

# The Future of International Politics

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# International Order: Pax Americana

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- **Security guarantees (NATO, bilateral treaties):**
  - Between member states (the “West”), created a Pluralistic Security Community.
  - Against the Soviet Union, created a balance of terror.
  - In both, made credible through costly signals (stationing troops)
- **Free trade: prosperity facilitated by Bretton Woods institutions (GATT/WTO, IMF).**
- **American leadership: fears of abuse tempered by competition with Soviet Union and multilateral institutions.**

# New World Order

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- **During the 1990s, the U.S. attempted to generalize this largely regional order to the rest of the globe.**
  - **New security guarantees (e.g., Kuwait, Bosnia).**
  - **Washington consensus on economic liberalization.**
  - **Multilateralism expanded as a (self-imposed) constraint on U.S. authority. Ad hoc coalitions of the “willing.”**

# Challenge 1: The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

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- **Nuclear proliferation**
  - **Puts the U.S. itself at risk of attack.**
  - **But also constrains what the U.S. can do. Shifts the now favorable balance of power (slightly) against the U.S.**
- **Response**
  - **Preventive strikes to disable weapons programs.**
  - **Reduce incentives for states to acquire weapons.**

# Challenge 2: The Rise of China

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- **China's growing power will allow it to challenge the U.S.-led order. Powerful countries write the rules, increasingly powerful countries seek to change the rules.**
- **Response**
  - **Prevention: deter and delay challenge.**
  - **Engagement: integrate China into the U.S.-led order and multilateral institutions.**

# Challenge 3: Backlash to Globalization

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- **Globalization threatens political interests within states, who resist (the backlash).**
  - Scarce factors of production.
  - Ethnic, religious nationalists who want to preserve (or restore) culture.
- **Response**
  - Isolate resistance (rogue states and nationalist regimes).
  - Ensure globalization provides benefits, compensate the losers.

# Challenge 4: Globalization and Global Governance

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- **Globalization creates problems “larger” than any state can solve. New demands for new forms of global governance will arise.**
- **Response**
  - **Resist supranationalism. Use current unipolarity to translate U.S. power into favorable outcomes.**
  - **Embrace multilateralism. Use current unipolarity to translate U.S. power into favorable institutions.**

# America's Foreign Policy Choices

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**Two Schools**

# American Primacy

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- **Use superior U.S. power to prevent challenges before they arise. Seize the opportunities of unipolarity to:**
  - **Destroy weapons facilities in potential proliferators.**
  - **Deter China.**
  - **Suppress backlash movements and promote regime change in “rogue” states.**
  - **Preserve sovereignty.**
- **Danger: Even if successful, risks alienating supporters and creating a counter-balancing coalition.**
- **Cost: National blood and treasure.**

# American Leadership

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- **Build international coalition to support the U.S.-led order. The prosperity created by this order will eventually:**
  - Reduce incentives for states to acquire nuclear weapons.
  - Engage and entrap China.
  - Purge anti-liberal interests.
  - Yield some sovereignty.
- **Danger: U.S. may lack will for long struggle.**
- **Cost: Multilateralism constrains freedom of action and requires policy compromises.**

# How You Choose Depends On

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- **Whether you believe the best defense is a good offense, or whether you are confident the American order will eventually pull countries into the U.S. orbit.**
- **How you evaluate the costs of blood and treasure relative to policy compromise.**

# **The Three I's as Practical Tools**

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- **What are the interests of the U.S. and other countries?**
  - **Blood and treasure v. policy compromise.**
- **How do policy choices interact?**
  - **Deterrence and preventive action v. the seductions of world order.**
- **How do institutions constrain actors?**
  - **Locking others into the American-led order v. binding the U.S. itself.**