

PREDICTING THE FUTURE AND PRESCRIBING FOR THE FUTURE:
WHAT LOOMS AHEAD? WHAT POLICIES SHOULD THE U.S. ADOPT?

I. COURSE THEORIES: DID THEY PASS/FLUNK TESTS? WHAT DID THEY EXPLAIN?

Which theories survived confrontation with the evidence, and which did not? How much history do they explain? What evaluative conclusions follow from our answers? (E.g., did the U.S. overlook valid theories? Place false faith in false ones?)

A. Offense-defense (security dilemma) theory: US foreign policy as a test and a case to explain.

1. Variant #1 (Threat variant): the greater the security threat states face, the more aggressive they become.

2. Variant #2 (Opportunity variant): the more easily states can conquer, the more aggressive they become.

Does U.S. activism correlate with America's sense of insecurity (or opportunity)? Was American policy driven by the search for security (or exploitation of opportunity)? Were America's adversaries driven by security concerns, or tempted by opportunity? Was the U.S. in fact insecure? Was it sufficiently aware of others' security concerns, and their likely reaction to threat?

B. Alliance theories:

1. Balance of threat theory: can it explain the Cold War's structure? What policy implications follow?

2. Birds of a feather: did they fly together? (Were U.S. expectations on this score accurate?)

C. Spiral model v. Deterrence: which model explains more? (Does either explain much?) Possible spirals: the US v. 3rd World; USSR v. Western Europe. Possible deterrence failures: US v. Iraq 1991.

D. Foreign Policy Elite theories: did elite values/personalities matter?

E. Marxist theories: do they explain anything? (U.S. entry into WWI? Guatemala 1954?)

II. EVALUATING US FOREIGN POLICIES

A. U.S. policies toward Europe, 1914-present.

1. Effects on Europe: did the U.S. help or do harm?

2. Effects on the U.S.: was European involvement a wasteful adventure or a wise investment?

B. U.S. policies toward the Third World, 1898-present.

1. Effects on Third World: was the U.S. an "evil empire" or white knight?

2. Effects on the U.S.: was Third World involvement a "bungle in the jungle" or a smart stratagem?

C. Overall quality of U.S. foreign policymaking process: how closely does

it match the rational-legal scientific ideal? (Is American foreign policy made by strategic wizards, or by blundering bureaucrats and ignoramus voters?)

III. PREDICTING THE FUTURE / PRESCRIBING FOR THE FUTURE

- A. Are geopolitical threats gone forever? If they aren't, should the U.S. act to avert them?
 - 1. The rise of China: should the U.S. try to hamper China's growth? Break China up? Help China grow, on the theory that this will promote Chinese democracy? On what theoretical or moral assumptions does the issue rest?
 - 2. The rise of other states: Japan; Russia; Germany. Should the U.S. try to stop their rise?
- B. New Wars in Eurasia: Will they break out? Fukuyama v. Huntington v. Adomeit's data. Would they threaten the U.S.? Can/should the U.S. act to avert them? Is the U.S. wise enough to avert them or will U.S. interference only make things worse?
 - 1. Fukuyama: "history is ending."
 - a. Fukuyama variant: "liberal ideas are causing a global democratic revolution. The democratic worldview is winning the war of ideas."
 - b. Robert Dahl/Seymour Martin Lipset variant: "economic growth is causing a global democratic revolution."
Corollary: democracy ---> peace.
 - 2. Huntington: "civilizations will clash: it will be 'the West against the Rest'." (But aren't the world's civilizations subdividing apace into ethno-nationalisms?)
 - 3. Chas. Freeman's scenario for war between the U.S. and China: could Taiwan suck the U.S. into war with the mainland? And compare with Robert Kagan's scenario for war between the U.S. and China: could the U.S. appease its way into a war with the mainland?
 - 4. Adomeit's tables: will the former Soviet empire become a vast Yugoslavia, with Russia playing Serbia's bloody and aggressive role?
 - 5. Bosnia: what caused this war, and does the US have answer? Is the Dayton peace and accompanying US deployment of 6,000 US troops a good idea? And should the U.S. also babysit nearby Kosovo?
 - 6. NMD (national missile defense): Will a U.S. deployment of national missile defense help provoke the world to coalesce against the U.S., as Josef Joffe warns?
 - 7. Other U.S. interests and policies:
 - a. Does the U.S. have an interest in averting new Eurasian wars? (Could such wars produce a new Eurasian hegemon? Could such wars spread to engulf the U.S.?)
 - b. Can the U.S. prevent such wars? If so, how? What are the lessons of World Wars I and II? Do these lessons apply here?
 - Minority rights: can they be protected?
 - Partition of multiethnic states (e.g., Bosnia, Serbia): should the US use this as a last resort when minority rights doesn't solve things?
 - Lies in textbooks: can they be removed? (Would it matter

if they were?)

- C. Other threats, other conflicts: WMD (another power-shift--is it scarier than the rise of China/Japan?); and the struggle for the global commons (is this the real way that the world is shrinking?)
- D. Human rights: what about doing the right thing? "Those who really deserve praise are the people who, while human enough to enjoy power, nevertheless pay more attention to justice than they are compelled to do by their situation." (Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, p. 80.)