

Paper from well managed forests and controlled sources کاغذ این کتاب از جنگلها و منابع کاملاً مدیریت شده تهیه شده است.

2 نقش

يادداشتها

نقشهٔ جدیدامریکا ۱. مردگازی

 Loren C. Steffy, George P. Mitchell: Fracking, Sustainability, and an Unorthodox Quest to Save the Planet (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2019), p. 174 ("livable forest"), p. 23; interview with Dan Steward; Gregory Zuckerman, The Frackers: The Outrageous Inside Story of the New Billionaire Wildcatters (New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2013), p. 21; Dan Steward, The Barnett Shale Play: Phoenix of the Fort Worth Basin (Fort Worth: Fort Worth Geological Society, 2007); Russell Gold, The Boom: How Fracking Ignited the American

Energy Revolution and Changed the World (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014).

- Interview with Dan Steward; Steward, *The Barnett Shale Play*; Gold, *The Boom*; Steffy, *George P. Mitchell*, p. 23 ("sad"); Roger Galatas, "Why George Mitchell Sold the Woodlands," *The Woodlands History*, December 2011 ("hated").
- 3. Interview with Dan Steward; Steffy, George P. Mitchell, p. 254 (quarter billion).
- 4. Interviews with Dan Steward, Nick Steinsberger, and Larry Nichols.
- Balancing Natural Gas Policy: Fueling the Demands of a Growing Economy, vol.

 (Washington, D.C.: National Petroleum Council, September 2003), p. 16;
 National Petroleum Council, Committee on Natural Gas, September 3, 2003, transcript, pp. 30–31 ("hell of a big difference").
- 6. Interview with Larry Nichols.
- Russell Gold, "Natural Gas Costs Hurt US Firms," Wall Street Journal, February 17, 2004.
- Potential Supply of Natural Gas in the United States, Report of the Potential Gas Committee (2011, 2019). President Obama, Remarks on America's Energy Security, Georgetown University, March 30, 2011.

۲. کشف نفت شیل

- Interview with Mark Papa; Lawrence C. Strauss, "The Accidental Oil Man," Barron's, October 22, 2011.
- 2. Interview with Mark Papa; EOG Presentation, 2010.
- 3. Interview with John Hess; Time, December 1, 1952.
- Interviews with Harold Hamm and John Hess; North Dakota Industrial Commission, Department of Mineral Resources, Annual Oil Production Statistics.
- 5. Cornell Lab of Ornithology, "All About Birds: Say's Phoebe"; Scott R. Loss, Tom Will, and Peter P. Marra, "The Impact of Free-Ranging Domestic Cats on Wildlife of the United States," *Nature Communications* 4 (2013); Christopher Helman, "Judge Throws Out Criminal Case Against Oil Companies for Killing Birds at Drilling Sites," *Forbes*, January 18, 2012; *United States v. Brigham Oil & Gas, L.P.*, 840 F. Supp. 2d 1202 (D.N.D. 2012); "Federal Court Holds That the Mi-

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۴۷

gratory Bird Treaty Act Does Not Apply to Lawful Activities That Result in the Incidental Taking of Protected Birds," Stoel Rives LLP, January 30, 2012.

- Edgar Wesley Owen, Trek of the Oil Finders: A History of Exploration for Petroleum (Tulsa: American Association of Petroleum Geologists, 1975), pp. 886, 890.
- Jon Meacham, Destiny and Power: The American Odyssey of George Herbert Walker Bush (New York: Random House, 2016), p. 92.
- Richard Nehring, "Hubbert's Unreliability," Oil and Gas Journal, April 17, 2006; Leta Smith, Sang-Won Kim, Pete Stark, and Rick Chamberlain, "The Shale Gale Goes Oily," IHS CERA, 2011.
- Interview with Scott Sheffield; Pioneer Natural Resources, "Wolfcamp Horizontal Play," Board Presentation, November 16, 2011; *Pioneering Independent* (Irving: Pioneer Natural Resources, 2018), chapters 8 and 9.

۳. کاش ده سال پیش به من می گفتید: رنسانس تولید

1. David Mitchell, "Change Is Coming," New Orleans Advocate, September 23, 2015.

- Jason Thomas, "Commodities, and the Global Slowdown," Carlyle Group, January 2020; Mohsen Bonakdarpour, IHS Markit Economics; PricewaterhouseCoopers, Impacts of the Natural Gas, Oil, and Petrochemical Industry on the U.S. Economy in 2018 (PWC, 2020).
- 3. Daniel Raimi, The Fracking Debate: The Risks, Benefits and Uncertainties of the Shale Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018); International Energy Agency, Tracking Fuel Supply (Paris: November 2019); Oil and Gas Climate Initiative, "Keeping the Accelerator on Methane Reduction," Blog, April 2020, https:// oilandgasclimateinitiative.com/keepingthe- accelerator-on-methane-reduction/.
- 4. IHS, America's New Energy Future: The Unconventional Oil and Gas Revolution and the United States Economy, vol. 1 (October 2012); vol. 2 (December 2012); vol. 3 (September 2013); Jeff Meyer, "Trade Savings: How the Shale Revolution Helped Moderate the Trade Deficit," IHS Markit Report, July 2020.
- American Chemistry Council, "Notes on Shale Gas, Manufacturing, and the Chemical Industry," February 2020.

6. Daniel Fisher, "Shale Gas and Buffett's Billions Fuel Turnaround at Dow Chemical," *Forbes*, October 15, 2014 ("pivoted"); Zain Shauk, "Cheap Natural Gas Feeds Chemical Industry Boom," *Houston Chronicle*, April 19, 2012; Alex MacDonald, "Voestalpine Bets Big on U.S. Shale-Gas Boom," *Market Watch*, May 24, 2013.

۴. صادر کنندهٔ جدید گاز

- 1. Interview with Charif Souki.
- 2. Journal of Commerce, February 3, 1959.
- 3. Interview with Michael Smith.
- Interview with Charif Souki; Gregory Zuckerman, *The Frackers: The Outrageous* Inside Story of the New Billionaire Wildcatters (New York: Portfolio/Penguin 2013), pp. 316–17.
- 5. Interview with Michael Smith.
- 6. Eliza Notides, "The US Department of Energy Speaks," *IHS CERA Alert*, May 21, 2013; Department of Energy, "Energy Department Authorizes Second Proposed Facility to Export Liquefied Natural Gas," May 17, 2013; Christopher Smith, Testimony on the Effects of LNG Exports on US Foreign Policy, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, April 30, 2014.
- Steve Holland and David Brunnstrom, "Trump Urges India's Modi to Fix Deficit," Reuters, June 26, 2017; Remarks by President Trump, President Moon, Commerce Secretary Ross, and NEC Director Cohn in Bilateral Meeting, June 30, 2017.
- 8. Interview with oil company CEO.

۵. بستن و باز کردن: مکزیک و برزیل

- 1. Interview.
- Elizabeth Malkin, "To Halt Energy Slide," *New York Times*, April 11, 2019; Jude Webster and Michael Stott, "Mexico: Lopez Obrador Makes a Big Bet," *Financial Times*, October 3, 2019 ("technocrats" and "sovereignty"); Sergio Chapa, "Mexico's New President Takes Nationalist Tone," *Houston Chronicle*, March 21, 2019 ("transformation").
- 3. Andres Schipani and Bryan Harris, "Can Brazil's Pension Reform Kick-Start the

یادداشتها 🔳 ۵۴۹

Economy?," Financial Times, October 22, 2019.

۶. نبرد خطوط لوله

- Remarks by President Obama on American-Made Energy, Cushing, Oklahoma, March 22, 2012; Jane Mayer, "Taking It to the Streets," *New Yorker*, November 20, 2011 ("game over"); Kevin Birn and Cathy Crawford, "The GHG Intensity of Canadian Oil Sands Production: A New Analysis," IHS Markit Canadian Oil Sands Dialogue, June, 2020. On permitting pipelines, National Petroleum Council, *Dynamic Delivery: America's Evolving Oil and Natural Gas Transportation Infrastructure* (Washington, D.C., 2019).
- 2. Interview with Carlos Pascual.
- "Keystone XL Pipeline Permit Determination," Press Statement, John Kerry, Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., November 6, 2015, https://2009- 2017. state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/11/249249.htm; "Background Briefing on the Keystone XL Pipeline," Special Briefing, Office of the Spokesperson, via teleconference, November 6, 2015, https://2009- 2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ ps/2015/11/249266.htm.
- 4. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Dakota Access Pipeline Environmental Statement, December 9, 2015; Dakota Access Pipeline, "Addressing Misconceptions About the Dakota Access Pipeline," https://daplpipelinefacts.com/The-Facts.html; Daryl Own, "The Untold Story of the Dakota Access Pipeline," LSU Journal of Energy and Resources 6 (Spring 2018).
- Charlotte Alter, "Inside Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's Unlikely Rise," *Time*, March 21, 2019; Earthjustice, "The Dakota Access Pipeline," https://earthjustice.org/ cases/2016/the-dakota-access-pipeline; "Paying for Standing Rock," *Wall Street Journal*, September 29, 2017 ("bison"); Blake Nicholson, "State, Feds Address Cleanup at Oil Pipeline Protest Camp," AP News, February 15, 2017.

۷. عصر شيل

1. Journal of Commerce, July 8, 1946; March 9, May 12, 1948.

2. Daniel Yergin, The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power (New York:

Simon & Schuster, 2009), chapters 28–31; IHS Energy, US Crude Oil Export Decision: Assessing the Impact of the Export Ban and Free Trade on the US Economy (Houston: 2014).

- 3. Lisa Murkowski, "Opening Remarks," CERAWeek 2015; Lisa Murkowski, John McCain, and Bob Corker, "The U.S. Needs to End Its Ban on Crude Oil Exports," *Foreign Policy*, April 14, 2015; Maroš Sefčovič, "A 21st Century Transatlantic Energy Compact," Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington, D.C., October 22, 2015.
- Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy (New York: Touchstone, 2002).
- 5. Maroš Sefčovič, "A 21st Century Transatlantic Energy Compact."

۸. تعادل مجدد جغرافیای سیاسی

- St. Petersburg International Economic Forum, June 2013; Thomas Donilon, "Energy and American Power: Farewell to Declinism," *Foreign Affairs*, June 2013; Michael R. Pompeo, Speech at CERAWeek: "U.S. Foreign Policy in the New Age of Discovery," March 12, 2019. On the impact on U.S. foreign relations, see Meghan O'Sullivan, *Windfall: How the New Energy Abundance Upends Global Politics and Strengthens America's Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), chapters 5 and 6.
- Bruce Jones, David Steve, and Emily O'Brien, Fueling a New Order? The New Geopolitical and Security Consequences of Energy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2014), p. 12.
- Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950, vol. 5, (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1978) p. 1191.
- Trade Partnership Worldwide, "Trade and American Jobs: The Impact of Trade on U.S. and State-Level Employment," February 2019.
- Carlos Pascual, "The New Geopolitics of Energy," Columbia Center on Global Economic Policy, September 2015, pp. 14–15; Javier Blas, "Iran Sanctions Push Oil Price," *Financial Times*, January 23, 2012; "Iran: EU Oil Sanctions," BBC, January 23, 2012.

یادداشتها 🔳 ۵۵۱

- Christopher Alessi and Sarah McFarlane, "Europe Opens Up to Other Gas Suppliers," Wall Street Journal, September 27, 2018.
- 7. Interview (Korea).
- 8. Interview.
- Raoul LeBlanc, "The Impact of Financial Discipline on Crude Supply," HIS Markit, January 23, 2020.

نقشهٔ روسیه ۹. پروژهٔ بزرگ یوتین

- Angela Stent, The Limits of Partnership: U.S.-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 191 ("energy superpower"); Oliver Stone, The Putin Interviews: Oliver Stone Interviews Vladimir Putin (New York: Hot Books, 2017), p. 149 ("important elements").
- Vagit Alekperov, Oil of Russia: Past, Present and Future (Minneapolis: East View Press, 2011), p. 98 ("breadbasket"), p. 128.
- 3. Alekperov, Oil of Russia, pp. 173-74 ("fuel crisis").
- 4. Alekperov, Oil of Russia, p. 252.
- Yegor Gaidar, "The Soviet Collapse: Grain and Oil," American Enterprise Institute, April 2007 ("timeline").
- Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev; Yegor Gaidar, Collapse of an Empire: Lessons for Modern Russia (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2007), p. 165 ("no national economy").
- Serhii Plokhy, *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (London: One World, 2014), pp. 303–10, 367, 377.
- Interview with Yegor Gaidar ("chudo"). On the "Wild 90's" and the Russian oil industry, see Thane Gustafson, Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), chapters 2–5.
- Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy, Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015), pp. 107–15, 181–83; Angela Stent, Putin's World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest (New York: Twelve,

۱۰. بحران گاز

2019), p. 4 ("judoist"), pp. 83–86; Stent, *Limits of Partnership*, pp. 4, 85–86. 10. Interview.

 Paul R. Magosci, A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 72–73; Serhii Plokhy, The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine (New York: Basic Books, 2015), p. 167.

- Serhii Plokhy and M. E. Sarotte, "The Shoals of Illusion," *Foreign Affairs*, November 22, 2019 ("born nuclear"); Steven Pifer, "The Budapest Memorandum and U.S. Obligations," Brookings Institution, December 4, 2014.
- Thane Gustafson, *The Bridge: Natural Gas in a Redivided Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), chapter 9.
- 4. Serhii Plokhy, The Gates of Europe, pp. 333–34; Angela Stent, The Limits of Partnership: US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), chapter 5; Samuel Charap and Timothy J. Colton, Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia (New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 89 ("direct threat").
- 5. Jonathan Stern, "The Russian-Ukrainian Gas Crisis of January 2006," Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, January 16, 2006 ("one-third"); "Beginning of Meeting on Economic Issues," Kremlin, December 8, 2005; http://en.kremlin.ru/events/ president/transcripts/23321; Thane Gustafson and Matthew Sagers, "Gas Transit Through Ukraine: The Struggle for Ukraine's Crown Jewels," CERA, 2003.
- Condoleezza Rice, Remarks at the State Department Correspondents Breakfast, January 5, 2006; Jonathan Stern, "The Russian-Ukrainian Gas Crisis."
- Simon Blakey and Thane Gustafson, "Russian-Ukrainian Gas: Why It's Different This Time," CERA, 2009 (Putin).

۱۱. در گیری بر سر امنیت انرژی

 Thane Gustafson and Simon Blakey, "It's Not Over Till It's Over: The Russian Ukrainian Gas Crisis in Perspective," CERA, 2009.

یادداشتها 🔳 ۵۵۳

- 2. "Official Launch of Construction of Nord Stream," press release, April 9, 2010 ("long-term goals"); Thane Gustafson, *The Bridge: Natural Gas in a Redivided Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), p. 372 ("priority"); Gerrit Wiesmann, "Russia-EU Gas Pipeline," *Financial Times*, November 8, 2011 ("temptation" and "exclusive"); Isabel Gorst and Neil Buckley, "Russia Opens \$10bn Nord Stream," *Financial Times*, September 6, 2011 ("civilized").
- European Commission, "Third Energy Package," https://ec.europa.eu/energy/ en/topics/markets-and consumers/marketlegislation/ third-energy-package.
- German Federal Court of Auditors, "2016 Report—Implementation of Energy Transition," December 21, 2016, www.bundesrechnungshof.de/en/veroeffentlichungen/products/beratungsberi chte/sammlung/2016-report-implementationof-energy-transition.
- Angela Stent, From Embargo to Ostpolitik: The Political Economy of West German–Soviet Relations, 1955–1980 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 69 ("drown us"); Edwin L. Dale, "Soviet Oil Feeds Dispute in the West," New York Times, June 5, 1961; Raymond P. Brandt, "Oil a New Soviet Weapon in Economic and Political Offensive Against West," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 4, 1961.
- Charles Moore, Margaret Thatcher: The Authorized Biography, vol. 1, From Grantham to the Falklands (New York: Knopf, 2013), pp. 578–79 (Reagan).
- Moore, Margaret Thatcher, p. 584; Gustafson, The Bridge, p. 160; George Shultz, Turmoil and Triumph: Diplomacy, Power, and the Victory of the American Ideal (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), p. 140. ("wasting asset"), p. 89.

۱۲. او کراین و تحریمهای جدید

 Edward J. Epstein, How America Lost Its Secrets (New York: Vintage, 2017), pp. 143–44 (Putin); Angela Stent, The Limits of Partnership: US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014) p. 270.

2. Stent, The Limits of Partnership, pp. 219, 270 ("slouch"), 293 ("regional power").

3. Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," Atlantic, April 2016 ("core"); James

Marson, "Putin to the West," Time, May 25, 2009 ("Big Russia").

- Oliver Stone, The Putin Interviews: Oliver Stone Interviews Vladimir Putin (New York: Hot Books, 2017) p. 65 ("signal").
- Mark Kramer, "Why Did Russia Give Away Crimea," May 19, 2014, Cold War International History Project e-Dossier No. 47; William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* (New York: Norton, 2003), chapters 9 and 10.
- 6. U.S. Treasury Secretary Jacob J. Lew, "Evolution of Sanctions and Lessons for the Future," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., March 30, 2016; Ministry of Justice and Security, Government of the Netherlands, "Decision on Prosecution MH17," Letter to Parliament, June 19, 2019.
- Lew, "Evolution of Sanctions"; Jacob Lew and Richard Nephew, "The Use and Misuse of Economic Statecraft," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2018.
- U.S. Geological Survey, "Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle," 2008; "Russia Plants Flag Under N Pole," BBC News, August 2, 2007.
- 9. U.S. Energy Information Administration, *Technically Recoverable Shale Oil and Shale Gas Resources: An Assessment of 137 Shale Formations in 41 Countries Outside the United States*, June 2013, table 4, p. 8; Timothy Gardner, "Exxon Winds Down Drilling," Reuters, September 19, 2014; Jack Farchy, "Gazprom Neft Strives to Go It Alone," *Financial Times*, January 3, 2017.

۱۳. نفت و دولت

- 1. Interview with Alexei Kudrin.
- International Monetary Fund, "Russian Federation: 2019 Article IV Consultation Staff Report," August 2019.

۱۴. پس زدن

 Donald Tusk, "A United Europe Can End Russia's Energy Stranglehold," *Financial Times*, April 21, 2014; Maroš Šefčovič. "Nord Stream II—Energy Union at the Crossroads," Brussels, April 6, 2016; "Germany to Back Nord Stream 2

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۵۵

Despite Ukraine Tensions," EURACTIV.com with Reuters, December 4, 2018 (commercial project); Thane Gustafson, *The Bridge: Natural Gas in a Redivided Europe*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020), chapter 12.

- "Sally Yates and James Clapper Testify on Russian Election Interference," Washington Post, May 8, 2017; Ben Smith's Blog, "Hillary: Putin 'Doesn't Have a Soul," Politico, January 6, 2008; Michael Crowley and Julia Ioffe, "Why Putin Hates Hillary," Politico, July 25, 2016.
- Polina Nikolskaya, "Russia's Largest Oil Producer Says New US Sanctions Are Going to Backfire," *Business Insider*, August 3, 2017.
- Statement by President Donald J. Trump on Signing the "Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act," August 2, 2017.
- 5. Gustafson, The Bridge, p. 411.
- 6. Elena Mazneva, Patrick Donahue, and Anna Shiryaevskaya, "Germany, Austria Tell U.S. Not to Interfere," *Bloomberg*, June 15, 2017 ("energy supply" and "try to favor"); Alissa de Carbonnel and Vera Eckert, "EU Stalls Russian Gas Pipeline," Reuters, March 21, 2017.
- 7. Wolfgang Ischinger, "Why Europeans Oppose the Russian Sanctions Bill," *Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 2017; Andrew Rettman, "Merkel: Nord Stream 2 Is 'Political," *EUobserver*, April 11, 2018; United States Senate Letter to Secretary of the Treasury Steven Mnuchin and Deputy Secretary of State John J. Sullivan, March 15, 2018; CNBC, July 11, 2018 ("totally controlled"); Steven Erlanger and Julie Hirschfeld Davis, "Trump vs. Merkel," *New York Times*, July 11, 2018; Tom DiChristopher, "Behind Nord Stream 2," CNBC, July 11, 2018; "Trump and Juncker Agree," CNBC, July 25, 2018.
- Roman Olearchyk and Henry Foy, "Zelensky Stands Firm," *Financial Times*, December 10, 2019; Helen Maguire and Ulf Mauder, Putin-Merkel press conference, January 11, 2020, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/62565.
- European Commission Fact Sheet, "Liquefied Natural Gas and Gas Storage Will Boost EU's Energy Security," February 16, 2016; Groningen, Field Summary Report, IHS Markit, February 2020.
- 10. Andrius Sytas and Nerijus Adomaitis, "Lithuania Installs LNG Terminal to End

Dependence on Russian Gas," Daily Mail, October 27, 2014.

- 11. Association of Gas Producers of Ukraine, http://agpu.org.ua/en/.
- 12. "Ceremony of First Tanker Loading," Kremlin, December 8, 2017, http://en.kremlin. ru/events/president/transcripts/56338; Henry Foy, "Russia's LNG Ambitions," *Financial Times*, December 27, 2017; Matthew Sagers, Dena Sholk, Anna Galtsova, and Thane Gustafson, "Russia's New LNG Strategy," IHS Markit, April 2018.
- Gregory Meyer, Ed Crooks, David Sheppard, and Andrew Ward, "Gas from Russian Arctic to Warm Homes in Boston," *Financial Times*, January 22, 2018; www.markey.senate.gov/news/press-releases/senator-markey-calls-forgreaterscrutiny-of-lng-shipments-from-russia-to-the-united-states.
- 14. Henry Foy, "Russia's Novatek Shows Resilience," Financial Times, August 1, 2018.
- John Webb and Stanislav Yazynin, "Russia's Northern Sea Route," IHS Energy, April 2015.
- 16. Sagers et al., "Russia's New LNG Strategy"; Foy, "Russia's LNG Ambitions" ("confirmation").

۱۵. چرخش به سمت شرق

- "Merkel Sees No End to EU Sanctions," Reuters, August 19, 2016; James Henderson and Tatiana Mitrova, "Energy Relations Between Russia and China: Playing Chess with the Dragon," Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, August 2016; Sergei Karaganov, "Global Tendencies and Russian Policies," *Russia in Global Affairs*, February 13, 2016 ("rosy dreams"); "Press Statement Following Russian-Chinese Talks," Kremlin, May 20, 2014, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/ president/transcripts/21047; Angela Stent, *Putin's World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest* (New York: Twelve, 2019), p. 103 ("own world"); Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: USRussian Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).
- Bobo Lo, *Russia and the New World Disorder* (London: Chatham House, 2015), p. 133 ("pivot to the east"); transcript of Putin conversation with Lionel Barber and Henry Foy, *Financial Times*, June 27, 2019, https://www.ft.com/content/878d23 44-98f0-11e9-9573-ee5cbb98ed36 ("eggs").

یادداشت ها 🔳 ۵۵۷

- Brian Spegele, Wayne Ma, and Gregory L. White, "Russia and China Agree," Wall Street Journal, May 21, 2014; "Replies to Journalists' Questions Following a Visit to China," Kremlin, May 21, 2014, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/ news/21064.
- Erica Downs, "China's Quest for Oil Self-Sufficiency in the 1960s," unpublished manuscript, 2001 ("scabs").
- 5. "Press Statements Following Russian-Chinese Talks," Kremlin, May 8, 2015, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/49433 ("key partner");Cheang Ming, "Best Time in History' for China-Russia Relationship," CNBC, July 4, 2017; "Putin: Outside Interference in South China Sea Dispute Will Do Only Harm," Reuters, September 5, 2016; Nikolai Novichkov and James Hardy, "Russia Ready to Supply 'Standard' Su-3s," *Jane's*, November 25, 2014; Alexander Gabuev, "China and Russia: Friends with Strategic Benefits," Carnegie, April 7, 2017; "Russia-China Military Ties 'at All-Time High," *RT*, November 23, 2016.
- Oliver Stone, The Putin Interviews: Oliver Stone Interviews Vladimir Putin (New York: Hot Books, 2017), p. 90 ("global leadership").
- Dragoş Tîrnoveanu, "Russia, China and the Far East Question," *The Diplomat*, January 20, 2016.
- 8. "Pancake Diplomacy," The Week, September 12, 2018.

۱۶. مناطق حياتي

- Halford Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History," *Geographical Journal* 23, no. 4 (April 1904), pp. 421–37.
- Dan Morgan and David B. Ottaway, "Azerbaijan's Riches Alter the Chessboard," Washington Post, October 4, 1998 "major goal" and "real country."
- 3. Daniel Yergin, *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World* (New York: Penguin, 2011), chapters 2 and 3; Amy Myers Jaffe and Robert A. Manning, "The Myth of the Caspian 'Great Game': The Real Geopolitics of Energy," *Survival* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1998–99), p. 116 (Richardson).
- 4. Georgi Gotev, "Kazakhstan's Transition," EURACTIV.com, April 24, 2019.
- 5. "Plenary Session of St Petersburg International Economic Forum," Kremlin, June

نقشة چين

7, 2019, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/60707; Radina Gigova, "Xi Gets Russian Ice Cream from 'Best and Bosom Friend," CNN, June 17, 2019.
6. Power of Siberia pipeline ceremony, https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=vzafjfHkxPk Anna Galtsova, Jenny Yang, and Sofia Galas, "Power of Siberia: Upcoming Debut to the China Gas Market," IHS Markit, November 25, 2019; Putin speech March 10, 2020: http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/62964; *The Economist*, March 10, 2020.

- ۱۷. جی۲ ۱. Congressional Research Service, "U.S-China Investment Ties," August 28, 2019, and "U.S.-China Trade and Economic Relations," January 29, 2020; NAFSA: Association of International Educators (Chinese university students).
- Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Vintage, 2005), p. 922; Bill Clinton, Speech, Johns Hokins SAIS, Washington, D.C., March 9, 2000.
- Jacqueline Varas, "Trade Policy Under President Trump," American Action Forum, Insight, December 13, 2016.
- 4. Graham Allison, Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap? (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017); "Xi Jinping's Speech on China-U.S. Relations in Seattle," Beijing Review, September 23, 2015. ۵. نویسندهٔ کتاب رویلی چین سرهنگ لیو مینگ فو، از ماراتن صدسالهای یاد میکند که در آن چین به قدرت برتر جهان تبدیل میشود. این عنوان به کتابی به قلم مایکل پیلزبری با عنوان ماراتن صدساله: راهبرد پنهانی چین برای کنارزدن امریکا و تبدیل شدن به ابرقدرت جهان تبدیل شده است.

(New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2016. Also, Michael Fabey, *Crashback: The Power Clash Between the U.S. and China in the Pacific* (New York: Scribner, 2017), p. 59; Minghao Zhao, "Is a New Cold War Inevitable? Chinese Perspectives on USChina Strategic Competition," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 12, no. 3 (2019), p. 374 ("capitalist world" and "co-equal").

6. Allison, Destined for War, p. 13.

یادداشت ها 🔳 ۵۵۹

7. IHS Markit AutoInsight.

- Nicholas Eberstadt, "With Great Demographics Comes Great Power," Foreign Affairs, July/August 2019; Nicholas Eberstadt, "China's Demographic Outlook to 2040 and Its Implica
- 9. "Xi Wants High-Tech Fighting Force," China Daily, May 1, 2018; "Military expenditure by country," SIPRI, 2019; "The U.S.-China Military Scorecard," RAND Corporation, 2015; Elbridge Colby, "How to Win America's Next War," Foreign Policy, May 5, 2019 ("wide variety"); Jane's, "China's Advanced Weapons Systems," May 12, 2018 tions," American Enterprise Institute, January 2019. این گزارش به نقل قولی چینی با عنوان دانش استراتژی نظامی اشاره می کند: «جنگی بزرگ و مرگبار که باید برای آن آماده شویم... در آبهای منطقه خواهد بود.»
- Michael Gordon, "Marines Plan to Retool to Meet China Threat," Wall Street Journal, March 22, 2020; David H. Berger, Force Design, United States Marine Corps, March 2020 ("great power/peer level"), p. 2.
- 11. Evan Osnos, "Making China Great Again," New Yorker, January 1, 2018.
- 12. "President Xi Jinping's Keynote Speech," China Daily, May 14, 2017.
- Interview with James Stavridis; Allison, Destined for War, p. 150 ("tension");
 رابرت دی کاپلان، دانش آموختهٔ جغرافیا و جغرافیای سیاسی، دریای جنوب چین را مسئلهٔ
 اصل در سیاستهای قدرتهای جهانی و برای حفظ توازن قدرت در سراسر جهان

Robert D. Kaplan, *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific* (New York: Random House, 2015), p. 49.

۱۸. زمین خطرناک

توصيف مي كند.

- Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères, 32 CPCOM/79, ASIE 1930–1940, CHINE, E 513-0 sd/e 749.
- 2. Monique Chemillier-Gendreau, Sovereignty over the Paracel and Spratly Islands (Cambridge, MA: Kluwer Law International, 2000), pp. 226–27 ("quirks of geology"); Clive Schofield and Ian Storey, The South China Sea Dispute: Increasing Stakes and Rising Tension (Washington, D.C.: Jamestown Foundation: 2009), p. 11 ("Dangerous Ground"); David Hancox and Victor Prescott, A Geographical

Description of the Spratly Islands and an Account of Hydrographic Surveys Amongst Those Islands, International Boundaries Research Unit, Maritime Briefing, vol. 1, no. 6 (1995), p. 38 ("mariner's . . . guarantee"); Stein Tonnesson, "The South China Sea in the Age of European Decline," *Modern Asian Studies* 40 (2006), pp. 1–57, 3 ("Europe-dominated waters").

- Centre des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères, 32 CPCOM/79, ASIE 1930–1940, CHINE, E 513-0 sd/e 749.
- 4. "How Much Trade Transits the South China Sea?," China Power, Project CSIS, October 10, 2019 (world trade); Schofield and Storey, *South China Sea Dispute*, p. 9 (tuna); Alan Dupont, "Maritime Disputes in the South China Sea: ASEAN's Dilemma," *Perspectives on the South China Sea*, ed. Murray Hiebert, Phuong Nguyen, and Gregory Poling (Washington, D.C.: CSIS, 2014), p. 46 ("strategic commodity"); Ian Storey, "Disputes in the South China Sea: Southeast Asia's Troubled Waters," *Politique Étrangère* 79, no. 3 (2014), p. 11 ("entire world").
- Chemillier-Gendreau, Sovereignty over the Paracel and Spratly, pp. 205–6, 210–11 ("megalomania"); Bill Hayton, The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia (New Haven Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 54–55 ("navy is weak").
- 6. State Council, White Paper on South China Sea, July 2016, english.www.gov. cn/state_council/ministries/2016/07/13/content_281475392 503075.htm ("9 Islets"); Henry Kissinger, On China (New York: Penguin, 2011); Hayton, The South China Sea, p. 55 ("mapmakers"). On the "unequal treaties," Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, The Cambridge History of China, vol. 10, Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), chapter 5.
- 7. State Council, White Paper on South China Sea, http://english.www.gov.cn/ state_council/ministries/2016/07/13/content_281 475392503075.htm ("reviewed and approved"); Peter A. Dutton, "Through a Chinese Lens," *Proceedings of the* U.S. Naval Institute 136, no. 4 (April 2010), p. 25; Zou Keyuan, "The Chinese Traditional Maritime Boundary Line in the South China Sea and Its Legal Consequences for the Resolution of the Dispute over the Spratly Islands," International Journal of Maritime and Coastal Law 14, no. 1 (1999), p. 33; Hayton, The South China Sea, p. 56 ("Loving the nation"); William Callahan, "The Cartography of

یادداشت ها 🔳 ۵۶۱

National Humiliation and the Emergence of China's Geobody," *Public Culture* vol. 21, issue 1, Winter 2009, p. 154 ("common people"); "Spratlys—Spratly Islands (Nansha Islands) of China," www.spratlys.org/islands-names/1935.htm (chronology of maps). On Bai Meichu and the *Journal of Geographical Studies*, see Pei-yin Lin and Weipin Tsai, *Print, Profit, and Perception: Ideas, Information and Knowledge in Chinese Societies, 1895–1949* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 105–11, and Brian Moloughney and Peter Zarrow, eds., *Transforming Society: The Making of a Modern Academic Discipline in Twentieth Century China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2011), pp. 310–17, 331–32 (more patriotic).

8. Tonnesson, "The South China Sea in the Age of European Decline," p. 29.

 Philip Short, Mao: A Life (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), pp. 418–420 ("stood up"); Zheng Wang, "The Nine-Dashed Line: 'Engraved in our Hearts," The Diplomat, August 25, 2014.

۱۹. سه پرسش ۱. اظهارنظر رسمی دولت جمهوری خلق چین در مورد صلاحیت داوری در مناقشهای که توسط دولت جمهوری فیلییین آغاز شده است (۷ دسامبر ۲۰۱۴)

- 2. Zhiguo Gao and Bing Bing Jia, "The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea: History, Status, and Implications," *American Journal of International Law* 107, no. 1 (January 2013), p. 101; Bill Hayton, *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia* (New Haven Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 24– 26; Florian Dupuy and Pierre-Marie Dupuy, "A Legal Analysis of China's Historic Rights Claim in the South China," *American Journal of International Law* 107, no. 1 (January 2013), pp. 124, 136–41; Robert Beckman, "The UN Convention of the Law of the Sea and the Maritime Disputes in the South China Sea," *American Journal of International Law* 107, no. 1 (January 2013), p. 143; U.S. Department of State, "Limits in the Seas: Maritime Claims in the South China Sea," December 5, 2014, p. 9.
- The Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative at CSIS in Washington for information and maps on the South China Sea: https://amti.csis.org and https://amti.

csis.org/island-tracker/china/; David E. Sanger and Rick Gladstone, "Piling Sand in a Disputed Sea," *New York Times*, April 8, 2015 ("facts on the water").

- 4. U.S. Department of State, "Limits in the Seas," pp. 16, 19; Zhiguo Gao and Bing Bing Jia, "The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea," p. 102; Dupuy and Dupuy, "A Legal Analysis of China's Historic Rights Claim," p. 139.
- 5. Interview with Robert Beckman.
- 6. Jeff Himmelman, "A Game of Shark and Minnow," *New York Times Magazine*, October 27, 2013; Ben Blanchard, "Duterte Aligns Philippines," Reuters, October 20, 2016. China's historical chronology in State Council, People's Republic of China, "China Adheres to the Position of Settling Through Negotiation the Relevant Disputes Between China and the Philippines in the South China Sea," July 2016; State Council, White Paper on South China Sea, July 2016, http://english.www.gov.cn/state_council/ministries/2016/07/13/content_281 475392503075.htm (illegal claim).
- 7. Interviews with Robert Beckman and Antonio Carpio.
- Shih Hsiu-Chuan, "Ma Addresses Nation's Role in S China Sea," *Taipei Times*, September 2, 2014; "Joining the Dashes," *The Economist*, October 4, 2014.

۲۰. خردمندی نسلهای آینده

- Ezra Vogel, Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Richard Baum, Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1994); Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy (New York: Touchstone, 2002), p. 197.
- Bill Hayton, *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 28, 121 ("not wise enough").
- 3. Carlyle A. Thayer, "Recent Developments in the South China Sea: Implications for Peace, Stability, and Cooperation in the Region," *South China Sea Studies*, March 24, 2011, p. 3; U.S. Department of State, "Limits in the Seas"; Tran Truong Thuy and Le Thuy Trang, *Power, Law, and Maritime Order in the South China*

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۶۳

Sea (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), pp. 103-15.

 Interviews; Hillary Rodham Clinton, *Hard Choices* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), p. 79; Edward Wong, "Chinese Military Seeks to Extend Its Naval Power," *New York Times*, July 23, 2010.

۲۱. نقش تاريخ

- 1. Interview with Tommy Koh.
- Louise Levathes, When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405–1433 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 170, 88, 20; Geoff Wade, "The Zheng He Voyages: A Reassessment," Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 78, no. 1 (2005), pp. 37–58; Valerie Hansen, The Open Empire: A History of China to 1800 (New York: Norton, 2015), pp. 352–60.
- Michael Fabey, Crashback: The Power Clash Between the U.S. and China in the Pacific (New York: Scribner, 2017), p. 65; Joseph Kahn, "China Has an Ancient Mariner to Tell You About," New York Times, July 20, 2005.
- Kurt Campbell, *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia* (New York: Twelve, 2016), pp. 185–87; Patrick E. Tyler, "China Warns U.S. to Keep Away from Taiwan Strait," *New York Times*, March 18, 1996.
- Peng Yining, "Sea Change," *China Daily*, September 24, 2014; Jeremy Page, "As China Expands Its Navy," *Wall Street Journal*, March 30, 2015.
- 6. Henry Kissinger, On China (New York: Penguin, 2011), pp. 514-27.

۲۲. نفت و آب

- H. C. Ling, *The Petroleum Industry of the People's Republic of China* (Palo Alto, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1975).
- 2. Far Eastern Economic Review, February 2004 ("Malacca Dilemma").
- 3. Xizhou Zhou, "Battle for the Blue Skies: How China's Anti-Smog Campaign Triggered a Natural Gas Crisis and a Switch to 'Clean Coal," IHS Markit, March 15, 2018; Jenny Yang and Xiaomin Liu, "The Battle for the Blue Sky Continues," IHS Markit, July 9, 2018.

- 4. "In High Seas, China Moves Unilaterally," *New York Times*, May 8, 2014; John Ruwitch and Nguyen Phuong Ling, "Chinese Oil Rig Moved Away," Reuters, July 16, 2014 ("bowed"); "China, Vietnam to Address Maritime Disputes Without Using 'Megaphone Diplomacy': Xinhua," Reuters, December 27, 2014; Khanh Vu, "Chinese Ship Leaves Vietnam's Waters," Reuters, October 24, 2019; Carl Thayer, "A Difficult Summer in the South China Sea," *The Diplomat*, November 2019.
- Dylan Mair and Rachel Calvert, "Energy Drivers for Offshore Cooperation," revised 2019, IHS Markit, unpublished; U.S. Energy Information Administration, "South China Sea," February 7, 2013; U.S. EIA, "Contested Areas of South China Sea Likely Have Few Conventional Oil and Gas Resources," April 3, 2013; Lee Hsien Loong, "The Endangered Asian Century," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2020, p. 59.

۲۳.کشتیهای گنج جدید چین

- Arthur Donovan and Joseph Bonney, *The Box That Changed the World: Fifty* Years of Container Shipping (East Windsor: Commonwealth Business Media, 2006), p. 46 (most consequential); Marc Levinson, *The Box: How the Shipping* Container Made the World Smaller and the World Economy Bigger (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 15 ("no engine"); Peter Drucker, *Innovation* and Entrepreneurship, www.academia.edu/38623791/Innovation_and_entrepreneurship__Peter_F_Drucker, p. 31.
- Journal of Commerce, June 3, 2001; Donovan and Bonney, The Box, pp. 51–52 ("We are convinced"), p. 97 (thievery); Levinson, The Box, p. 165.
- IHS Markit PIERS and IHS World Trade Service (container ports); *Journal of Commerce*, June 3, 2001; Donovan and Bonney, *The Box*, p. 177.

۲۴. آزمایش احتیاط

- Sarah Raine and Christian Le Mière, *Regional Disorder: The South China Sea Dispute* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 167 ("power politics").
- 2. Interview with Bilahari Kausikan.

یادداشت ها 🔳 ۵۶۵

- Xi Jinping, "China-US Ties," *China Daily*, September 24, 2015. Xi Jinping, *The Governance of China* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2014), pp. 479–80.
- 4. Xi Jinping, "Achieving Rejuvenation Is the Dream of the Chinese People," Governance of China, pp. 37–39; "Xi Pledges Great Renewal of Chinese Nation," People's Daily, November 30, 2012; Edward Wong, "Signals of a More Open Economy in China," New York Times, December 9, 2012.
- 5. Elizabeth C. Economy, *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Xi Jinping, Speech, at the National People's Congress, *China Daily*, March 22, 2018; "Xi Jinping Promises More Assertive Chinese Foreign Policy," *Financial Times*, March 20, 2018 ("east wind").
- "Leave Immediately': US Navy Plane Warned over South China Sea," CNN, August 24, 2018, https://www.stltoday.com/news/world/leave-immediatelyusnavy-plane-warned-over-south-china-sea/article_fcb06c65-9775-5f07-b3d9bfa4cea0a28d.html.
- Michael R. Pompeo, "America's Indo-Pacific Economic Vision," Remarks at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C., July 30, 2018; Joe Gould, "U.S. Senate Panel Sets Sights," *Defense News*, June 6, 2018.
- 8. Interview with Tommy Koh.
- 9. Interview with Chan Heng Chee.
- Interview; Adam P. Liff and G. John Ickenberry, "Racing Toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition in the Asia Pacific, and the Security Dilemma," *International Security* 39, no. 2 (Fall 2014), p. 78.
- Liff and Ickenberry, "Racing Toward Tragedy?," p. 72 (Rudd); interview with Peter Ho ("distracted"); Council on Foreign Relations, "Conflict in the South China Sea: Contingency Planning Memorandum Update"; Interview (hostage).
- 12. Defusing the South China Sea Disputes: A Regional Blueprint (Washington, D.C.: CSIS, 2018); Raine and Le Mière, Regional Disorder, pp. 179–214; Bonnie Glaser, "A Step Forward in U.S.-China Military Ties: Two CBM Agreements," Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, November 11, 2014.
- 13. Interview with Yoriko Kawaguchi; Yoji Koda, "Japan's Perspectives on U.S. Policy

۵۶۶ 🔳 نقشة جديد جهان

Toward the South China Sea," in *Perspectives on the South China Sea*, ed. Murray Hiebert, Phuong Nguyen, and Gregory Poling (Washington, D.C.: CSIS, 2014), pp. 85–87; Ian Storey and Lin Cheng-yi, *The South China Sea Dispute: Navigating Diplomatic and Strategic Tensions* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2016), p. 5 (Abe).

- Jacqueline Varas, "Trade Policy Under President Trump," American Action Forum, Insight, December 13, 2016; Thomas Franck, "Trump Doubles Down: "Trade Wars Are Good, and Easy to Win," CNBC, March 2, 2018.
- 15. Kurt M. Campbell and Jake Sulivan, "Competition without Catastrophe: How America Can Both Challenge and Coexist with China," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2019; Michael D. Swaine, "Chinese Views on the U.S. National Security and National Defense Strategies," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 1, 2018 ("unprecedented"); "China in U.S. National Security Strategy Reports, 1987–2017," USC U.S.-China Institute, December 18, 2017, https://china.usc.edu/china-us-national-security-strategy-reports-1987- 2017 (previous presidents); Susan Thornton, "Is American Diplomacy with China Dead?," *Foreign Service Journal*, July-August 2019; David Shambaugh, "U.S.-China Rivalry in Southeast Asia," *International Security*, Spring 2018, p. 88.
- 16. National Security Strategy of the United States, December 2017.
- 17. Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America.
- "Remarks by Secretary Esper in a Joint Press Conference with Senior Afghan Officials and Resolute Support Mission Commander," https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/1994448 / remarks-by-secretary-esper-in-a-joint-press-conference-with-senior afghanoffic/; Discussion ('asleep").
- "Vice President Pence on the Administration's Policy Toward China," Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C., October 4, 2018.
- 20. State Council, People's Republic of China, "China's National Defense in the New Era," July 2019, english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/201907/24/content_WS5d3941ddc6 d08408f502283d.html; "China Warns of War in Case of Move Towards Taiwan Independence," CNBC, July 23, 2019 (Wu Qian).

یادداشتها 🔳 ۵۶۷

- 21. Anthony H. Cordesman, "China's New 2019 Defense White Paper," CSIS, July
- 24, 2019; interview. interview; National Security Council, "White House Strategic Approach to the People's Republic," May 26, 2020.
- Elsa B. Kania, "Made in China 2025, Explained," *The Diplomat*, February 1, 2019; Pence, "Administration's Policy Toward China."
- 23. "Huawei Is at the Centre of Political Controversy," *The Economist*, April 27, 2019; Robert Zoellick, "Can America and China Be Stakeholders?," December 4, 2019 (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace); also, Robert Zoellick, "The China Challenge," *The National Interest*, February 2020.

۲۵. ابتکار کمربند و جاده

- Xi Jinping, "Work Together to Build the Silk Road Economic Belt," in Xi Jinping, The Governance of China (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2014), pp. 315–19.
- Craig Benjamin, *Empires of Ancient Eurasia: The First Silk Roads Era*, 100 BCE–250 CE (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 144; Valerie Hansen, The Silk Road: A New History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 5–8, plate 2 (von Richthofen and his map).
- 3. Hansen, The Silk Road, pp. 14-16 (wrapping).
- 4. Xi Jinping, Speech to Indonesian Parliament, Jakarta, October 2, 2013.
- Nadège Rolland, "China's Eurasian Century," National Bureau of Asian Research, May 23, 2017, p. 51.
- 6. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Remarks on the U.S. House of Representatives Passing the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act of 2019," December 4, 2019; Jonathan D. Pollack and Jeffrey A. Bader, *Looking Before We Leap: Weighing the Risks of US-China Disengagement*, Brookings Foreign Policy Brief, July 2019; Lindsay Maizland; Lucy Hornsby, "Chinese Official Defends Mass Incarceration of Uighurs," *Financial Times*, March 12, 2019; Steven Lee Myers, "China Defends Crackdown on Muslims, and Criticizes *Times* Article," November 18, 2019 ("fakery"); Sheena Chestnut Greitens, Myunhee Lee, and Emir Yazici, "Counterterrorism and Preventative

Repression: China's Changing Strategy on Xinjiang," *International Security*, Winter 2019/2020, pp. 9–47.

- Evan Osnos, "Making China Great Again," *New Yorker*, January 8, 2018 (Marshall Plan).
- Interview with Bilahari Kausikan; Kurt Campbell, The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia (New York: Twelve, 2016), chapter 1.
- David F. Gordon, Haoyu Tong, and Tabatha Anderson, "Beyond the Myths— Towards a Realistic Assessment of China's Belt and Road Initiative: The Development-Finance Dimension," International Institute of Strategic Studies, March 2020, p. 7; Liff and Ickenberry, "Racing Toward Tragedy?," p. 58("illthought out"), p. 53 (predominance).
- Rolland, "China's Eurasian Century," p. 96 ("strategic hinterland"), p. 46 ("western values"); interview.
- Erich Schwartzel, "China's Hollywood Challenge," *Wall Street Journal*, December 28, 2017; Rolland, "China's Eurasian Century," p. 191; Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, www.aiib.org/en/index.html.
- Interview; "Panama President Cheers China's 'Belt and Road' Initiative," AP News, April 2, 2019; IHS Markit, "Which Countries Are in China's Belt and Road Initiative?," May 2019.
- 13. Rolland, "China's Eurasian Century," pp. 84, 82, 87; Stefan Reidy, "The New Silk Road: What Should Shippers of Goods Expect from the New Era of Trans-Eurasian Freight Forwarding," Arviem, October 3, 2017.
- 14. Interview ("financially sound").
- "China's Super Link to Gwadar Port," South China Morning Post, https://multimedia.scmp.com/news/china/article/One-Belt-One- Road/pakistan.html.
- 16. Jeremy Page and Saeed Shah, "China's Global Building Spree," Wall Street Journal, July 22, 2018; Saeed Shah and Bill Spindle, "U.S. Seeks to Avoid a Pakistan Bailout," Wall Street Journal, July 31, 2018 ("bail out"); International Monetary Fund, "IMF Executive Board Approves US\$6 Billion 39-Month EFF Arrangement for Pakistan," July 3, 2019.
- 17. Christine Lagarde, "Belt and Road Initiative: Strategies to Deliver in the Next

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۶۹

Phase," IMF-PBC Conference, Beijing, April 17, 2018; Maria Abi-Habib, "How China Got Sri Lanka to Cough Up a Port," *New York Times*, June 25, 2018; Matt Ferchen and Anarkale Perera, "Why Unsustainable Chinese Deals Are a Two-Way Street," Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, July 23, 2019.

- Amanda Erickson, "Malaysia Cancels Two Big Chinese Projects," Washington Post, August 21, 2018; Lucy Horby, "Mahathir Mohamad Warns Against 'New Colonialism," Financial Times, August 20, 2018.
- 19. Ministry of Finance, People's Republic of China, "Debt Sustainability Framework for Participating Countries of the Belt and Road Initiative," April 25, 2019; IHS Markit, "Changing Role of Chinese Lending," August 2019; Gordon, Tong, and Anderson, "Realistic Assessment of China's Belt and Road," pp. 11–15.
- 20. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, "Ports and Partnerships: Delhi Invests in Indian Ocean Leadership," https://amti.csis.org/ports-and-partnershipsdelhiinvests-in-indian-ocean-leadership/; Harsh V. Pant, "India Challenges China's Belt-Road Intentions," Yale Global Online, June 22, 2017; Dhruva Jaishankar, "Acting East: India in the Indo-Pacific," Brookings India, October 2019, pp. 4, 11 ("deep distrust")_.

نقشهٔ خاورمیانه ۲۶. خطی در ماسه

- 1. Missy Ryan, "Islamic State Threat," Reuters, August 21, 2014.
- Roger Adelson, Mark Sykes: Portrait of an Amateur (London: Jonathan Cape, 1975); Christopher Simon Sykes, The Man Who Created the Middle East: A Story of Empire, Conflict, and the Sykes-Picot Agreement (London: William Collins, 2017); James Barr, A Line in the Sand: Britain, France, and the Struggle That Shaped the Middle East (New York: Norton, 2012), pp. 7 ("Mad Mullah"), p. 15 ("young").
- David Fromkin, A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East (New York: Henry Holt, 2009), p. 149 ("cease to be"); Barr, A Line in the Sand, p. 13 ("French endeavours"), p. 67 ("Crusades").

4. Fromkin, A Peace to End All Peace, p. 141 ("hornet's nest"), pp. 103, 192; سین مک کین ادعا می کند که این معاهده با توجه به نقش سازانف، وزیر امور خارجهٔ روسیه، در تعریف نقش امپراتوری روسیه در امپراتوری عثمانی، باید توافقنامهٔ سازانف _ سایکس _ پیکو نامیده شود.

The Ottoman Endgame: War, Revolution, and the Making of the Modern Middle East 1908–1923 (New York: Penguin, 2016), pp. 286–89.

- Bruce Masters, The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516–1918: A Social and Cultural History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 181 ("ethnic lines").
- 6. Scott Anderson, Lawrence in Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly and the Making of the Modern Middle East (London: Anchor Books, 2014), chapter 7; Barr, A Line in the Sand, p. 18 (Mecca 1).
- Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917; Mark Tessler, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), p. 153 ("Handsome as a picture"); Isaiah Friedman, Palestine, a Twice-Promised Land (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 220 ("cousins by blood"); Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error: Autobiography (New York: Harper, 1949).
- Barr, A Line in the Sand, p. 57 (oil report); V. H. Rothwell, "Mesopotamia in British War Aims, 1914–1918," The Historical Journal 13, no. 2 (1970), pp. 289–90.
- Adelson, Mark Sykes, pp. 294–95; Sykes, The Man Who Created the Middle East, pp. 324–30.
- Margaret Macmillan, Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World (New York: Random House, 2003), p. 396 ("dogfight," "greatest oil-field"), chapters 8 and 27.
- Macmillan, Paris 1919, pp. 397–98; Lady Bell, ed., The Letters of Gertrude Bell (London: Ernest Benn, 1927), p. 620 (anthem).
- 12. Ali A. Allawi, Faisal of Iraq (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 538.
- Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution (Cairo, 1958); Said K. Aburish, Nasser: The Last Arab (London: Duckworth, 2004), p. 25 (Arab defeat); Anas Alahmed, "Voice of the Arabs Radio: Its Effects and Political Power During the Nasser Era (1953–1967)," March 12, 2011, https:// papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2047212. 14. Michael Oren, Six

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۷۱

Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East (New York: Ballantine, 2003), p. 93; Jesse Ferris, Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the Six-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power (Princeton Princeton University Press, 2013).

٢٧. انقلاب ايران

- Ray Takeyh, Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 133; "Iran's Supreme Leader Calls the Saudi Leaders 'Idiots," DW, May 28, 2017, www.dw.com/ en/irans-supreme-leader-calls-the-saudi-leaders-idiots/a- 39013367; Imam Khamenei's Hajj Message—2016.
- Jeffrey Goldberg, "Saudi Crown Prince: Iran's Supreme Leader," *Atlantic*, April 2, 2018; Mohammed bin Salman interview with *Time*, April 5, 2018.
- Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples (London: Faber & Faber, 2005), pp. 30–37; Ira M. Lapidus, A History of Islamic Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 66–69; Pew Research Center, Forum on Religion & Public Life, "Mapping the Global Muslim Population," October 2009, "Muslims," December 18, 2012.
- William Shawcross, *The Shah's Last Ride* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988), p. 179 ("megalomaniac").
- 5. Richard Falk, "Trusting Khomeini," New York Times, February 16, 1979 ("humane governance"); Ervand Abrahamian, A History of Modern Iran (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 163–64 ("powers unimagined"); Kim Ghattas, Black Wave: Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the Forty- Five Year Rivalry That Unraveled Culture, Religion, and Collective Memory in the Middle East (New York: Henry Holt, 2020), chapters 1, 2, and 4 (on how Khomeini made his way to power).
- Pierre Razoux, *The Iran-Iraq War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 2; Suzanne Maloney, *Iran's Political Economy Since the Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), chapter 4.

۵۷۲ 🔳 نقشهٔ جدید جهان ۲۸. جنگ در خلیج فارس

- Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 (New York: Penguin, 2005), chapter 2.
- Coll, Ghost Wars, chapter 2; Stuart Eizenstat, President Carter: The White House Years (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2018), pp. 653–54 ("sermon" and doctrine).
- "Saddam Hussein Talks to the FBI: Interviews and Conversations with 'High Value Detainee # 1,' Session 3, in 2004," National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 279, Posted July 1, 2009; *Foreign Relations of the United States* 1977–80, Volume XVIII, no. 139; Pierre Razoux, *The Iran-Iraq War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), pp. 7–8 ("One moment").
- Williamson Murray and Kevin M. Woods, *The Iran-Iraq War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 36 ("satanic turbans"), p. 41 ("blasphemy"), p. 45 ("chaos"), p. 65 ("disintegration"); Pierre Razoux, *The Iran-Iraq War*, p. 3 ("little Satan").
- 5. Murray and Woods, The Iran-Iraq War, p. 85 ("their noses").
- Rodger W. Claire, Raid on the Sun: Inside Israel's Secret Campaign That Denied Saddam the Bomb (New York: Broadway Books, 2005); Razoux, The Iran-Iraq War, pp. 465–66 ("cup of poison").
- Adel Al Toraifi, "Understanding the Role of State Identity in Foreign Policy Decision-making: The Rise of Saudi-Iranian Rapprochement (1997–2009)," PhD thesis (London School of Economics, 2012), p. 149 ("harmed relations"), p. 154 ("geographic reality"); Bruce Riedel, *Kings and Presidents: Saudi Arabia and the United States Since FDR* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2018), p. 97.
- Kevin M. Woods, *The Mother of All Battles: Saddam Hussein's Strategic Plan for* the Persian Gulf Wars (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2008), p. 96 ("Iraqization"), p. 197 ("really harshly").
- George H. W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, A World Transformed (New York: Vintage, 1999), pp. 319–20.

یادداشتها 🔳 ۵۷۳

- 10. Woods, Mother of All Battles, p. 186 ("camel").
- Bush and Scowcroft, A World Transformed, p. 489; Woods, The Mother of All Battles, pp. 243–45 ("strongest... powers").
- Micah Sifry and Christopher Cerf, *The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), p. 618.
- 13. Sifry and Cerf, The Iraq War Reader, p. 269.
- Strategic Studies Institute and U.S Army War College Press, *The U.S. Army in the Iraq War: Surge and Withdrawal 2003–2006*, vol. 1, pp. 140–44; Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin, 2007), p. 163 ("snatched defeat"); Jim Mattis and Bing West, *Call Sign Chaos: Learning to Lead* (New York: Random House, 2019); Interview with Meghan O'Sullivan (payment to soldiers).
- Susan Sachs and Kirk Semple, "Ex-Leader, Found Hiding in Hole," New York Times, December 14, 2003.
- "Interviewing Saddam: FBI Agent Gets to the Truth," January 8, 2008, https:// archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/stories/2008/january/piro012808.

۲۹. جنگ سرد در منطقه

- Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America* (New York: Random House, 2004), pp. 282, 324 (masterminded), chapter 11; Bruce Riedel, *Kings and Presidents: Saudi Arabia and the United States Since FDR* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2018), pp. 122–25.
- Karim Sadjadpour, Reading Khamenei: The World View of Iran's Most Powerful Leader (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009).
- Adel Al Toraifi, "Understanding the Role of State Identity in Foreign Policy Decision-Making," PhD thesis, (London School of Economics, 2012), pp. 200, 218 ("our security"), 215 ("at the disposal").
- "U.S. Embassy Cables: Saudi King's Advice for Barack Obama," *Guardian*, November 28, 2010; Jay Solomon, *The Iran Wars* (New York: Random House, 2016).
- 5. Ray Takeyh, Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the

Ayatollahs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 248 ("500 kilometers"), p. 161 ("preeminent power"); Joshua Teitelbaum, What Iranian Leaders Really Say About Doing Away with Israel: A Refutation of the Campaign to Excuse Ahmadinejad's Incitement to Genocide (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2008), p. 66.

- 6. Ross Colvin, "Cut Off Head," Reuters, November 29, 2010.
- Interview with Carlos Pascual; Carlos Pascual, "The New Geopolitics of Energy," Center for Global Energy Policy, Columbia University, 2015; Richard Nephew, *The Art of Sanctions: A View from the Field* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), chapter 7.
- 8. Solomon, Iran Wars, p. 246.
- "Iran Nuclear Crisis: What Are the Sanctions?," BBC News, March 30, 2015 ("wheels of industry"); Suzanne Maloney, *Iran's Political Economy Since theRevolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 493 ("worst conditions").
- 10. William Burns, The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal (New York: Random House, 2019), chapter 9; Wendy R. Sherman, "How We Got the Iranian Deal," Foreign Affairs, September/October 2018.
- 11. Burns, The Back Channel, p. 375 ("good day"), pp. 377-81.
- David E. Sanger and William J. Broad, "Now the Hardest Part: Making the Iran Deal Work," *New York Times*, October 17, 2015.
- "Viewpoint: How U.S. Can Reach New Iran Deal—After Trump," BBC News, November 11, 2018; Remarks by President Trump on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, May 8, 2018.
- 14. "Rouhani: Iran Will Export Crude Oil," AP, September 4, 2018.
- 15. Vali Nasr, The Shia Revival: How Conflicts Within Islam Will Shape the Future(New York: Norton, 2016), pp. 114–15, 143; Jeffrey Feitman, "Hezbollah: Revolutionary Iran's Most Successful Export," Brookings Institution, January 17, 2019; Kim Ghattas, Black Wave: Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the Forty-Five Year Rivalry That Unraveled Culture, Religion, and Collective Memory in the Middle East (New York: Henry Holt, 2020), chapters 7 and 16 (Iran and the rise of Hezbollah).

یادداشتها 🔳 ۵۷۵

۳۰. مبارزه برای عراق

- 1. Mohamad Bazzi, "King Salman's War," Politico, January 25, 2015.
- Joby Warrick, Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS (New York: Doubleday, 2015), p. 300 ("middle of the road").
- Dexter Filkins, "The Shadow Commander," *New Yorker*, September 30, 2013; Ali Alfoneh, "Brigadier General Qassem Soleimani: A Biography," AEI, no. 1 (January 2011); Ali Soufan, "Qassem Soleimani and Iran's Unique Regional Strategy," *CTC Sentinel* 11, no. 10 (November 2018).
- 4. Filkins, "The Shadow Commander."
- "Iraq Oil Rush," New York Times, June 22, 2008 ("suspicions"); "Iraq— Systematic Country Diagnostic," World Bank, February 2017.
- Interview with Dr. Ashti Hawrami; IHS Markit, "KRG and Iraq Could Reach Oil Export and Revenue Deal in December, According to Turkey," December 4, 2013.
- Renad Mansour and Faleh A. Jabar, "The Popular Mobilization Forces and Iraq's Future," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 28, 2017.
- Tim Arango et al., "The Iran Cables," *New York Times*, November 19, 2019 ("eyes closed," oil contracts); Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press, *The U.S. Army in the Iraq War*, vol. 2, *Surge and Withdrawal*, 2007–2011 (2019), p. 639.
- Mustafa Salim and Liz Sly, "Widespread Unrest Erupts in Southern Iraq Amid Acute Shortages of Water, Electricity," *Washington Post*, July 14, 2018.

۳۱. هلال تقابل

- Robert Gates, *Duty: Memoirs of a Secretary at War* (New York: Knopf, 2014), p. 505; George H. W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Knopf, 1998), p. 341 ("my wise friend").
- Interview with Frank Wisner; Hillary Rodham Clinton, *Hard Choices* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), p. 343 ("peaceful transition"); Gates, *Duty*, pp. 505–6 ("exactly," "now").
- 3. William Burns, The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the

Case for Its Renewal (New York: Random House, 2019), p. 466 ("expectations"); Gates, *Duty*, p. 507 ("our allies").

- David D. Kirkpatrick and Steven Lee Myers, "Libya Attack Brings Challenges for U.S.," *New York Times*, September 12, 2012.
- Allan R. Millett and Peter Maslowski, For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States from 1607 to 2012 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), ("lost province"); Souad Mekhennet and Joby Warrick, "U.S. Increasingly Sees Iran's Hand in the Arming of Bahraini Militants," Washington Post, April 1, 2017 (Soleimani).
- Michael Knights and Matthew Levitt, "The Evolution of Shia Insurgency in Bahrain," The Washington Institute, January 2018, p. 23.
- "Interview with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad," Wall Street Journal, January 31, 2011, Jay Solomon, *The Iran Wars* (New York: Random House, 2016), pp. 104–108.
- Patrick Seale, Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 352 (fatwa); Moshe Ma'oz, Asad: The Sphinx of Damascus (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1988).
- Nasser Menhall, Petition to the Legal Adviser, U.S. Department of State, October 30, 2013.
- James Bennet, "The Enigma of Damascus," New York Times Magazine, July 10, 2005.
- 11. Barack Obama, "The Future of Syria," White House Blog, August 18, 2011.
- C. J. Chivers and Eric Schmitt, "Saudis Step Up Help for Rebels in Syria with Croatian Arms," *New York Times*, February 25, 2013.
- Martin Dempsey in "Obama at War," *Frontline*, PBS, season 2015, episode 10, transcript, www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/obama-at-war/transcript/.
- Susan Rice, *Tough Love: My Story of the Things Worth Fighting For* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2019), pp. 362–69; Burns, *Back Channel*, pp. 328–30; Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine," *Atlantic*, April 2016 ("playbook").
- Greg Jaffe, "The Problem with Obama's Account of the Syrian Red Line Incident," Washington Post, October 4, 2016 ("stunning twist").

یادداشتها 🔳 ۵۷۷

- Mounir al-Rabih, "Hezbollah and Iran in Syria," The Washington Institute, November 13, 2017.
- On the Syrian Kurds, articles by Robin Wright in the *New Yorker*, April 4, October 20, 2019; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) — Syria emergency, www.unhcr.org/en-us/syria-emergency.html.
- Gregory D. Johnsen, The Last Refuge: Yemen, Al-Qaeda, and America's War in Arabia (New York: Norton, 2014), chapter 17; Robert F. Worth, A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil from Tahrir Square to ISIS (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2016), chapters 4 and 6.
- Michael Knights, "The Houthi War Machine," *CTC Sentinel*, September 2018, vol. 11, issue 8; Nicholas Niarchos, "How the U.S. Is Making the War in Yemen Worse," *New Yorker*, January 15, 2018.
- Gerald M. Feierstein, "Iran's Role in Yemen and Prospect for Peace," Middle East Institute, December 6, 2018 (air service).
- Peter Salisbury, "Yemen and the Saudi-Iranian 'Cold War," Chatham House, February 2015, pp. 8–9 ("a victory"); Sayed Hassan Nasrallah, "The Resistance Axis Triumphs, Israel Panics," Speech, March 18, 2017 ("decisive victory").
- Sami Aboudi and Stephanie Nebehay, "Saudi Oil Tanker Hit in Houthi Attack off Yemen—Coalition," Reuters, April 3, 2018.
- "How—and Why—to the End the War in Yemen," *The Economist*, November 30, 2017.
- 24. Peter Salisbury, "Yemen: National Chaos, Local Order," Research Paper, Chatham House, December 2017, p. 45.
- 25. Salisbury in Niarchos, "How the U.S. Is Making the War in Yemen Worse."
- 26. Sam Dagher, "What Iran Is Really Up To in Syria," *The Atlantic*, February 14, 2018; Kambiz Foroohar and Ladane Nasseri, "Iran Wields Power from Syria to Gulf as Rise Alarms Sunni Rivals," *Bloomberg*, February 18, 2015.

۳۲. ظهور مديترانهٔ شرقي

 IHS Markit, "Israel: Oil & Gas Risk Commentary," August 2019; IHS Markit, "Levantine Basin," Basin Insights Profile, October 19, 2016.

- Interview with Eli Groner; Shoshanna Solomon, "Octogenarian Geologist," *Times of Israel*, April 18, 2018.
- 3. "Hezbollah Issues Fresh Threat," The Times of Israel, February 18, 2018 ("Cease
- operating"); Judah Ari Gross, "With High-Tech Warships," *The Times of Israel*, February 5, 2018.
- 4. Tarek el-Molla and Yuval Steinitz at CERAWeek 2019.

۳۳. پاسخ

- Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 2, 8–9 ("We are brothers"); Gudrun Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2010), chapter 2; Eric Trager, *Arab Fall: How the Muslim Brotherhood Won and Lost Egypt in 891 Days* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2016), pp. 46–51.
- Lawrence Wright, The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11 (New York: Vintage, 2011), pp. 9, 15.
- Wright, The Looming Tower, pp. 34–35; Fawaz A. Gerges, Making the Arab World: Nasser, Qutb, and the Clash That Shaped the Middle East (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), pp. 140–45, 223–32; John Calvert, Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism (New York: Oxford, 2018), pp. 182–87.
- 4. Yaroslav Trofimov, The Siege of Mecca: The Forgotten Uprising in Islam's Holiest Shrine and the Birth of al-Qaeda (New York: Penguin, 2007), p. 7 ("modern times"); Robert Lacey, Inside the Kingdom: Kings, Clerics, Modernists, Terrorists, and the Struggle for Saudi Arabia (New York: Penguin, 2010), chapters 2 and 3.
- 5. Trofimov, The Siege of Mecca, p. 248.
- 6. Shadi Hamid, *The Temptations of Power: Islamists & Illiberal Democracy in the New Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 14–15; Shadi Hamid, "Islamists and the Brotherhood," in *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), pp. 31–34; Shadi Hamid, *Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle over Islam is Reshaping the World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016), p. 80 ("affiliates"); Eric Trager, *Arab Fall*, pp. 48–55; 94–95 ("a unified Islamic

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۷۹

state, or a global Islamic union" and a "global Islamic state"); Robert Worth, *A Rage for Order* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2016), chapter 5.

7. Wright, The Looming Tower, pp. 54-55, 211; Peter Bergen, The Longest War:

- The Enduring Conflict Between America and Al-Qaeda (New York: Free Press, 2011), chapter 2; Steve Coll, The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century (New York: Penguin Press, 2008).
- Thomas Hegghammer, Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism Since 1979 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Lukáš Tichý and Jan Eichler, "Terrorist Attacks on the Energy Sector: The Case of Al Qaeda and the Islamic State," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 41, no. 6 (2018), pp. 455, 465; Lisa Marshall, "Terrorism and Friendship in Algeria," *Colorado School of Mines Magazine* 103, no. 2 (Summer 2013).
- Charles Lister, The Syrian Jihad: Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 192 ("find them").
- Lister, *The Syrian Jihad*, p. 214; David Ignatius, "How Isis Spread in the Middle East," *Atlantic*, October 29, 2015. 12. Joby Warrick, *Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS* (New York: Doubleday, 2015), p. 299 ("Persians").
- 13. Interviews.
- Alissa J. Rubin, "Militant Leader," *New York Times*, July 5, 2014; Warrick, *Black Flags*, pp. 304–305 ("Rome"); Liz Sly, "The Hidden Hand," *Washington Post*, April 4, 2015; Hugh Kennedy, *Caliphate: The History of an Idea* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), pp. 63, 70; Damien McElroy, "Rome Will Be Conquered Next Says Leader of Islamic State," *Telegraph*, July 1, 2014.
- "Timeline: The Rise, Spread, and Fall of the Islamic State," Wilson Center, October 28, 2019.

۱۶. در یک فایل صوتی ضبط شده، ابوبکر البغدادی سرکردهٔ داعش، می گوید عملیات در حال انجام است و به سربازان خلافت دستور میدهد اسیران را آزاد کنند. پژوهشکدهٔ رسانهٔ خاورمیانه، ۱۶ سپتامبر ۲۰۱۹

MEMRI, September 16, 2019.

 Department of Defense Briefing on Baghdadi raid, October 30, 2019, www. defense.gov/Newsroom/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/2004092/depart ment-

• 🗛 🔳 نقشهٔ جدید جهان

of-defense-press-briefing-by-assistant-to-the-secretary-of-defense-f/.

۳۴. شوک نفتی

- Neil Hume and Anjli Raval, "Iraq Violence Lights Fuse to Oil Price Spike," *Financial Times*, June 20, 2014.
- 2. Ali Al-Naimi, Out of the Desert: My Journey from Nomadic Bedouin to the Heart of Global Oil (New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2016), pp. 286–88; Robert McNally, Crude Volatility: The History and the Future of Boom-Bust Oil Prices (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), pp. 212–16; Raf Sanchez, "Barack Obama: Iran Could Be a 'Successful Power," Telegraph, December 29, 2014.
- "Sheikhs v Shale," *The Economist*, December 12, 2014; Asjylyn Loder, "Shale Producers Clobbered," *Bloomberg*, September 10, 2015.
- 4. Interview ("Every study we saw").
- 5. Ali Al-Naimi, Speech, CERAWeek, February 23, 2016; Al-Naimi, Out of the Desert; Daniel Yergin, "The Global Battle for Oil Market Share," Wall Street Journal, December 15, 2015; Wael Mahdi, "Saudi Prince Affirms Oil Strategy as Market Seen as 'Excellent," Bloomberg Business, April 28, 2015.
- "Meeting with Deputy Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia Mohammad bin Salman Al Saud," September 4, 2016, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/52825.
- Rania El Gamal, Alex Lawler, and Vladimir Soldatkin, "OPEC Agrees Modest Oil Output Curbs in First Deal Since 2008," Reuters, September 28, 2016.
- 8. "OPEC's Sanusi Barkindo," Bloomberg TV, December 1, 2016.
- 9. Jim Burkhard, Bhushan Bahree, and Aaron Brady, "The New Math of Oil: The 'Inadvertent Swing Supplier'—the United States," IHS Markit Strategic Report, February 2015; Vladimir Soldatkin and Oksana Kobzeva, "Russia Offers to Sell Gas," Reuters, December 8, 2017 ("rivals into partners").
- 10. Donald J. Trump, tweet, April 20, 2018.
- 11. Donald J. Trump, tweet, June 22, 2018.
- 12. "Trump Says He Wants to Go Slower on Sanctions," Reuters, November 5, 2018.
- Ana Vanessa Herrero, "After U.S. Backs Juan Guaidó as Venezuela's Leader, Maduro Cuts Ties," *New York Times*, January 23, 2019 ("usurper").

یادداشت ها 🔳 🚺

- 14. The Economist, May 11, 2019.
- Rawan Shaif and Jeremy Binnie, "Attack on Saudi Oil Facilities Deepens Regional Malaise," *Jane's*, October 9, 2019.
- Ali Soufan, "Qassem Soleimani and Iran's Unique Regional Strategy," CTC Sentinel, November 2018.
- Peter Baker et al., "7 Days in January," New York Times, January 12, 2020; Parisa Hafezi, "Iran's Khamenei Stands by Guards," Reuters, January 17, 2020.

۳۵. حرکتی برای آینده

- Stephen Kalin and Katie Paul, "Saudi Arabia Says It Has Seized over \$100 Billionin Corruption Purge," Reuters, January 30, 2018.
- "Saudi Arabia's Heir to the Throne Talks to 60 Minutes," CBS, March 9, 2018;
 "Full Transcript of Saudi Crown Prince's CBS Interview with Nora O'Donnell, Including Unaired Answers," Arabia5AM, October 1, 2019.
- 3. Samia Nakhoul, William Maclean, and Marwa Rashad, "Saudi Prince Unveils Sweeping Plans," Reuters, April 25, 2016 ("at the mercy"); John Kemp, "Saudi Arabia Will Struggle to Kick Its Addiction," Reuters, April 27, 2016.
- W. H. Berg to R. W. Hanna, March 14, 1938, and W. J. Lenahan to L. N. Hamiton, "Declaration of Commercial Production," October 30, 1938, Chevron archives; Telegram to E.A. Skinner, March 4, 1938, Saudi Aramco archives.
- 5. "Mohammed bin Salman Talks to Time," Time, April 5, 2018 ("mud huts").
- International Monetary Fund, "Saudi Arabia: Selected Issues," Country Report 19/291, September 2019, p. 4.
- 7. Ezzoubeir Jabrane, "Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia: 'Concerts and Cinema Are Haram," *Morocco World News*, January 15, 2017; Kristin Smith Diwan, "Let Me Entertain You: Saudi Arabia's New Enthusiasm for Fun," Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, March 9, 2018.
- James Lemoyne, "Mideast Tensions; Ban on Driving by Women Reaffirmed by Saudis," *New York Times*, November 15, 1990; "Saudi Arabia—Fatwa on Women's Driving of Automobiles (Shaikh Abdel Aziz Bin Abdallah Bin Baz), 1990."

- Kim Mackrael, Paul Vieira, and Donna Abdulaziz, "Saudi Students Fret over Future After Order to Leave Canada," *Wall Street Journal*, August 9, 2018.
- The Abu Dhabi Economic Vision for 2030 (Abu Dhabi Economic Council for Development, 2008); Abu Dhabi Chamber and IHS Markit, *Biannual Abu Dhabi Economic Report*, December, 2019; "Nearly 50 Years On, Adviser Remembers First Abu Dhabi Master Plan," *The National*, June 14, 2016 ("village); "Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's Inspirational Vision," *The National*, February 10, 2015; interviews.
- 11. Vision 2030, my.gov.sa.
- "Full Transcript of Saudi Crown Prince's CBS Interview," Arabia5AM, October 1, 2019 ("book a room").
- International Monetary Fund, "Saudi Arabia: Selected Issues," Country Report 19/291, September 2019, p. 12 (jobs).
- On East Asian "miracle," Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, *The Command*ing Heights: The Battle for the World Economy (New York: Touchstone, 2002), chapters 6 and 7.
- 15. "Erdoğan Seeks to Expand Turkey's Influence in the Middle East Through Diplomacy—and Force," *The Conversation*, April 17, 2018; "Erdoğan: Turkey Is the Only Country That Can Lead the Muslim World," *Yeni Şafak*, October 15, 2018.
- Adam Taylor, "As America Tries to End 'Endless Wars,' America's Biggest Mideast Base is Getting Bigger," Washington Post, August 21, 2019. 2019 ("in the center").
- 17. "Interview with Muhammad bin Salman," The Economist, January 6, 2016.
- 18. "Transcript: Muhammad bin Salman," The Economist, January 6, 2016.
- "Saudi Crown Prince Discusses Trump, Aramco, Arrests: Transcript," *Bloomberg*, October 5, 2018 ("investment powerhouse"); International Monetary Fund, "Saudi Arabia: Selected Issues," Country Report 19/291, September 2019, p. 9.

۳۶. طاعون

 Clifford Krauss, "Saudi Oil Price Cut," New York Times, March 9, 2020; Nelli Sharushkina and Amena Bakr, "Saudi-Russia Rift," International Oil Daily,

بادداشتها 🔳 🕰

March 9, 2020 ("wondering" and "more time"); Nelli Sharush, "Russia Braces for Price War," *International Oil Daily*, March 11, 2020 ("variants"); Alexander Novak Interview on Russia Channel 1, April 13, 2020.

- "Sechin: Low Oil Prices," Interfax, March 20, 2020; Joshua Yaffa, "Russian- Saudi Oil War Went Awry," *The New Yorker*, April 15, 2020 ("strategic threat").
- Mapping the Global Future: Report of the National Intelligence Council's 2020 Project (December 2004); Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Bill Gates Ted Talk, April 3, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=6Af6b_wyiwI.
- 4. Alexander Novak interview, Ekho Moskvy Radio, April 2, 2020.
- 5. Interview ("dire"); interview with Don Sullivan; March 13, 2020, letter to Crown Prince; March 25, 2020, letter to Honorable Mike Pompeo; Tucker Higgins, "Ted Cruz, Other Senators, Warn Saudis," CNBC, March 30, 2020 ("economic warfare"); Lutz Kilian, Michaal D. Plante, and Xiaoqing Zhou, "How Falling Oil Prices in Early 2020 Weakened the U.S. Economy," Dallas Federal Reserve, May 2020.
- Coronavirus Task Force Briefing, March 19, 2020 ("person driving the car"); Javier Blas, "Trump's Oil," *Bloomberg*, April 13, 2020 ("so low" and "wiped out"); Coronavirus Task Force Briefing, April 1, 2020; Donald J. Trump, Tweet, April 2, 2020 ("my friend").
- Frank Kane, "Saudi Arabia Calls 'Urgent Meeting of Oil Producers," *Arab News*, April 2, 2020; Meeting on the Situation in Global Energy Markets, April 3, 2020, Kremlin website.
- 8. Mohammad Barkindo, Remarks to OPEC+ Ministerial Meeting, April 9, 2020.
- 9. Coronavirus Task Force Briefing, April 8, 2020 ("hated OPEC"); Dan Brouillette, Remarks for G20 Extraordinary Energy Ministers Meeting, April 10, 2020; Benoit Faucon, Summer Said, and Tim Puko, "U.S., Saudi Arabia, Russia Lead Pact," *Wall Street Journal*, April 12, 2020; "The Largest Oil Supply Cut in History," *Oil Market Insight*, IHS Markit, April 12, 2020.
- Anjli Raval, "Saudi Arabia Says Price War," *Financial Times*, April 14, 2020 ("departure" and "divorce lawyers"); *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, April 17, 2020.

 Jim Burkhard, "Covid-19 Oil Prices," *Oil Market Briefing*, IHS Markit, April 20, 2020.

> نقشهٔ راه ۳۷.ایستگاه شارژ

- 1. Interview with J. B. Straubel.
- Interview with J. B. Straubel; IHS Markit, "Reinventing the Wheel: The Future of Cars, Oil, Chemicals, and Electric Power," Part I Report, June 2017, p. VI-3; David Keyton, "Three Win Nobel in Chemistry," Phys.org, October 9, 2019.
- 3. Interview with J. B. Straubel.
- 4. Ashlee Vance, Elon Musk: Tesla, SpaceX, and the Quest for a Fantastic Future (London: Virgin Books/Penguin, 2016), p. 161 ("sucked"); Levi Tillemann, The Great Race: The Global Quest for the Car of the Future (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), p. 152 (Lutz).
- 5. Tillemann, The Great Race, p. 241.
- 6. Interview with Daniel Akerson.
- 7. Interview with Mary Barra.
- 8. Interview with Mary Barra.
- 9. Virginia Gewin, "Turning Point: Daniel Carder," *Nature*, November 18, 2015; Gregory J. Thompson, "In Use Emissions Testing of Light-Duty Diesel Vehicles in the United States," Final Report, Center for Alternative Fuels, Engines and Emissions, West Virginia University, May 15, 2014; Philip E. Ross, "How Engineers at West Virginia University," *IEEE Spectrum*, September 22, 2015; David Morgan, "West Virginia Engineer," Reuters, September 23, 2015.
- Chris Reiter and Elisabeth Behrmann, "VW's Diesel Woes Reach \$30 Billion," *Bloomberg*, September 29, 2017; "VW Diesel Crisis: Timeline," Cars.com, December 7, 2017; "Is Diesel Dead in the EU and Will Electrification Take Its Place?," IHS Markit AutoIntelligence Strategic Report, November 27, 2017.
- Jeff Meyer, "Will Houston Become More Like Oslo: Perspective on City Vehicle Restrictions," IHS Markit Mobility and Energy Future Strategic Report, May

بادداشتها 🔳 🗛

2020; Elena Pravettoni, "Cars and the City of the Future: London Case Study," IHS Markit Mobility and Energy Future Strategic Report, August 1 2018; "Angela Merkel verteidigt Diesel-Autos," *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, March 23, 2017; Kylie MacLellan and Guy Faulconbridge, "Electric Cars Win?" Reuters, July 26, 2017.

- Herbert Diess, Speeches: at the Global Board Meeting, January 16, 2020, November 4, 2019, September 9, 2019, Annual General Meeting, May 14, 2019.
- 13. Jack Ewing, "Volvo, Betting on Electric," New York Times, July 5, 2017.
- Interview with Bill Ford; Akiko Fujita, "Toyota Chairman," CNBC, September
 2017 (Toyota); Elon Musk | Full Interview | Code Conference 2016, YouTube, June 2, 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=wsixsRI-Sz4.
- Jim Burkhard, "Electric Geography: Nearly Half of U.S. EVs in One State California," IHS Markit Mobility and Energy Future Strategic Report, October 22, 2018.
- 16. MacLellan and Faulconbridge, "Electric Cars Win?" ("Tavares").
- 17. Interview (Norway); Tillemann, The Great Race, p. 180 (Senate staffer).
- California Air Resources Board, https://ww2.arb.ca.gov/ourwork/ programs/ volkswagen-zero-emission-vehicle-zev-investmentcommitment/about.
- 19. Tillemann, The Great Race, p. 99 (tractors), p. 115 ("day by day").
- Premasish Das and Xiaonan Feng, "Electricity Takes the Bus," Strategic Report, IHS Markit, June 2018.
- 21. IHS Markit, "Reinventing the Wheel," p. IV-10; Jeff Meyer et al., "From 'Carrot' to 'Stick': How China's EV Policy Support Is Evolving," IHS Markit Mobility and Energy Future Insight, September 18, 2019.
- 22. Pulse of Change: Update on LV and EV Sales, "Global EV Sales in 2019 Edge Out Higher than in 2018—But Pace of Growth Sharply Decelerates," February 14, 2020, IHS Markit Mobility and Energy Future Insight.
- 23. "Nitin Gadkari Tells Carmakers: Move to Electric Cars," NDTV, September 7, 2017.
- 24. "Inside India's Messy Electric Vehicle Revolution," New York Times, August
- 22, 2019; Dharmendra Pradhan and Ajit Jindal, Remarks at India Energy Forum by CERAWeek, October 14–16, 2018.
- 25. Sintia Radu, "Toyota and Mazda Join Forces," Washington Post, August 4, 2017.

- 26. India Energy Forum 2017 by CERAWeek, October 8-10, 2017.
- 27. Pulse of Change: Update on LV and EV Sales, "Global EV Sales."
- 28. Interview with J. B. Straubel; MIT Energy Initiative, *Insights into Future Mobility* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Energy Initiative, 2019); Elena Pravettoni, Sam Huntington, and Youmin Rong, "How Fast Are Electric Vehicle Battery Costs Falling," IHS Markit Power and Renewables Strategic Report, October 2019.
- 29. IHS Markit Lithium and Battery Materials Service.
- IHS Markit and Energy Futures Initiative, Advancing the Landscape of Clean Energy Innovation, Breakthrough Energy Coalition, February 2019.
- Vaclav Smil, Energy Transitions: Global and National Perspectives (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2017).
- 32. Interview with Bill Ford.

۳۸. رباتها وارد می شوند

- "Radio-Driven Auto Runs Down Escort," New York Times, July 28, 1925; HIS Markit, Reinventing the Wheel, p. III-16.
- 2. "The DARPA Grand Challenge: Ten Years Later," DARPA, March 13, 2014.
- Interview with Sebastian Thrun; Christine O'Toole, "What Drives Red Whittaker," *Pittsburgh Quarterly*, Winter 2018; "The Great Robot Race," *Nova*, PBS, March 28, 2006.
- 4. Interview with Sebastian Thrun; "The Great Robot Race."
- Interview with Sebastian Thrun; Conor Dougherty, "How Larry Page's Obsession Became Google's Business," *New York Times*, January 22, 2016; Arjun Kharpal, "Google's Larry Page Disguised Himself," CNBC, May 11, 2017.
- 6. Interview with Lawrence Burns; Scott Corwin and Rob Norton, "The Thought-Leader Interview: Lawrence Burns," *strategy+business*, Autumn 2010; Lawrence Burns and Christopher Shulgin, *Autonomy: The Quest to Build the Driverless Car and How It Will Reshape Our World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2018).
- Lindsay Chappell, "2007: The Moment Self-Driving Cars Became Real," Automotive News, December 19, 2016 (Whittaker).
- 8. Interview with Sebastian Thrun; Sebastian Thrun, "What We're Driving At,"

یادداشتها 🔳 🗛

Google Blog, October 9, 2010.

9. Burkhard Bilger, "Auto Correct," New Yorker, November 18, 2013.

- "Taxonomy, and Definitions for Terms Related to Driving Automation Systems for On-Road Motor Vehicles," SAE, June 6, 2015, www.sae.org/standards/content/ j3016_201806/.
- Rebecca Yergin, "IoT Update: Navigating the Course of Spectrum for Connected and Automated Vehicle Technologies," *National Law Review*, November 30, 2018.
- 12. National Science and Technology Council and the U.S. Department of Transportation, Assuring America's Leadership in Automated Vehicles Technologies: Automated Vehicles 4.0 (Washington D.C., 2020); Rebecca Yergin, "NHTSA Continues to Ramp Up Exploration of Automated Driving Technologies," Covington & Burling, Blog, April 2020.
- Marco della Cava, "Garage Startup Uses Deep Learning to Teach Cars to Drive," USA Today, August 30, 2016.

۳۹. به آینده خوش آمدید

- 1. znterviw with Garrett Camp; "UberCab" pitch deck, December 2008.
- Adam Lashinsky, Wild Ride: Inside Uber's Quest for World Domination (New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2017), pp. 80–81, 91.
- Megan Rose Dickey, "Lyft's Rides Are So Social," Business Insider, March 16, 2014; Travis Kalanick, Uber Policy White Paper, "Principled Innovation: Addressing the Regulatory Ambiguity," April 12, 2013 ("compete").
- 4. "Didi Chuxing's Founder Cheng Wei," Times of India, August 8, 2016.

۵. مصاحبه با Jean Liu

 Mike Isaacs, Super Pumped: The Battle for Uber (New York: W. W. Norton, 2019), chapters 27–30; Farhad Manjoo, "Uber's Lesson," New York Times, June 21, 2017; Anita Balakrishnan, "Here's the Full 13-Page Report of Recommendations for Uber," CNBC, June 13, 2017.

۴۰. شرکتهای فناوری خودرو

1. Michael Sivak, "Younger Persons Are Still Less Likely to Have a Driver's

License Than in the 1980s," January 6, 2020, https://www.greencarcongress. com/2020/01/20200106-sivak.html.

- Adrienne LaFrance, "The High-Stakes Race to Rid the World of Human Drivers," Atlantic, December 1, 2015; IHS Markit, "Mobility and Energy Future: 2019 Update," July 2019.
- Lawrence D. Burns with Christopher Shulgan, Autonomy: The Quest to Build the Driverless Car—And How It Will Reshape Our World (New York: HarperCollins, 2018).

۴. مصاحبه با Bill Ford

- Mike Colias, Tim Higgins, and William Boston, "Will Tech Leave Detroit in the Dust?," Wall Street Journal, October 20, 2018 (Toyoda).
- 6. Interview with Bill Ford
- 7. Interview with Mary Barra
- 8. Interview with Bill Ford

نقشهٔ آبوهوا ۴۱. تحول انرژی

 On net zero carbon: David Victor, "Deep Decarbonization: A Realistic Way Forward on Climate Change," *Yale Environment* 360, January 28, 2020; John Deutch, "Is Net Zero Carbon by 2050 Possible?," June 2020, https://eartharxiv. org/bvf5c/. On coal and Darby: Peter Brimblecombe, "Attitudes and Responses Towards Air Pollution in Medieval England," *Journal of the Air Pollution Control Association* 26, no. 10 (October 1976), pp. 941–45; R. A. Mott, "Abraham Darby (I and II) the Coal Iron Industry," *Transactions of the Newcomen Society* 31, no. 1 (1957); Nancy Cox, "Imagination and Innovation of an Industrial Pioneer: The First Abraham Darby," *The Industrial Archaeology Review* 12 (1990), pp. 127–44; "Shopshire: Industrial Heritage," BBC, http://www.bbc.co.uk/shropshire/ content/articles/2009/02/12/abraham_dar by_feature.shtml ("doubt me"); Barrie Trinder, *The Darbys of Coalbrookdale* (Chichester, UK: Phillimore, 1978), chapter 2; Barbara Freese, *Coal: A Human History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), pp. 24–32.

یادداشت ها 🔳 ۵۸۹

- Vaclav Smil, Energy Transitions: Global and National Perspectives (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2017).
- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Climate Change 2007: The\Physical Science Basis (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Rajendra Pachauri, CERAWeek, February 11, 2008; Gayathri Vaidyanathan, "U.N. Climate Science Body Launches Search to Replace a Strong Leader," E& E News, February 25, 2015.
- 4. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II, and III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Geneva: IPCC, 2014); Steven Koonin, "Climate Science Is Not Settled," Wall Street Journal, September 19, 2014.
- 5. Mark Landler and Helene Cooper, "After a Bitter Campaign, Forging an Alliance," *New York Times*, March 18, 2010 ("worst meeting"); Bruce Einhorn, "Why the US-China Emissions Pact Could Be a Climate Change Breakthrough," *Bloomberg*, November 12, 2014.
- 6. Fiona Harvey, "Paris Climate Change Agreement," *Guardian*, December 14, 2015; Suzanne Goldenberg, John Vidal, Lenore Taylor, Adam Vaughan, and Fiona Harvey, "Paris Climate Deal," *Guardian*, December 12, 2015 (secretarygeneral); Remarks by President Obama on the Paris Agreement, October 5, 2016; "Donald Trump Would 'Cancel' Paris Climate Deal," BBC News, May 27, 2016 (Trump).
- Global Climate Project, *Global Climate Report 2019*; Daniel Yergin, *The Quest:* Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World (New York: Penguin, 2011), pp. 422–28.
- 8. Greta Thunberg, No One Is Too Small to Make a Difference (New York: Penguin, 2019), pp. 10, 62, 96–99; Charlotte Alter, Suyin Haynes, and Justin Worland, "2019 Person of the Year—Greta Thunberg," Time, December 11, 2019; Greta Thunberg, Luisa Neubauer, and Angela Valenzuela, "Why We Strike Again," Project Syndicate, November 29, 2019.
- Mark Carney, "Breaking the Tragedy of the Horizons—Climate Change and Financial Stability," Speech, September 29, 2015.
- 10. "Final Report: Recommendations of the Task Force for Climate-related Financial

Disclosures," Task Force for Climate-related Financial Disclosures, June 2017; Larry Fink's Letter to CEOs, January 14, 2020; Climate Bonds Initiative 2019; Andrew Edgecliffe-Johnson and Billy Nauman, "Fossil Fuel Divestment Had 'Zero' Climate Impact, Says Bill Gates," Financial Times, September 17, 2019.

- 11. Valerie Pavilonis and Matt Kristofferen, "Delay Second Half of The Game," Yale Daily News, November 23, 2019; Alan Murray and David Meyer, "Against Oil Divestment," Fortune, November 26, 2019 (Swensen).
- 12. Climate Accountability Institute and Union of Concerned Scientists, "Establishing Accountability for Climate Change Damages: Lessons from Tobacco Control," La Jolla, California, June 14–15, 2012, www.ucsusa.org/sites/default/ files/attach/2016/04/establishing-accountability-climate-change-damageslessons-tobacco-control.pdf; Amie Tsang and Stanley Reed, "Guardian Stops Accepting Fossil Fuel Ads," New York Times, January 30, 2020; Anna Bateson and Hamish Nicklin, "Guardian Will No Longer Accept Fossil Fuel Advertising," Guardian, January 29, 2020.
- Hiroko Tabuchi and Nadja Popovich, "How Guilty Should You Feel About Flying?," *New York Times*, October 17, 2019; "Climate Confessions," NBC News, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/specials/climate-confessions-sharesolutions-climate-change-n1054791; James Pickford, "RSC Brings Curtain Down," Financial Times, October 2, 2019.

۴۲. توافقهای سبز

- Opening Statement in the European Parliament Plenary Session by Ursula von der Leyen, Strasbourg, July 16, 2019; Ewa Krukowska and Bloomberg, "A Quantum Leap in Its Ambition': Europe's Investment Bank," Fortune, November 15, 2019; Kelly Levin and Chantal Davis, "What Does 'Net-Zero Emissions' Mean? 6 Common Questions, Answered," WRI, September 17, 2019; European Commission, Supplementary Report on Using the TEG Taxonomy, June 2019; Final Report on Financing a Sustainable European Economy (March 2020).
- 2. Samuel Petrequin and Raf Casert, "EU Commission President Announces 'Eu-

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۹۱

ropean Green Deal, 'Christian Science Monitor via Associated Press, December 11, 2019; Jean Pisani-Ferry, "A Credible Decarbonization Agenda Can Help Strengthen Europe's Economy," Peterson Institute for International Economics, December 9, 2019; European Commission, "Europe's Moment: Repair and Prepare for the Next Generation," May 27, 2020; EU press release, "Europe's Moment," May 27, 2020.

3. Christina Zhao, "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Warns, 'World Is Going to End in 12 Years," Newsweek, January 22, 2019; Green New Deal Fact Sheet, February 7, 2019, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/5729035/Green-New-Deal-FAQ.pdf; "House Resolution 109, Recognizing the Duty of the Federal Government to Create a Green New Deal," February 2, 2019. For an analysis of a Green New Deal in terms of "how the economy has changed and government has evolved," see Jason Bordoff, "Getting Real About the Green New Deal," Democracy Journal, March 25, 2019.

۴۳. چشمانداز انرژیهای تجدیدپذیر

- 1. "The Father of Photovoltaics-Martin Green Profile," ABC, May 26, 2011.
- John Fialka, "Why China Is Dominating the Solar Industry," Scientific American, September 19, 2016; Charlie Zhu and Bill Powell, "Special Report: The Rise and Fall of China's Sun King," Reuters, May 18, 2013.
- Martin Green, "How Did Solar Cells Get So Cheap?," Joule 3, no. 3, March 20, 2019, pp. 631–33.
- 4. IHS Markit, PV Module Supply Chain Tracker, PV Installation Tracker; PV Supplier Tracker; Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century (REN21), Renewables 2018: Global Status Report, p. 97 ("cutthroat pricing").
- 5. IHS Markit, Global Renewable Power Market Outlook, March 2020.
- 6. Michael Stothard, "Isabelle Kocher," Financial Times, May 15, 2016 ("challenging"); REN 21, Renewables 2018, ("fierce competition"); Christopher Crane, CEO Plenary, Edison Electric Institute Annual Convention, June 11, 2019, transcript.
- 7. IHS Markit Global Energy Scenarios; Varun Sivaram, Taming the Sun (Cam-

bridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018), pp. 43-45.

- 8. Sivaram, Taming the Sun, pp. 56, 71.
- 9. Ernest Moniz et al., Optionality, Flexibility & Innovation: Pathways for Deep Decarbonization in California (Washington, D.C.: Energy Futures Initiative, May 2019); Timothy P. Gardner, Michael Stoppard, Dan Clay, and Raul Timponi, "Exploring the Efficient Frontier: A Global Perspective on the Gas-Renewables Partnership," Global Gas Strategic Report, IHS Markit, September 2018.

۴۴. فناوریهای پیشرو

- IHS Markit and Energy Futures Initiative, Advancing the Landscape of Clean Energy Innovation Breakthrough Energy Coalition, February 2019, chapter 3; Third Way, "2019 Advanced Nuclear Map," October 2019.
 آ. آ. آ. آ. ج. اس مار کیت در سال ۲۰۱۷ برنامهٔ تحقیقاتی گستردهای را روی هیدروژن با تمرکز بر اروپا، کالیفرنیا و چین آغاز کرد و آن را در فرومی با موضوع هیدروژن و گازهای تحدیدیذبر ادامه داد.
- 3. Joeri Rogelj et al., "Mitigation Pathways Compatible with 1.5°C in the Context of Sustainable Development," in Special Report: Global Warming of 1.5°C, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Geneva, 2018; IPCC, B. Metz et al., eds., IPCC Special Report on Carbon Dioxide Capture and Storage. Prepared by Working Group III of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Francois Bastin et al., "The Global Tree Restoration Potential," Science 365, no. 6448 (July 5, 2019), pp. 76–79. For an overview of options, see U.S. National Petroleum Council, Meeting the Dual Challenge: A Roadmap to At-Scale Deployment of Carbon Capture, Use, and Storage: Final Report, December 12, 2019.
- Salk Institute, Harnessing Plants Initiative, https://www.salk.edu/harnessingplants-initiative/.

۴۵. تحول انرژی در کشورهای در حال توسعه به چه معناست؟

1. Timipre Sylva, Nigerian minister of state and petroleum resources, Remarks

بادداشتها 🔳 ۵۹۳

at Russian Energy Week, October 2019; WHO Guidelines for Indoor Air Quality: Household Fuel Combustion (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2014), "Household Air Pollution and Health," May 8, 2018.

- Government of India, Economic Survey 2018–2019, p. 180; Alex Thornton, "7 of the World's 10 Most Polluted Cities," World Economic Forum, March 5, 2019.
- Shreerupa Mitra, ed. Energizing India: Fueling a Billion Lives (New Delhi: Rupa Publications, 2019), pp. 13–14, and for an overview of India's energy position.
- 4. Interview with Dharmendra Pradhan
- 5. Mitra, Energizing India, p. 74 ("gas-based economy").
- 6. Interview with Dharmendra Pradhan

۴۶. تغيير ترکيب

- 1. Atul Arya, "Whither Energy Transition?," Blog, December 13, 2019.
- Remarks, International Energy Forum, Beijing, December 5, 2019; State Council, People's Republic of China, "Premier Calls for High Quality Energy Development," October 11, 2019, http://english.www.gov.cn/premier/news/201910/11/ content_WS5da08a3fc6 d0bcf8c4c14e92.html.
- 3. IHS Markit Mobility and Energy Future Scenarios 2019.
- Tsvetana Paraskova, "IEA Chief: EVs Are Not the End of the Oil Era," OilPrice. com, January 22, 2019 (Fatih Birol); John Heimlich, "Tracking Impacts of COVID-19," Airlines for America, April 24, 2020.
- Fenit Nirappil, "On Patrol with the Enforcer of DC's Plastic Straw Ban," Washington Post, January 28, 2019.
- 6. Prachi Patel, "Stemming the Plastic Tide: 10 Rivers Contribute Most of the Plastic in the Oceans," Scientific American, February 1, 2018; Source: Christian Schmidt, Tobias Krauth, and Stephan Wagner, "Export of Plastic Debris by Rivers into the Sea," Environmental Science and Technology 51, no. 21 (November 7, 2017); Jeremy Hess, Daniel Bednarz, Jaeyong Bae, and Jessica Pierce, "Petroleum and Health Care: Evaluating and Managing Health Care's Vulnerability to Petroleum Supply Shifts," American Journal of Public Health 101, no. 9 (2011), pp. 1568–79; A Sea Change: Plastics Pathway to Sustainability,

Multi-Client Study on Recycling & Sustainability, IHS Markit, November 2018.

 Mark P. Mills, "Testimony Before the U.S. Senate Energy Committee Sources and Uses of Minerals for a Clean Energy Economy," September 16, 2019.

نتيجه گيرى آيندهٔ از هم گسيخته

- Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002).
- Interview with Lee Hsien Loong, "The Endangered Asian Century," Foreign Affairs, July-August 2020, pp. 52, 61.
- Chris Giles, "Richest Nations Face \$17 Trillion Government Debt," Financial Times, May 25, 2020.