

An Empire of Client States

Clients, Organizational Form, Surveillance and Empire

Clientalism

At least as far back as ancient Rome, powerful political units have acted through a network of clients.

The advantages of having clients rather than, say, imperial provinces are twofold:

- 1. the administrative and political costs of administering clients are considerably less than those occasioned by direct rule**
- 2. have clients (referred to by the Romans as “friends”) is significantly more flattering to one’s self-image as a free political unit than to have subjects.**

BUT

Counterbalancing these benefits, of course, is an obvious disadvantage: clients, by virtue of their formal independence, are often obstreperous and able to manipulate the patron for their own ends.

- But Client state networks also require considerable resources to maintain.**

Clientalism continued

Patron-client relations -- hierarchical

Often but not necessarily mutually beneficial

Commitments mostly one way -- by US

Organizational Form of US Clientalism

1. Headquarters - Washington

2 The Field – Embassies etc

Information Flows -- Communication

4 Country specific focus

5 Problems almost exclusively within Clients

**Problem filtering (highlighting the situation as problems so they are addressed)
exception monitoring (responding with relevant information when policy is not working)**

infinite focusing (focusing on the success or failure of current policy and WHY)

And Surveillance -- programmatic reporting of the performance of the regime and the provision of direct advise on how to perform -- The Uruguay Example

Organizational form continued

US officials focus on the survival and performance of the Regime of the client

Regime is the political and economic arrangements that give formal and informal power to certain types of actors (regime types vary substantially)

Clients acquiesce to be surveilled

Definition of as US Client

What these states all have in common is that the maintenance of their type of regime (though not by any means the individual leaders or political groupings comprising any given regime) is a) considered by the U.S. government as a legitimate matter of concern, which b) is worth considerable political and, if need be, economic and military efforts, should it be seen as endangered. In addition, the dominant political forces in each of these states also c) consider that characteristics a) and b) are themselves normal and legitimate. This, then, is a more complete definition of client states.

criteria for determining which states are currently U.S. clients –Footnote 56

- First, we assumed, unless there was strong evidence to the contrary (e.g., the case of Cuba), that all states with whom the U.S. concluded a bilateral or multilateral mutual defense treaty before the end of the cold war are U.S. clients.
- Second, we added to that list those countries with whom the U.S. has close military-to-military ties, principally via treaty arrangements permitting extensive arms transfers and military training; as well as those states over whom the U.S. at some point established detailed budgetary monitoring and control.
- Other countries, notably those in which there are U.S. military bases, or with whom the U.S. recently concluded a mutual defense treaty, or for which there is evidence of CIA budgetary support or emergency military assistance, or which are in the same region as other U.S. clients, we added to the list if a) there was verbal evidence (e.g., from the State Department budget “justification” to Congress – U.S. Department of State 2005b) that the state in question is considered as an ally or otherwise important to U.S. security or b) there is no countervailing evidence of U.S. deferral to other states (e.g., France; Russia).
- Finally, states that at some point had been U.S. colonies, territories, or trusteeships, or were occupied militarily by the U.S., were also included if they did not fall into any of the above categories.

**President Franklin Roosevelt with Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza
in Washington, D.C.**



President Eisenhower greets Vietnamese President Diem



President Carter Greet the Shah of Iran



President Reagan meets Liberian President Samuel Doe



President Bush walks with Saudi King Abdullah



Afghan President Karzai, Vice-President Biden, President Obama and Pakistan
President Zardari walk along at the White House



Current US Clients

Ethiopia
Ghana
Liberia
Antigua and Barbuda
Argentina
Bahamas
Barbados
Belize
Bolivia
Brazil
Canada
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Dominica
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador

Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Jamaica
Mexico
Nicaragua
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Saint Kitts and Nevis
Saint Lucia
Saint Vincent/Grenadines
Suriname
Trinidad and Tobago
Uruguay
Grenada
Guatemala
Venezuela

Current US Clients

Austria

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Belgium

Denmark

France

Germany

Greece

Iceland

Italy

Luxembourg

Macedonia

Netherlands

Norway

Poland

Portugal

Spain

Sweden

Turkey

United Kingdom

Bahrain

Egypt

Iraq

Israel

Jordan

Kuwait

Oman

Qatar

Saudi Arabia

Tunisia

United Arab Emirates

Afghanistan

Pakistan

Australia

Indonesia

Japan

Malaysia

Current US Clients

Marshall Islands
Micronesia
New Zealand
Palau
Philippines
Singapore
South Korea
Taiwan
Thailand

Total Countries Worldwide/Percent Worldwide

Clients 81 – 42.6%

Non-Clients 109 – 57.4%

Total Population Worldwide/Percent Worldwide

Clients 2,070,997,673 – 34.7%

Non-Clients 3,893,665,267 – 65.3%

Total GDP (in millions US \$) Worldwide/Percent Worldwide

Clients 20,940,793 – 82.2%

Non-Clients 4,535,441 – 17.8%

Client Acquisition in chronological order

- **Hawaii, 1893-1898**
- **Cuba, 1902-1959**
- **Panama, 1903-present**
- **Dominican Republic, 1905-present**
- **Nicaragua, 1910-1981**
- **Honduras, 1911-present**
- **Haiti, 1915-present**
- **Costa Rica, 1919-present**
- **Guatemala, 1920-present**
- **El Salvador, 1922-present**
- **Mexico, 1940-present**
- **Colombia, 1940-present**
- **Venezuela, 1940-present**
- **Bolivia, 1940-present**
- **Ecuador, 1940-present**
- **Peru, 1940-present**
- **Chile, 1940-present**
- **Paraguay, 1940-present**
- **Uruguay, 1940-present**
- **Brazil, 1940-present**
- **Canada, 1941-present**
- **Liberia, 1942-present**
- **China, 1943-1949**
- **Italy, 1945-present**
- **Philippines, 1946-present**
- **Argentina, 1946-present**
- **Greece, 1947-present**
- **Turkey, 1947-present**
- **France, 1948-present**
- **UK, 1948-present**
- **Belgium, 1948-present**
- **Netherlands, 1948-present**
- **Luxembourg, 1948-present**
- **Denmark, 1948-present**
- **Norway, 1948-present**
- **Iceland, 1948-present**

Client Acquisition in chronological order - continued

- **Portugal, 1948-present**
- **Sweden, 1948-present**
- **Israel, 1948-present**
- **South Korea, 1948-present**
- **West Germany, 1949-present**
- **Thailand, 1950-present**
- **Taiwan, 1950-present**
- **Australia, 1951-present**
- **New Zealand, 1951-present**
- **Japan, 1951-present**
- **Spain, 1953-present**
- **Saudi Arabia, 1953-present**
- **Iran (ex-Mossadeq), 1953-1979**
- **Pakistan, 1954-present**
- **South Vietnam, 1955-1975**
- **Austria, 1955-present**
- **Lebanon, 1957-1984**
- **Ethiopia, 1959-1977**
- **Jamaica, 1963-present**
- **Trinidad and Tobago, 1963-present**
- **Congo (Zaire), 1963-1997**
- **Laos, 1964-1975**
- **Jordan, 1965-present**
- **Ghana, 1966-present**
- **Indonesia, 1966-present**
- **Guyana, 1966-present**
- **Tunisia, 1967-present**
- **Cambodia, 1970-1975**
- **Malaysia, 1977-present**
- **Singapore, 1977-present**
- **Egypt, 1978-present**
- **Barbados, 1980-present**
- **Saint Lucia, 1981-present**
- **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, 1981-present**
- **Dominica, 1981-present**

Client Acquisition in chronological order - continued

- **Antigua and Barbuda, 1981-present**
- **Belize, 1982-present**
- **St. Kitts and Nevis, 1984-present**
- **Grenada, 1984-present**
- **Bahamas, 1985-present**
- **Marshall Islands, 1986-present**
- **Micronesia, 1986-present**
- **Nicaragua, 1990-present**
- **Suriname, 1991-present**
- **Ethiopia, 1991-present**
- **Kuwait, 1991-present**
- **Bahrain, 1991-present**
- **Oman, 1991-present**
- **United Arab Emirates, 1991-present**
- **Qatar, 1991-present**
- **Palau, 1994-present**
- **Bosnia, 1996-present**
- **Macedonia, 1996-present**
- **Poland, 1998-present**
- **Afghanistan, 2001-present**
- **Iraq, 2004-present**