

FOREIGN AFFAIRS



NOVEMBER / DECEMBER 2010
VOLUME 89, NUMBER 6

Editor's Note

i

The World Ahead

The Future of American Power *Joseph S. Nye, Jr.*

2

It is currently fashionable to compare the United States' power to that of the United Kingdom a century ago and to predict a similar hegemonic decline. But the United States is not in absolute decline, and in relative terms, there is a reasonable probability that it will remain more powerful than any other state in the coming decades.

Leading Through Civilian Power *Hillary Rodham Clinton*

13

To meet the range of challenges facing the United States and the world—from violent extremism to global recession—Washington will have to strengthen and amplify its civilian power abroad. Diplomacy and development must work in tandem, offering countries the support to craft their own solutions, while addressing the needs of citizens and governments alike.

American Profligacy and American Power

Roger C. Altman and Richard N. Haass

25

The U.S. government is incurring debt at an unprecedented rate. If U.S. leaders do not act to curb their debt addiction, then the global capital markets will do so for them, forcing a sharp and punitive adjustment in fiscal policy. The result will be an age of American austerity. Not only will Americans be worse off, but so will U.S. foreign policy and the coming era of international relations.

GDP Now Matters More Than Force *Leslie H. Gelb*

35

Most nations have adjusted their foreign policies to focus on economic security, but the United States has not. Washington still thinks of its security in traditional military terms and responds to threats with military means. Today's leaders should adapt to an economic-centric world and look to Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower for guidance.

Irresponsible Stakeholders? <i>Stewart Patrick</i>	44
<p>The growth of Brazil, China, and India—and the rise of middle-tier economic powers such as Indonesia and Turkey—is transforming the geopolitical landscape. These emerging powers often oppose the political and economic ground rules of the post-World War II liberal order. To hold this order together, the United States will have to embrace multilateral cooperation more itself.</p>	
The Demographic Future <i>Nicholas Eberstadt</i>	54
<p>If the twentieth century was marked by vast improvements in public health, then the twenty-first century is likely to be defined by steep declines in fertility rates. Populations in many countries will shrink and age, posing additional challenges for governments. Relatively high fertility rates and immigration levels in the United States, however, may mean that it will emerge with a stronger hand.</p>	
Back to School <i>Arne Duncan</i>	65
<p>U.S. students now compete throughout their careers with their peers in other countries. But thinking of the future as a contest among countries vying to get larger pieces of a finite economic pie is a recipe for protectionism and global strife. Instead, Americans must realize that expanding educational attainment everywhere is the best way to grow the pie for all.</p>	
The Digital Disruption <i>Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen</i>	75
<p>Communications technology allows governments to spread their values and secure their interests. But increased connectivity also poses a number of dangers. To foster the free flow of information and challenge authoritarian regimes, democratic states will have to learn to create alliances with people and companies at the forefront of the information revolution.</p>	
Democracy in Cyberspace <i>Ian Bremmer</i>	86
<p>A favorite view of the Internet holds that the democratization of communications will bring about the democratization of the world. In fact, the relationship between cyberspace and political liberalization is far more complex. Although the Internet may help erode authoritarian power over time, for now, its impact on international politics is not so easy to predict.</p>	
A Globalized God <i>Scott M. Thomas</i>	93
<p>Religion is on the rise around the world, from the southern United States to the Middle East. If the United States recognizes and utilizes the worldwide religious resurgence, it can harness its power to improve international security and better the lives of millions. But if it does not, the potential for religiously motivated violence may increase dramatically.</p>	
The Fertile Continent <i>Roger Thurow</i>	102
<p>With one billion people already going hungry and the world's population rising, global food production must urgently be increased. The countries that managed such surges in the past—Brazil, China, India, the United States—cannot do so again. But Africa can—if it finally uses the seeds, fertilizers, and irrigation methods common everywhere else.</p>	

Globalizing the Energy Revolution *Michael Levi,
Elizabeth C. Economy, Shannon O'Neil, and Adam Segal* 111

The odds that the world will face catastrophic climate change are increasing, and a massive drive to develop cheaper clean-energy sources is necessary. Instead of viewing the clean-energy race as a zero-sum game, governments must work together to promote cross-border innovation and protect intellectual property rights. Only by enlarging clean-energy markets can everyone benefit.

The Rise of the Mezzanine Rulers
Michael Crawford and Jami Miscik 123

Governments across the Middle East and South Asia are increasingly losing power to substate actors that are inserting themselves at a mezzanine level of rule between the government and the people. Western policymakers must address the problem systematically, at both a political and a legal level, rather than continue to pursue reactive and disjointed measures on a case-by-case basis.

Manufacturing Insecurity *William Pfaff* 133

The United States has built an all-but-irreversible worldwide network of more than 1,000 military bases. This militaristic system was created to enhance U.S. national security, but it has done the opposite. U.S. security is far more likely to emerge from a speedy negotiated military withdrawal from both Afghanistan and Iraq and disengagement from military interference in the affairs of other societies.

Pivotal Powers

The Game Changer *Elizabeth C. Economy* 142

For years, China's leaders lay low; they now realize that fulfilling their needs at home demands a more activist global strategy. As China's economic and military power grow, the country will transform the world. In setting U.S. policy toward China, Washington must abandon old buzzwords and recognize China for the revolutionary power that it is.

Moscow's Modernization Dilemma *Walter Laqueur* 153

Over the last year, Russia has begun to display some subtle signals that it may be ready for détente with the West, and with the United States in particular. Moscow would like to trade its compliance on a range of international issues for technology and investment, both of which it needs for domestic growth and stability.

Pax Ottomana? *Hugh Pope* 161

Turkey's ruling party is sometimes criticized for being Islamist or ideological, but its policies remain essentially nationalist and commercially opportunistic. Turkey's principal relationships are still with Europe and the United States, and Ankara has made great progress, or at least great efforts, in resolving old disputes with its neighbors.

A New Global Player *Julia E. Sweig*

173

Brazil's economic gains and diplomatic accomplishments have led many to believe the country is an emerging global power. But as it seeks to expand its role on the international stage, Brasília would do well to adopt a more modest foreign policy, balancing its ambitious international agenda with efforts to address glaring inequalities, violence, and educational shortcomings at home.

Books for the World Ahead

Conflict or Cooperation? *Richard K. Betts*

186

After the Cold War, Francis Fukuyama, Samuel Huntington, and John Mearsheimer each presented a bold vision of what the driving forces of world politics would be. The world in 2010 hardly seems on a more promising track—a reminder that simple visions, however powerful, do not hold up as reliable predictors of particular developments.

A Reading List for the Twenty-first Century

195

For this specially themed issue, *Foreign Affairs* asked a number of prominent figures to recommend books that shed light on some aspect of the world ahead. Contributing their selections are Fouad Ajami, Madeleine Albright, C. Fred Bergsten, James Fallows, Niall Ferguson, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Richard Holbrooke, Hu Shuli, Michael Ignatieff, Nicholas Kristof, John Mearsheimer, George Packer, Judith Rodin, Shashi Tharoor, Dmitri Trenin, and Fareed Zakaria.

The articles in Foreign Affairs do not represent any consensus of beliefs. We do not expect that readers will sympathize with all the sentiments they find here, for some of our writers will flatly disagree with others, but we hold that while keeping clear of mere vagaries, Foreign Affairs can do more to inform American public opinion by a broad hospitality to divergent ideas than it can by identifying itself with one school. We do not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any article, signed or unsigned, that appears in these pages. What we do accept is the responsibility for giving them a chance to appear.

THE EDITORS