

hard-liners do—and it is entirely possible they can realize a version of Che Guevara's old dream of entangling America in not two or three but many Vietnams by creating not two or three but "many Venezuelas." The strategy is to win power by the ballot, conserve and concentrate it through constitutional changes, then create armed militias and monolithic parties. All of it can be financed by the Venezuelan national oil company, and it can be accompanied by social policies carried out by Cuban doctors, teachers, and instructors, and backed by Russian arms.

One of the reasons the soft-Left countries don't go toe to toe with allies of the Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez is that they "all are terrified of being left hanging by Washington," Castañeda says. America has let down its friends by reducing promised drug-fighting aid to Mexico, maintaining high tariffs against Brazilian ethanol, and (so far) failing to pass a trade agreement with Colombia, its "best friend in the hemisphere."

If the new American president seizes the initiative, Castañeda believes, he has a unique chance to leave "a greater mark on the hemispheric relationship than any group of leaders in generations."

FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE

History Recharged

THE SOURCE: "Ending Tyranny: The Past and Future of an Idea" by John Lewis Gaddis, in *The American Interest*, Sept.–Oct. 2008.

FIVE YEARS AFTER HE ENUNCIATED the Truman Doctrine, which promised support for "free peoples

who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities," President Harry S. Truman left office with an approval rating of 26 percent. And the Monroe Doctrine, which put America off limits to further European colonization, largely languished until President James Polk dusted it off in 1845 to support Manifest Destiny. A hundred years from now, could a revived Bush Doctrine help guide U.S. foreign policy? John Lewis Gaddis of Yale, who has been called the dean of Cold War historians, doesn't rule it out.

Gaddis finds the kernel of the Bush Doctrine in a single sentence of President George W. Bush's second inaugural address in 2005. "It is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world." The ultimate goal—"ending tyranny in our world"—sounds noble enough. But what about promoting "the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture"?

Democracy is not for every Tom, Dick, and Somalia. It thrives only where security, stability, and the rule of law are established, Gaddis says. Even James Madison, America's fourth president and principal author of *The Federalist*, had his doubts about the form of government. Madison was almost assuredly thinking of Athens, which democratically botched the Peloponnesian War, and Rome, where corruption and violence made the populace toss democracy aside and leap into the arms of Caesar Augustus.

In the 21st century, the imposition of democracy has had a rocky history. Making it the cornerstone of U.S. policy suggests that America knows the

"answer to how people should live their lives," Gaddis writes. But the other half of the Bush Doctrine—ending tyranny—suggests "freeing them to find their own answers."

After the end of the Cold War left the United States the only superpower standing, its leaders became convinced that democracy had triumphed because it was the indispensable political path to success. But when the Bush administration tried to impose it on Iraq, the U.S. actions looked like a ploy to concentrate power in America's own hands.

In his inaugural address, Bush paid tribute to two forms of liberty: promoting democratic movements wherever they push up small green shoots from whatever improbable sand, and ending tyranny, period. In Iraq, Gaddis says, the United States tried the first without notable success. He hopes that the "tyranny" sentence from Bush's second inaugural heralds a return to the earlier notion of liberating people so they can solve their own problems. "But sometimes," he says, "a speech is just a speech."

FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE

Fortified Diplomacy

THE SOURCE: "The Future of Diplomacy: Real Time or Real Estate?" by Jerrold D. Green, in *RAND Review*, Summer 2008.

CONSIDER BELGIUM, A COUNTRY the size of Maryland with 10 million people and some of the world's best food. It is home to no fewer than three magnificent American embassies and missions housing ambassadors and staff that represent U.S. interests in