

"New World Order" Conference

Scholars Debate Post-Cold War Foreign Policy: Global Democracy Crusade or Strategic Independence?

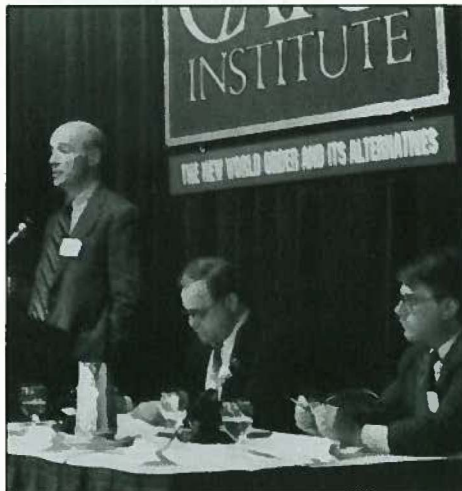
Should the U.S. government withdraw from its worldwide military commitments and pursue a course of "global stability" or "strategic independence"? Or should it persist in its activism on behalf of "American values" despite the passing of the Cold War?

That essentially was the choice at issue at the Cato Institute's March 30 conference, "The New World Order and Its Alternatives: America's Role in the 1990s." Organized by Cato's director of foreign policy studies, Ted Galen Carpenter, the conference assembled 12 prominent foreign policy analysts who advocated positions that ranged from noninterventionism, to restrained unilateral government involvement, to "co-operative security" through the United Nations, to a full-scale crusade to promote democracy internationally.

On the first panel, "The Purposes of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War World," Ben Wattenberg, a senior fellow of the American Enterprise Institute, argued that it was proper for U.S. policy to aim at making the world hospitable to American values and attacked those who would have the government follow a noninterventionist policy. Kim R. Holmes, director of foreign policy and defense studies at the Heritage Foundation, proposed a more restricted foreign activism to protect American interests. He said

he would confine U.S. intervention to Europe, East Asia, and the Persian Gulf area.

In response to Wattenberg, Carpenter said government activism was not required to promote American values. He criticized a recent Pentagon planning paper that he said assumes that U.S. security is potentially threatened everywhere and proposes that the United States take on a "global policing role." He called for a policy of "strategic independence" under which the



Joseph S. Nye, Jr., of Harvard University argues that economic power will be more important than military power in the future. Richard Rosecrance of UCLA and Cato Institute senior fellow Christopher Layne listen.

United States would act militarily only when its vital security interests were faced with a substantial, direct, and immediate threat. He especially objected to permanent alliances and "new world order crusades." Leonard P. Liggio, distinguished senior scholar at the Institute for Humane Studies, warned that the nation's economic crisis, fueled in part by expensive foreign activism and the consequent burdens on commerce, is fomenting a political crisis that could culminate in a public demand for fundamental constitutional change. He said that before that happens he hopes there will be a renewed commitment to the Founding Fathers' republican values, which included free trade and a noninterventionist security strategy.

During the second panel, on President Bush's "New World Order," Christopher Layne, Cato senior fellow in foreign policy studies, and Earl C. Ravenal of Georgetown University argued that the United States will not remain the sole superpower. Ravenal said that "the age of superpowers" will be replaced by an age of multiple regional powers and conflicts that don't threaten the United States. Their remarks clashed with those of Joseph S. Nye, Jr., of Harvard University and Richard Rosecrance of UCLA, who favor government activism abroad, though

Self-Enslavement (Cont. from p. 11)

help they need is not to come from the economists, not even from Hayek the economist. It can only come from Hayek the political philosopher.

No state can have the duty to build up a working economic system. But every state has the duty to build up a rule of law. This we can learn from Hayek. There was no rule of law in the Soviet Union, and there still is no rule of law: neither are there laws that are acceptable and workable, nor acceptable judges; there are only traces of party rule and of judges beholden to the party. As long as that is the case,

there is no difference between legality and criminality. Now the rule of law must be built up from scratch. For without the rule of law, freedom is impossible; and without the rule of law, a free market is equally impossible.

It is this side of Hayek's work that is most urgently needed in the former Soviet Union. ■

Notes

¹*The Road to Serfdom*, George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London, 1944.

²*The Constitution of Liberty*, University of Chicago Press, 1969, and Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1960.

³*Law, Legislation and Liberty*, Vol. I, *Rules and Order*, Routledge, London, 1973; Vol. II, *The Mirage of Social Justice*, Routledge,

London, 1976; Vol. III, *The Political Order of a Free People*, Routledge, London, 1979.

⁴*The Fatal Conceit: The Error of Socialism*, edited by W. W. Bartley III; Vol. I of *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, Routledge, London, 1988.

⁵*Logik der Forschung*, 1934; English translation, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, 1959.

⁶*Khrushchev Remembers*, translated and edited by Strobe Talbott, Appendix 4, Khrushchev's Secret Speech (as released by the U.S. Department of State on June 4, 1956), Little, Brown & Company Inc., New York, 1971, pp. 559-618.

⁷*Khrushchev Remembers*, p. 513.

⁸*Memoirs*, translated by Richard Lourie, Alfred A. Knopf Inc., New York, 1990, and Hutchinson, London, 1990, p. 218.

⁹*Khrushchev Remembers*, p. 493.

¹⁰*Khrushchev Remembers*, p. 496.