedia

*an attack, because the US didn't have enough military power to protect themselves in the face of war at the time since they were in so much debt and also had no large army.*

Consider the enduring popularity, for instance, of thriller and horror movies since the invention of the motion picture. Think *Nosferatu*, *Dracula*, *Frankenstein*, *M* and *Werewolf of London*, among scores of others. This year a sequel to the classic slasher-flick *Halloween* was released 40 years after the original. Chilling Adventures in the Science of Fear. The love of fear also explains the popularity of thrill-seeking amusements such as skydiving, hanging off the edge of the CN Tower, and bungee jumping right, Will Smith? In these contexts, fear is temporary and contained by rules and regulations. Here a woman ropejumps from a height. Shutterstock Beyond fun and games, fear serves a regulatory purpose and can be used as a tool of political control. It can expose vulnerabilities and make us targets of those who would do us harm or wish to manipulate us for their own ends. Fear is also espoused as something we should hide, as a narrator of a advertisement for the show, *Chopped Canada*, forcefully warns: Boys and men are trained to supposedly overcome or conquer fear, a practice of toxic masculinity, lest they are called a roster of misogynistic or homophobic names. On the other hand, gender theorist Jack Halberstam notes in *Female Masculinity* that women who appear to be fearless may be perceived as masculine. Fear, then, is deployed in society to enforce gender norms and expectations. Fear is a political tool As a tool wielded by politicians to exploit anxieties that are already in the culture, fear sways public opinion and political allegiance. A pop-culture example mirrors real-life: Frank [Leans in to listen intently]: We can work with fear. Netflix It was once widely taken as fact, for example, that gay men are all pedophiles, out to recruit boys into immoral lifestyles a sentiment that has not disappeared entirely. Also persistent is the notion that Jewish people conspire to take over the world economy. Another entrenched argument, promulgated by men and women alike, is that feminists aim to emasculate men by tearing down their place in the world and in the family. The targets of campaigns of fear change according to political contexts and circumstances. Especially since, Muslims and those perceived as being Muslim have become the targets of restrictive national and local policies. In his book, *Terrified: How Anti-Muslim Fringe Organizations Became Mainstream*, Christopher Bail argues that, through narratives of danger and vilification, fear serves a social function by uniting like-minded people and fuelling white nationalism. Fear motivates change Fear is a powerful force, but is it limited to the realm of thrills, chills, shame and political strategy? What might it mean to consider fear differently from the usual media-driven narratives of stigma and weakness? Elite athletes might provide some insight into how they employ fear as motivation to maximize their performance under competition. People who are not elite athletes might find a similar purpose in fear: This is precisely what I explored in interviews with people about how fear motivated them to pursue a goal despite thinking of themselves as incapable. Singing or speaking in public, nude modelling, public speaking, coming out as queer, diving off a cliff, leaving an abusive relationship, returning to school later in life, becoming a parent for the first time and facing competition in athletic events are just some examples of how fear motivates internal change and achievement. For some people, fear represents an opportunity. One participant captured the point when she said: Fear played a supporting but important role in earning her kayak instructor certification. This photo captures the exhilaration of a research participant dropping her kayak in the water after careful preparation. Author provided No reuse Such perspectives and experiences contradict those of influential leaders who have spoken about fear. When you touch nonfear, you are free.

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## Chapter 2 : 4 Steps To Let Go Of Past Fears That Are Cursing You In The Present - mindbodygreen

*The U.S.-Chinese power transition can be very different from those of the past because China faces an international order that is fundamentally different from those that past rising states confronted.*

Any animal incapable of fear would have been hard pressed to survive, regardless of its size, speed, or other attributes. Fear alerts us to dangers that threaten our well-being and sometimes our very lives. Sensing fear, we respond by running away, by hiding, or by preparing to ward off the danger. To disregard fear is to place ourselves in possibly mortal jeopardy. Even the man who acts heroically on the battlefield, if he is honest, admits that he is scared. To tell people not to be afraid is to give them advice that they cannot take. Our evolved physiological makeup disposes us to fear all sorts of actual and potential threats, even those that exist only in our imagination. The people who have the effrontery to rule us, who call themselves our government, understand this basic fact of human nature. They exploit it, and they cultivate it. Without popular fear, no government could endure more than twenty-four hours. David Hume taught that all government rests on public opinion, but that opinion, I maintain, is not the bedrock of government. Public opinion itself rests on something deeper: As Henry Hazlitt [ ] observes, There may have been somewhere, as a few eighteenth-century philosophers dreamed, a group of peaceful men who got together one evening after work and drew up a Social Contract to form the state. But nobody has been able to find an actual record of it. Of course there have been constitutional conventions, but they merely changed the working rules of governments already in being. Subjugated people, for good reason, feared for their lives. Offered the choice of losing their wealth or losing their lives, they tended to choose the sacrifice of their wealth. Hence arose taxation, variously rendered in goods, services, or money Nock [ ] , ; Nock relies on and credits the pioneering historical research of Ludwig Gumplowicz and Franz Oppenheimer. Conquered people, however, naturally resent their imposed government and the taxation and other insults that it foists on them. For the stationary bandits, force alone proves a very costly resource for keeping people in the mood to generate a substantial, steady stream of tribute. Sooner or later, therefore, every government augments the power of its sword with the power of its priesthood, forging an iron union of throne and altar. Thus, the warrior element of government puts the people in fear for their lives, and the priestly element puts them in fear for their eternal souls. Government, it is claimed, protects the populace from external attackers and from internal disorder, both of which are portrayed as ever-present threats. Not long after the democratic dogma had gained a firm foothold, organized coalitions emerged from the mass electorate and joined the elites in looting the public treasury, and, as a consequence, in the late nineteenth century the so-called welfare state began to take shape. Nearly everything that the people feared, the government then stood poised to ward off. Thus did the welfare state anchor its rationale in the solid rock of fear. Thus, it cannot escape the law of diminishing marginal productivity: The first time the government cries wolf, the public is frightened; the second time, less so; the third time, still less so. Fear is a depreciating asset. Unless the foretold threat eventuates, the people come to doubt its substance. The government must make up for the depreciation by investing in the maintenance, modernization, and replacement of its stock of fear capital. This same factor helps to explain the drumbeat of fears pounded out by the mass media: Left alone for a while, relieved of this ceaseless bombardment of warnings, people would soon come to understand that hardly any of the announced threats has any substance and that they can manage their own affairs quite well without the security-related regimentation and tax-extortion the government seeks to justify. True government employment is much greater than officially reported [Light ; Higgs a]. Defense contractors, of course, have long devoted themselves to stoking fears of enemies big and small around the globe who allegedly seek to crush our way of life at the earliest opportunity. All such reports agree, however, that a crisis looms and that more such studies must be made in preparation for dealing with it. At every point, opportunists latch onto existing fears and strive to invent new ones to feather their own nests. In this way and countless others, private parties become complicit in sustaining a vast government apparatus fueled by fear.

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Fear Works Best in Wartime Even absolute monarchs can get bored. In wartime, however, rulers come alive. Nothing equals war as an opportunity for greatness and public acclaim, as all such leaders understand. Higgs, condemned to spend their time in high office during peacetime, they are necessarily condemned to go down in history as mediocrities at best. Upon the outbreak of war, however, the exhilaration of the hour spreads through the entire governing apparatus. Army officers who had languished for years at the rank of captain may now anticipate becoming colonels. Powerful new control agencies must be created and staffed. New facilities must be built, furnished, and operated. Politicians who had found themselves frozen in partisan gridlock can now expect that the torrent of money gushing from the public treasury will grease the wheels for putting together humongous legislative deals undreamt of in the past. Everywhere the government turns its gaze, the scene is flush with energy, power, and money. For those whose hands direct the machinery of a government at war, life has never been better. Small wonder that John T. But with the launching of the war effort the bureaus proliferated and the bureaucrats swarmed over the land like a plague of locusts. The place [Washington, D. Legislators know that they can now get away with taxing people at hugely elevated rates, rationing goods, allocating raw materials, transportation services, and credit, authorizing gargantuan borrowing, drafting men, and generally exercising vastly more power than they exercised before the war. Government and its private contractors therefore have a field day. Using popular fear to justify its predations, the government lays claim to great expanses of the economy and the society. Government taxation, borrowing, expenditure, and direct controls dilate, while individual rights shrivel into insignificance. Of what importance is one little person when the entire nation is in peril? Finally, of course, every war ends, but each leaves legacies that persist, sometimes permanently. In the United States, the War between the States and both world wars left a multitude of such legacies Hummel, Higgs, And when it does, we will find ourselves still living in fear: Nor has it worked alone in these endeavors. From top to bottom, the government wants us to be afraid, needs us to be afraid, invests greatly in making us afraid. On that glorious day, everyone who had been living at public expense would have to get an honest job, and the rest of us, recognizing government as the false god it has always been, could set about assuaging our remaining fears in more productive and morally defensible ways. References Bates, Robert H. The Political Economy of Development. Ridge Reveals Clashes on Alerts:

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## Chapter 3 : Solar companies fear being eclipsed by foreign biggies - The Economic Times

*Xenophobia or Zenophobia is the fear of strangers or foreigners. Hm. That is a generalization. 'Americans fear the grow of foreign power' is a fallacy. Americans have feared Communism and the.*

Toggle display of website navigation Argument: Argument Fear and Loathing in Saudi Arabia Saudi royals are scared about everything from the rise of Iran to the drop in oil prices. And Washington telling them to calm down only makes them angrier. January 7, 2016: Photo by The true surprise about the Saudi-Iranian contretemps over the execution of Sheikh Nimr al-Nimr is that it caught so many people off guard in the first place. Anyone paying attention to Saudi Arabia knew that something like this was a long time coming. Unfortunately, not enough people were paying attention until it was too late. So with that caveat as our guide, what can we say about the dramatic shifts in Saudi policy? The external threats it seems to see are easier for Americans to recognize than the internal ones. But what we often miss is how the Saudis see external issues affecting their internal circumstances and creating domestic threats they find far more frightening than the external threat on its own. At the broadest level, when the Saudis in Riyadh look at the Middle East around them, they see a region spiraling out of control. Civil wars are raging in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Libya, spilling refugees, terrorists, armed militants, and powerful, radical ideas over onto their neighbors. Already, spillover from these civil wars has created nascent civil wars in Egypt and Turkey. It has also created vast new opportunities for Iran to destabilize and rearrange the region to suit its own interests. And that includes the Shiites in the Saudi kingdom. Americans tend not to pay attention to these operations because we see them as proof that the Saudis have things well in hand; but another way to look at it is that the Saudis are fighting pitched battles with someone in the cities of the Eastern Province. In other words, there seems to be a much higher degree of mobilization and violent confrontation among the Saudi Shiites than most realize. Then there are Saudi fears about the oil market. Everyone seems to believe that the Saudis are purposely not cutting back production to kill off North American shale producers. But that is absolutely not what the Saudis are saying, either in private or public. Instead, they are saying that they can no longer control the oil market because there are too many other sources and all of the OPEC countries cheat like crazy whenever Riyadh tries to orchestrate a production cut. This has happened to them repeatedly over the past 20 to 30 years. They try to cut production to prevent oil prices from dropping, and the rest of OPEC takes advantage of it to pump as much as they can, contrary to what they promised and agreed to. The result is that there is no overall supply curtailment and the Saudis lose market share. This time around, they have stated that they cannot realistically control the OPEC oil supply, so they are not going to try to do so. Instead, they are going to fight for market share. But doing so means having to win a race to the bottom, with the result that their oil revenues are plummeting. So that is another element of fear for them: They can no longer control the oil market the way they once did, and the low price of oil is obviously killing them. It has become so bad that they are now talking about real economic austerity, including repealing subsidies on gasoline and other fuel that average Saudis now see as part of their rights as citizens. Repealing subsidies and other austerity measures is always a very unpopular move and can easily cause widespread popular unrest — one need only remember events in Greece last year. The fact that the Saudi government now feels forced to take this route speaks to how desperate its financial situation is — and, given how it conjures the threat of popular mobilization that makes it so uneasy, it can only make the Saudis that much more apprehensive. They have poured tens, if not hundreds, of billions of dollars into Syria and Yemen and to a lesser extent Iraq and Libya. They are pouring tens of billions more into Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Algeria, and Bahrain to shore up their governments, prevent state collapse under the strain of the spillover from neighboring civil wars, and thus prevent more civil wars on their own borders. And there sits Iran, at the intersection of all of these problems, from the Saudi perspective. The Saudis think the Iranians are to blame for the civil wars in Syria, Yemen, and to a lesser extent Iraq by mobilizing Shiites to destabilize the kingdom and its Sunni Arab allies. They also blame the

United States for the Iraqi civil war, appropriately, I might add. They see the Iranians as threatening to pump new oil out onto the market to fight the Saudis for market share regardless of how low the price goes; Iranian officials openly crow that all of the money that will finally be released to them after the nuclear sanctions are lifted will be used to enable them to take market share away from Riyadh. In addition, the Iranians are waging proxy wars against the Saudis in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen and aiding subversive elements in Bahrain, Kuwait, and the kingdom itself. And while we may believe that the Saudis exaggerate both Iranian capabilities and intentions, the Saudis have a number of good points when it comes to Iran. The Iranians do tend to back Shiite populations, whether they are in power or out, majority or minority. And they do often incite them to violence and provide them with the wherewithal to do so. As a result, the Iranians have become deeply embroiled in the civil wars of the region. I would argue their involvement in both Iraq and Syria is primarily defensive seeking to preserve the control over the state by their allies, but in Yemen it has unquestionably been offensive. And the Iranians do not make matters any better by arrogantly dismissing Arab fear and interests and placing themselves on a higher level than their neighbors across the Persian Gulf. Finally, the Saudis feel frustrated and abandoned by the United States. They evince out-and-out contempt for him and his policies. From their perspective, the United States has turned its back on its traditional allies in the Middle East. Washington is doing the least it can in Iraq, and effectively nothing in Libya and Syria, with the result that none of those conflicts is getting better. If anything, they are actually getting worse. Moreover, Saudi Arabia seems to differ over whether Obama is using the new nuclear deal with Tehran to deliberately try to shift the United States from the Saudi side to the Iranian side in the grand, regional struggle or if he is allowing it to happen unintentionally. The more charitable Saudi position is the former, because that suggests that Obama at least understands what he is doing, even if they think it a mistake and a betrayal. The latter view, for Saudis, sees him as a virtual imbecile who is destroying the Middle East without any understanding or recognition. The depth of Saudi anger and contempt for the current American leadership is important to understand because it is another critical element of their worldview and policies, as best we can understand them. We look at Bahrain and see an oppressed Shiite majority looking for some degree of political participation and economic benefit from the minority Sunni regime. The Saudis see an Iranian-backed mass uprising that could spread to the kingdom if it were to succeed – which is why the Iranians are helping it do so. We look at the Yemeni civil war and see a quagmire with only a minor Iranian role and little likelihood of destabilizing Saudi Arabia. The Saudis see an Iranian bid to stealthily undermine the kingdom. We see a popular Saudi Shiite cleric who would become a martyr if he is executed. The list goes on. And in none of these situations is the United States, the power that Riyadh traditionally counted on to help fix its problems, doing much. And where we are, we are just as often favoring Iran or even opposing them. And though many have always assumed that the Saudis look to free-ride and will bandwagon with whoever is the strongest power in the region, history is quite the opposite. And their modus operandi today is the same as it always has been: Hence their stunning intervention in Yemen, their constant escalation in Syria, and now this latest flare-up with Iran. Unless we want to take up some of these burdens for the Saudis their first choice, as always, then we have nothing that they want. It only adds insult to injury when Washington refuses to recognize the threats that they see, does nothing to help them with those threats, and then tries to keep them from doing what they think they need to do to deal with those threats themselves. The Saudis are going to keep taking whatever actions they feel necessary to deter or defeat what they see as Iranian efforts to undermine their external power and their internal stability. In the unstable Middle East of the early 21st century, that aggressiveness is going to have very unpredictable effects. But what looks chaotic to Washington will continue to seem entirely logical from the perspective of Saudi Arabia.

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## Chapter 4 : Subscribe to read | Financial Times

*Another form of fear also runs through American politics in the 20th century: the fear of foreign ideology, from anarchism to fascism to Marxism, that solidified into the Cold War fear of communism.*

Search Toggle display of website navigation ChinaFile: March 22, , 3: Memorial ceremony to mark the 2,th birthday anniversary of Confucius was held in Jining on Sunday. Instead, they sent missions to China and pretended to submit to China as a survival strategy “ a way to give their giant neighbor face while allowing them to pursue their own goals. But no matter, the key for the current Chinese leader is to give itself and Chinese people the sense that China is back in its natural place in the world order, which means as the regional hegemon and at least one of the top few countries in the world. Why this desire to recreate past glory? But it is also the external manifestation of a broader effort to recreate past values, principles, and structures in Chinese society. This comes after a century of largely trying to dismantle these guiding ideas and “ perhaps coincidentally, or perhaps not “ a century of violence, famines, wars, and turmoil. Of course, this past never existed. It is a dream “ the China Dream, perhaps, which Mr. Xi has made his signature idea. But if pushed too far it can become something else: China has generated a number of durable idealized narratives about its position in the world and its relations with other peoples. It is worth stating that pretty much every important power generates idealized narratives about itself. Just as clearly, none of these powers consistently live up to their self-idealization. According to myths dear to Americans, whose society was founded on the basis of slavery and the dispossession and substantial eradication of the native population, the United States is a force for liberty in the world. More recently, and prior to Trump, the United States has also long promoted an image of itself a country that is keen on openness, in ideas, in matters of immigration and in trade. None of these things have been consistently true of the United States “ ever. So how has China idealized itself? China has tended to imagine itself as a benign force whose centrality, preeminence and prestige have often served as the basis for a loosely articulated Pax Sinica. This is especially true in terms of how China imagines past relations with East and Southeast Asia. In its own self-conception, China was rarely the aggressor or expansionist, and pretty much never a hegemon. Instead, other countries were drawn toward it by its wealth and brilliance, and if they submitted to it, they did so voluntarily, because this seemed to them to be the natural and proper thing to do. In exchange, China bestowed legitimacy on appropriately deferential regimes, showered those who were interested in them with the fruits of Chinese civilization and allowed them access to its rich markets. China would like to be preeminent in its neighborhood. It would like to attain such a position through peaceful means, using its assumed powers of attraction. But especially because this was never a consistent reality in the past, one must be ready for the possibility that China is prepared to use non-peaceful means to attain its aims in the region, and indeed there are already signs suggesting preparations for just such a thing. See, for example, recent Chinese behavior in the South China Sea. This leads to a question posed by Wang Gungwu, who is quoted thusly in my book: But in the imperial past, in addition to these attributes, it could also boast leadership in philosophy, religion, astrology, medicine, science and technology, writing and literature, access to the examination system and more. Will China in the future be able to roll out a panoply of soft power attributes of comparable breadth and prestige to compliment its financial and hard power? If so, where will the ideational elements of this soft power come from? If not, what are the implications of being a new great power with a rather more narrowly based soft power foundation than in the past? China remains, and cannot avoid remaining, drenched in its history, far more than most other modern nation states. It lives in the shared memory of facts, legends, names, and events, and it lives in the Chinese language itself, filled as the latter is with words and phrases of ancient but still-understood allusions and associations. Our job is to identify as best we can contemporary Chinese perceptions of their immense historical legacy, pursuing that understanding through direct engagement with thoughtful Chinese counterparts, and to factor what we learn into our own perceptions and policy-making. The Chinese Communist Party, by the way, is not alone in these practices; the

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Kuomintang, from its first rise to power in the s until very recent years, diligently evoked and manipulated the Chinese Past as well. There was a set of rituals that ambassadors to the empire based in China were expected to perform, and a certain amount of rhetoric about civilization. The relationships performed were between the Son of Heaven and the outside sovereigns – not their respective societies – and Chinese records were always explicit about that. Beyond the rituals there were no prescriptions, whether commercial, strategic, or cultural, for relations between China and any country sending ambassadors. The actual policies and practices regarding the embassy nations varied enormously, from close supervision of trade and domestic politics in the case of Korea to indifference to reports and requests as in the case of Vietnam, for example, to polite curiosity about envoys claiming to represent the Netherlands or the Vatican. This is not to say that the actual history of relations between the Qing empire and previous empires based in China and East Asian neighbors were not complex and sometimes momentous. The Qing empire tried consistently to manage Korea, and the Joseon court in Korea tried consistently and with a certain amount of success to resist. Japan by its own choice kept to itself until the late nineteenth century, though its southwestern domains were constantly engaged in a culturally variegated pirate network that frustrated and enraged authorities both in Korea and in China. Russia was the empire that shared the most distinct conditions and concerns with the Qing, and the two empires forged a method of co-existence that has some resemblances to the present. But such similarities are incidental. Neither Korea nor Japan shows any interest today in treating the Chinese president as a Son of Heaven. The ambition to encircle India by land and sea; to create a financial and resource exchange system for infrastructure development engaging Central Asia, Europe, the Middle East and Africa; and to construct interlocking trade and security relationships that will block the American reach across the Pacific all are completely novel in Chinese and in global history. The Xi Jinping government may be designing the post-globalization pattern of managed trans-national spheres, and pioneering a financial and strategic role that few other countries seem even to envisage. China has no need to draw on any distant past for a template of its ambitions, attitudes, or enterprises. Jeremiah Jenne, independent China historian: Chinese exceptionalism rests on several hoary myths, but perhaps the most perplexing is that of China as the ultimate pacifist nation, the victim of all and an aggressor toward none. In this narrative, China, as presently constituted, emerged fully formed from the mists of history and expanded to its current size by entirely or mostly peaceful means. This exceptionalist narrative ignores the fraught history by which the former frontiers of empire became the borders and boundaries of a nation. This month, my students, undergraduates from several different U. The Sino-Burmese Wars of began, ironically enough for historians of the Opium Wars, when a local official escalated a trade dispute into an ill-fated attempt to expand Qing imperial power and prestige. Unfortunately, the commander of the Qing forces, Sun Shiyi, failed to capitalize on his early success and was forced to flee with his surviving troops back into China only a few months later. In the nineteenth century, the Qing Empire would also fight wars with France and Japan when those powers aggressively challenged Qing influence in Vietnam and Korea. Fairbank and many other twentieth-century historians of China. In the cases of the Sino-French War of and the Sino-Japanese War of , the Qing faced bellicose and aggressive powers who were unwilling to respect existing regional power relationships and had the military means to push back forcefully against the Qing assertion of its perceived rights and responsibilities as a great power. What happens when the inevitable challenges the exceptional? Will future wars be explained as a preemptive defense of inherent Chinese territory, as in the case of the border wars with India in the s, or will they be intentionally and conveniently forgotten, like the Sino-Vietnamese War of ? Rather than asking how the imperial past shapes the present, we also might consider how people in the present selectively craft a usable past for purposes ranging from soft power to leisure entertainment. In song, dance, and narrative voiceover, the performers presented a bleak history of misery, feudalism, and imperialism that had to be overturned in order for China to achieve a bright industrial future. In , the Beijing Olympics opening ceremony enacted a very different vision: In the s and more recently, the imperial past has been choreographed selectively into performance art. In the imperial past, historical writing almost inevitably entailed censure or praise for political or moral purposes or

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both. Today, the imperial past is celebrated as glorious heritage in front of audiences both foreign and domestic, and in contexts including Confucius Institutes abroad and tourist venues at home. While the central government sets the agenda and narrative, local governments and ordinary people including tourists also articulate visions and versions of the imperial past. Today, those same sites are celebrated as the former playgrounds of emperors, officials, and literati. Cultural heritage has become a global commodity and also a consumable domestic resource in a developing service economy. We see this especially in tourism. In the early s, tourism was managed by the local Overseas Chinese and foreign office, and tourism was imagined as a source of foreign currency. By the end of the s, tourism had been reclassified as a domestic industry. New regimens of work and leisure the arrival of the regular two-day weekend and longer holidays and greatly improved transportation infrastructure have contributed to a surge in domestic leisure travel. Old vernacular architecture by contrast continues to disappear. The imperial past has become a commodity, with local variants on a glorious national theme. Messages honoring the emperors and literati and high-ranking officials of the imperial past in fact affirm the prosperity, splendor, glory, stability, and indigenous antecedents of the present.

Getty hofrench Jeremiah Jenne is a writer, educator, and independent historian based in Beijing since He taught Chinese History and Chinese Philosophy for ten years. Jenne has contributed articles to *The Economist*, *The Atlantic Monthly Online*, and many other publications writing on history and contemporary China. She also writes on Central and Inner Asian history, global history, and the history of horsemanship in Eurasia before the modern period. She is the author of *What Remains*: She has served as the Editor of the journal *Late Imperial China* for more than a decade.

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## Chapter 5 : Fear and Loathing in Saudi Arabia – Foreign Policy

*Source: The Conversation - Canada - By Gerald Walton, Professor in Education of Gender, Sexuality and Identity, Lakehead University. People love fear. Consider the enduring popularity, for instance, of thriller and horror movies since the invention of the motion picture.*

See Article History Balance of power, in international relations , the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side. States can pursue a policy of balance of power in two ways: The term balance of power came into use to denote the power relationships in the European state system from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to World War I. Naval supremacy and its virtual immunity from foreign invasion enabled Great Britain to perform this function, which made the European balance of power both flexible and stable. The balance of power from the early 20th century onward underwent drastic changes that for all practical purposes destroyed the European power structure as it had existed since the end of the Middle Ages. Prior to the 20th century, the political world was composed of a number of separate and independent balance-of-power systems, such as the European, the American, the Chinese, and the Indian. World War II ended with the major weights in the balance of power having shifted from the traditional players in western and central Europe to just two non-European ones: The result was a bipolar balance of power across the northern half of the globe that pitted the free-market democracies of the West against the communist one-party states of eastern Europe. Because the balance of power was now bipolar and because of the great disparity of power between the two superpowers and all other nations, the European countries lost that freedom of movement that previously had made for a flexible system. Instead of a series of shifting and basically unpredictable alliances with and against each other, the nations of Europe now clustered around the two superpowers and tended to transform themselves into two stable blocs. There were other decisive differences between the postwar balance of power and its predecessor. The fear of mutual destruction in a global nuclear holocaust injected into the foreign policies of the United States and the Soviet Union a marked element of restraint. A direct military confrontation between the two superpowers and their allies on European soil was an almost-certain gateway to nuclear war and was therefore to be avoided at almost any cost. So instead, direct confrontation was largely replaced by 1 a massive arms race whose lethal products were never used and 2 political meddling or limited military interventions by the superpowers in various Third World nations. In the late 20th century, some Third World nations resisted the advances of the superpowers and maintained a nonaligned stance in international politics. The breakaway of China from Soviet influence and its cultivation of a nonaligned but covertly anti-Soviet stance lent a further complexity to the bipolar balance of power. The most important shift in the balance of power began in 1990, however, when the Soviet Union lost control over its eastern European satellites and allowed noncommunist governments to come to power in those countries. The breakup of the Soviet Union in made the concept of a European balance of power temporarily irrelevant, since the government of newly sovereign Russia initially embraced the political and economic forms favoured by the United States and western Europe. Both Russia and the United States retained their nuclear arsenals, however, so the balance of nuclear threat between them remained potentially in force. Learn More in these related Britannica articles:

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## Chapter 6 : Why did the framers of the constitution fear foreign powers

*Foreign policy experts say that presidents have accumulated power at the expense of Congress in recent years as part of a pattern in which, during times of war or national emergency, the executive.*

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## Chapter 7 : How China's History Shapes, and Warps, its Policies Today – Foreign Policy

*This fear need not be fear of the government itself and indeed may be fear of the danger from which the tyrant purports to protect the people. [2] One naturally wonders whether President George W. Bush has taken a page from Ferdinand's book (see, in particular, Higgs a and, for additional aspects, Higgs b).*

And looking back, what has the US to show for its decade of effort? Has it been winning the war on terror? It depends how it is measured. The killing of Osama Bin Laden was of course a major success. But the cost of vengeance instead of justice has also been high: A further turn towards hatred and a rise in those who think most Muslims are terrorists, that Islam is a threat to the world, etc. Wars that have seen far more than the 3,000 deaths that the US saw, and a self-fulfilling prophecy; creating more anger and resentment against the US, more potential terrorists, and the complete opposite of what the neo-cons wanted; global downturn and US decline instead consolidating their power and position in the world. Over 6,000 US soldiers killed in wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Possibly times that number of civilians in those countries in Iraq, at an early point, there was an estimated range of 100,000 to 200,000 civilian deaths, which of course Bush had to reject, claiming it used flawed techniques, even though it used estimation techniques his own government agencies taught others to use. Al Qaeda appears to have largely succeeded in its hopes of accelerating the decline of U.S. That appears to be the strong consensus of the foreign-policy elite which, with only a few exceptions, believes that the administration of President George W. Bush badly over-reacted to the attacks and that that over-reaction continues to this day. Meanwhile, various US actions in Iraq and elsewhere damaged its reputation around the world. The above summary also matches concerns raised further below in the section on Bush Losing the War on Terror which was written quite some time ago, so it did not have to take a decade to look back and see a change in course should have been possible. But maybe the impact of the enormous cost this would have US tax payers have had to fork out trillions of dollars was somewhat unimaginable? The costs have been staggering in almost every respect. The estimated three to four trillion dollars. And while the U.S. By framing this as a war on terror which, as a concept can almost never end, an excuse is now afforded to all governments to put in place tough security measures on any potentially flimsy basis. And the predicted war on civil liberties and human rights has unfortunately proven true as human rights organizations around the world feared from the start of the war on terror as discussed further below. If the US public mood at the time was understandably full of anger and vengeance as well as shock and disbelief, it also reflects badly on US society that voices for more measured and appropriately calculated responses could be drowned out; an individual acting in a regrettable way due to a moment of anger is very different than an entire state apparatus that should have time to think things through more thoroughly doing that. Maybe it could be argued that with hindsight it is easy to make these criticisms. Unfortunately, however, these concerns were there from the start, and re-iterated many times by many people and organizations during the past decade. But not all have wanted vengeance. Many families of the victims of the atrocity have campaigned for a more peaceful approach to combating terrorism, for example. Accompanying this has been media propaganda, media manipulation, sensationalism, sound-bite journalism and all the various other problems that have minimized coverage of deeper issues and understanding while allowing various claims to go almost unchallenged. Some examples and links are presented further below. The rest of the article below started shortly after the attacks in and was updated a few times up to 2002. It barely covered any details but still showed these numerous concerns from so many people and organizations were already there and are still relevant. Back to top Reaction to the September 11, events With disbelief and shock around the world people saw the news footage of the events on September 11, when the planes-turned-missiles slammed into the World Trade Center towers and into the Pentagon. What is probably the worst terrorist attack on the United States, was totally inexcusable and roundly condemned. Some were killed. Initial fears were that it was over A number of factors for this revised number, were said to include initial overestimates; more than one person reporting the same missing person; heroic rescue operations, etc. The ghastly terrorist

attacks led to a mixture of political, social and economic reaction around the world. Hatred and anti-Islam sentiment, without distinguishing the despotic militants from ordinary Muslims increased, even though most of the Muslim communities around the world condemned this act. While visible efforts were seen by politicians to try to separate terrorists from Muslims in general, it has not been easy. On the one hand, after years of economic and geopolitical history, there are some aspects of distrust, while on the other hand, extremists in the Muslim and Christian communities are adding to the antagonisms. For example, during the height of the shock and anger to the September 11 attacks, extremist tendencies in the West resulted in beatings and even killings of Muslims. Others saw this as proof that Islam is inherently violent or that it is the primary threat to the rest of the world, etc. On the Muslim side, there have also been equally extreme reactions, from support of these terrorist acts to even being convinced that this was some sort of Zionist conspiracy to blame Muslims! In both cases these seem to be a minority of people with such extreme views but of course the concern is always that it will increase over time. There was no question that there was going to be some sort of retaliation and response from the United States. One could not have expected them seriously to refrain from wanting to take revenge. Yet the fear was in what form this revenge would be and how it would be carried out as well as what the impact on ordinary Afghans would be, who have already suffered at the hands of the Taliban and outside forces for years. In addition, some eight months after the attacks it was revealed in the mainstream press around the world that the CIA had warned George Bush of the threats weeks before September. This caused an uproar in many places, including the United States Congress, where members demanded more information to understand if all those deaths could have been prevented.

**Resulting War on Terror** The terrible events of September 11 saw the considerable quieting of what was until then growing domestic and international criticism of the Bush Administration. The September 11 events resulted in a war on terror which saw support for Bush and his popularity soar at the time. Up to September 11, the Bush administration was being criticized around the world for its stances on various issues domestically and internationally. Even European and other allies were very critical of positions on numerous global issues. But even before the Bush Administration, throughout the world, many nations and groups of people had expressed their frustrations at how U.S. protests either directly, or indirectly at U.S. See the section on global protests for more on that, for example. Yet that cannot be an excuse for the atrocity of September 11 as it killed many innocent people. At the same time, people have correctly pointed out that when other regions around the world have faced similar terrorist attacks, the outpouring of concern and condemnation has not been as much. The Washington Post September 12, even dared to admit this at such a sensitive time shortly after the attacks. Their article is no longer online. However, behind the unity of the American people in the shock of September 11, a heightened sense of security resulted with concerns reverberating throughout the world. Many were concerned about the resulting crackdown of freedoms and civil liberties in various nations. Many worried that various countries around the world would also use this war on terror as an excuse to pursue more aggressive options on their own citizens. For example, consider the concerns Amnesty International raised in October, shortly after the September 11, attacks: In the name of fighting international terrorism, governments have rushed to introduce draconian new measures that threaten the human rights of their own citizens, immigrants and refugees. Governments have a responsibility to ensure the safety of their citizens, but measures taken must not undermine fundamental human rights standards. It appears that some of the initiatives currently being discussed or implemented may be used to curb basic human rights and to suppress internal opposition. Some of the definitions of terrorism under discussion are so broad that they could be used to criminalize anyone out of favor with those in power and criminalize legitimate peaceful exercise of the right to freedom of expression and association. They could also put at risk the right to privacy and threaten the rights of minorities and asylum-seekers. In May, Amnesty International charged, The war on terror, far from making the world a safer place, has made it more dangerous by curtailing human rights, undermining the rule of international law and shielding governments from scrutiny. It has deepened divisions among people of different faiths and origins, sowing the seeds for more conflict. The overwhelming impact of all this is genuine

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fear”among the affluent as well as the poor. In January , one of the essays comprising the World Report from Human Rights Watch raised concerns about human rights in the U. Justice cannot exist without respect for human rights. As stated in the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. The United States has long held itself up as the embodiment of good government. But it is precisely good governance”and its protection of human rights”that the Bush administration is currently jeopardizing with its post-September 11 anti-terrorist policies. On the foreign policy arena, there was increasing concern that the U. This can range from economic, to political and even military policies. The Iraq war was one such example, where among other things, the concern of terrorism was used to justify a war against Iraq , even though the terrorism links were not real. Also of importance, with its loose definition of terror, there is concern that the , will also affect all those working honestly for peace and social justice for all , as even they will come under scrutiny for perhaps appropriately criticizing policies of any number of nations and organizations around the world, including those from the West. In early , Walter Murphy, a constitutional law scholar and professor emeritus of politics at Princeton University described as the most distinguished constitutional scholars of the 20th century had criticized the Bush administration for abusing the US Constitution. Shortly after that as he tried to fly somewhere he was stopped by authorities because he was on the terrorist watch list as they had put it. He recounted a conversation with some authorities during this incident: Have you been in any peace marches? And then, before I could answer, he says, We ban a lot of people from flying for that. And he said, Oh, that will do it. However, in some regards, this revelation is not as surprising as it may first seem. For years it has been suspected that this happens”around the world, not just in the US. In addition, towards the end of , it was revealed that the Pentagon is keeping secret surveillance on peaceful protest activities. Furthermore, thousands have been mistakenly put on the no-fly list , and it is very hard to know why and get off it. Amnesty International continued their criticism in their Report , noting that both governments and armed groups have launched a war on global values, destroying the human rights of ordinary people: Violence by armed groups and increasing violations by governments have combined to produce the most sustained attack on human rights and international humanitarian law in 50 years. This was leading to a world of growing mistrust, fear and division. Violent attacks on civilians and on institutions established to provide solutions to conflict and insecurity ” represented a significant new threat to international justice. War on global values , Amnesty International, May 26, Link is to reposted version on this site But Amnesty also harshly criticized governments of powerful and influential nations, including the United States: But it is also frightening that the principles of international law and the tools of multilateral action which could protect us from these attacks are being undermined, marginalized or destroyed by powerful governments, said Irene Khan [Secretary General of Amnesty International]. Governments are losing their moral compass, sacrificing the global values of human rights in a blind pursuit of security. This failure of leadership is a dangerous concession to armed groups. The global security agenda promoted by the US Administration is bankrupt of vision and bereft of principle. Violating rights at home, turning a blind eye to abuses abroad and using pre-emptive military force where and when it chooses has damaged justice and freedom, and made the world a more dangerous place. The war on terror and the war in Iraq has encouraged a new wave of human rights abuse and diverted attention from old ones ” while many governments are openly pursuing repressive agendas.

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## Chapter 8 : MIL-OSI Global: Harnessing the power of fear – calendrierdelascience.com

*When this The Pathologies Of Power: Fear, Honor, Glory, And Hubris In U.S. Foreign Policy, By Christopher J. Fettweis exists and also offered in the general public, lots of people are directly trying to get this publication as their own reading material.*

Kennedy believed communism could be beaten by supporting the poor and promoting democracy, which he attempted by launching the Alliance for Progress. The administration presided over a number of covert interventions, and according to historian Stephen G. Rabe, "demonstrably bolstered regimes and groups that were undemocratic, conservative, and frequently repressive. Cuban Missile Crisis[ edit ] Kennedy, signing the authorization of the naval quarantine of Cuba. After the ill-fated Bay of Pigs Invasion, in late July, the Soviet Union began sending its weaponry and military personnel to Cuba, citing the intents to protect Cuba from further invasions. The Soviet Union planned to allocate in Cuba 49 medium-range ballistic missiles, 32 intermediate-range ballistic missiles, 49 light II bombers and about tactical nuclear weapons. He postponed a military solution of the crisis strenuously advocated by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and decided to impose a naval quarantine on Cuba. On October 22, Kennedy informed the nation of the crisis, announcing the quarantine and demanding the removal of Soviet missiles. On October 27, in a letter to Nikita Khrushchev Kennedy offered a noninvasion pledge for the removal of missiles from Cuba. The next day Kennedy and Khrushchev struck a deal: By that time, the fifteen Jupiter missiles were considered obsolete and had been supplanted by missile-equipped US Navy Polaris subs. During the crisis Kennedy showed his leadership talents, decision-making abilities and crisis management skills. The United Kingdom accepted the offer as the GAM Skybolt would have ensured it a nuclear deterrent through most of the s. By mid, however, Robert McNamara had deemed the Skybolt project "excessively expensive France was the second country Kennedy visited as President. He arrived to Paris with his wife Jacqueline Kennedy on May 31, Charles De Gaulle, known for his preference to speak French to foreign guests, greeted Kennedy in English. Kennedy administration had a firm commitment to the nuclear nonproliferation. In a letter to Harold Macmillan Kennedy wrote: East and West Germany[ edit ] Further information: Berlin Crisis of Kennedy called Berlin "the great testing place of Western courage and will". On August 13, the East Germans, backed by Moscow, suddenly erected a temporary barbed wire barricade and then a concrete barrier, dividing Berlin. Kennedy noted that "it seems particularly stupid to risk killing millions of Americans The crisis was defused largely through a backchannel communication the Kennedy administration had set up with Soviet spy Georgi Bolshakov. At the end of Robert McNamara concluded an arrangement with West Germany whereby the latter was to annually purchase some American military hardware. However this only partially alleviated the payments issue. On that day he delivered his famous "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech in front of, West Germans. In remarks to his aides on Berlin Wall Kennedy noted that the wall "is a hell of a lot better than a war". In late October, a dispute over the right of one U. Soviet and American tanks faced one another at Checkpoint Charlie, but Kennedy through an intermediary offered Khrushchev a conciliatory formula and both superpowers withdrew their tanks. Israel and Arab states[ edit ] Kennedy firmly believed in the U. In, Kennedy stated: It is the child of hope and the home of the brave. It can neither be broken by adversity nor demoralized by success. It carries the shield of democracy and it honors the sword of freedom". Kennedy ended the arms embargo that the Eisenhower and Truman administrations had enforced on Israel. According to Seymour Hersh, the inspections were conducted in such a way that it "guaranteed that the whole procedure would be little more than a whitewash, as the president and his senior advisors had to understand: Nonetheless Kennedy wished to work more closely with the modernizing forces of the Arab world. In June Nasser wrote Kennedy a letter, noting that though Egypt and the United States had differences, they could still cooperate. Following the outburst of the North Yemen Civil War Kennedy, fearing that it would lead to a larger conflict between Egypt and Saudi Arabia which might involve the United States as Saudi ally, decided to recognize

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the revolutionary regime. Kennedy hoped that it could stabilize the situation in Yemen. Kennedy still tried to persuade Nasser to pull his troops out. At the same time, Kennedy briefly dispatched a U. Navy task force to Bahrain , and the U. The situation was finally resolved in October, when the British troops were withdrawn and replaced by a 4, strong Arab League force. In July , following months of violence between feuding Kurdish tribes, Barzani returned to northern Iraq and began retaking territory from his Kurdish rivals. Faced with the loss of northern Iraq after non-Barzani Kurds seized control of a key road leading to the Iranian border in early September and ambushed and massacred Iraqi troops on September 10 and September 12, Qasim finally ordered the systematic bombing of Kurdish villages on September 14, which caused Barzani to join the rebellion on September 15. Ambassador to Iraq, John Jernegan, which argued that the U. Despite the Iraqi warnings, senior U. From September through February , Qasim repeatedly blamed the "criminal activities" of the U. On February 7, State Department executive secretary William Brubeck informed Bundy that Iraq had become "one of the more useful spots for acquiring technical information on Soviet military and industrial equipment and on Soviet methods of operation in nonaligned areas. While there have been persistent rumors that the CIA orchestrated the coup, declassified documents and the testimony of former CIA officers indicate there was no direct American involvement, although the CIA was actively seeking to find a suitable replacement for Qasim within the Iraqi military and the U. Mathews has meticulously established that National Guard leaders who participated in human rights abuses had been trained in the United States as part of a police program run by the International Cooperation Administration and Agency for International Development. While a Barzani-initiated ceasefire would have allowed the government to claim victory, al-Bakr "expressed astonishment" over American contacts with the Kurds, asking why the message had not been delivered through the Soviets. He also instructed the American military advisers in Laos to wear military uniforms instead of the civilian clothes as a symbol of American resolve. Nonetheless Kennedy believed that if both superpowers could convince their respective allies to move toward neutrality in Laos, that country might provide a pattern for settlement of future Third World conflicts. In March , Kennedy voiced a change in policy from supporting a "free" Laos to a "neutral" Laos as a solution. Eventually an agreement was signed in July , proclaiming Laos neutral. Turkey[ edit ] When Kennedy came to power, the Americanâ€™ Turkish relations were solidly based on the containment doctrine. Johnson assured Diem of more aid to mold a fighting force that could resist the communists. Taylor and Walt Rostow to South Vietnam to study the situation there. They recommended sending 8, troops, but Kennedy authorized only a much smaller increase in the American advisers. A year and three months later on March 8, , his successor, President Lyndon Johnson, committed the first combat troops to Vietnam and greatly escalated U. It was implemented in early and involved some forced relocation, village internment, and segregation of rural South Vietnamese into new communities where the peasantry would be isolated from Communist insurgents. It was hoped that these new communities would provide security for the peasants and strengthen the tie between them and the central government. By November the program waned and officially ended in 1955. During , Viet Cong troops increased from 15, to 24, Depending on which assessment Kennedy accepted Department of Defense or State there had been zero or modest progress in countering the increase in communist aggression in return for an expanded U. Those people hate us. They are going to throw our asses out of there at any point. On August 21, just as the new U. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. Diem would not listen to Lodge. If Diem refused, the Americans would explore alternative leadership. Krulak said that the military fight against the communists was progressing and being won, while Mendenhall stated that the country was civilly being lost to any U. The objective of the McNamara Taylor mission "emphasized the importance of getting to the bottom of the differences in reporting from U. Kennedy instructed Lodge to offer covert assistance to the coup, excluding assassination, and to ensure deniability by the U. A policy of "control and cut out" was initiated to ensure presidential control of U. Kennedy was shocked by the deaths. He found out afterwards that Minh had asked the CIA field office to secure safe-passage out of the country for Diem and Nhu, but was told that 24 hours were needed to procure a plane. Minh responded that he could not hold them that long. It reiterated the resolve to fight communism in

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Vietnam, with increasing military and economic aid and expansion of operations into Laos and Cambodia. Before leaving for Dallas, Kennedy told Michael Forrestal that "after the first of the year I do not believe he knew in his last weeks what he was going to do. Particularly, in naming young appointees to several embassies, such as William Attwood to Guinea and William P. The Kennedy administration believed that the British African colonies would soon achieve independence. Under Kennedy a civil rights activist Mennen Williams was tasked with management of the African affairs. According to Nigerian diplomat Samuel Ibe, "with Kennedy there were sparks"; the Prime Minister of Sudan Ibrahim Abboud , cherishing a hunting rifle Kennedy gave him, expressed the wish to go out on safari with Kennedy.

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## Chapter 9 : What did colonial people fear about foreign power

*"Many foreign peoples, in Europe at least, are frightened by experiences of the past and are less interested in freedom than in security. They are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities.*

Why do people of religion fear reality? This depends entirely on what religion you are talking about and also what reality. It is also true that some fear is natural in quite a number of different circumstances. And just because a person is religious does not exempt them from being human as well. Sometimes, in the Christian sense of going to church and following certain rituals, people are religious in terms of their outward practice but they have not made their faith a personal and living reality. So, when a fear inducing event occurs they have nothing to fall back on but their own resources, which is really what they are relying on mostly anyway. Instead, if they have truly trusted in the Lord Jesus Christ who is powerful and alive forevermore, they will know there is a much bigger reality behind all of life that cannot allow anything to ultimately hurt them. Once they have settled this eternal business, nothing on earth can be truly fearful since there is a comforting presence with them as an eternal and never-failing friend. People who know the Bible also know that there is an eternal judgment to be feared. Although they have themselves settled the matter, but they may have a deep concern about this in relation to others they know. They may also fear the consequences of various sins in the lives of others, since they know where it can lead. From a different perspective, those who have studied science and natural phenomena physics, geology, and natural science now know that the world is not flat, that some phenomena described in religious texts are all the same said in different languages, and that the only reason for war in some countries is always condoned and rationalized through explanations coming from religious texts, which is an abuse of religion. But if you want to believe fear based religious leaders, earthquakes are caused by whole countries making pacts with "The Devil". If I am reading the question correctly, this is what the person who is questioning religion, is actually asking for, not a rationalization by a specific religion. Most religions teach that there is a time to fight and a time to make peace. Fighting for self preservation is defense, which is understandable, but fighting for aggressive domination, the belief that you are the only one who can be right and everyone else is supposed to be grateful for your domination of their culture is sick and a form of fear based control. If your religion makes you fearful or is based on your fear of the things around you the unknown as being wrong, instead of trying to teach you to strive for the happiness of others, and deriving happiness from that action, then your religion is asking you to serve it to an end which is not peaceful or holy. Religion should serve you and adapt to the realities of science and nature. MORE Why do some people have a fear of elevators? There are several reasons that a person may be afraid of elevators: They are claustrophobic, meaning they fear small, enclosed spaces. The elevator cables will break and they will crash into the ground floor. The elevator may contain lots of germs on the buttons - germ phobias. The elevator may lose power or become stuck between floors for hours. Too many people on the elevator might be scary, and too compact for them.