

MARCH 21, 2003,
FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION
HAVERFORD COLLEGE

THE WORLD ORDER

I AM GRATEFUL TO NOEL LATEEF AND THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION FOR INCLUDING ME IN THIS DISTINGUISHED PANEL. THE TIMING OF THE DISCUSSION IS THE WORK OF GENIUS - OR THE DEVIL. BUT IT WOULD BE WRONG TO LET WAR STIFLE DISCUSSION.

PERHAPS THE PERSPECTIVE I CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE IS FROM ANOTHER TIME AND ANOTHER AMERICA.

IN 1945 I LIVED IN WAR SHATTERED LONDON WHERE NIGHTLY GREAT MEN WOULD GATHER AT OUR LITTLE HOME TO SPEAK EXCITEDLY OF THEIR WORK: THE REBIRTH AND UNITY OF EUROPE, THE FOUNDATION OF THE UN AND A NEW WORLD ORDER.

SENATE CONSERVATIVES HAD DEFEATED THE LEAGUE AFTER WORLD WAR I. WAR FOLLOWED, AS PRESIDENT WILSON PREDICTED. AFTER WORLD WAR II THE GOVERNMENTS OF THESE MEN, LED BY THE US, RESOLVED HISTORY WOULD NOT AGAIN REPEAT ITSELF. ASSISTANCE FOR THE VICTIMS OF WAR, A UNITED NATIONS AND THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS IT EMBODIED WOULD PRESERVE THE PEACE FOR ALL TIME. CONTAINMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION FOLLOWED.

AMERICA 50 YEARS AGO EUROPE AND EAST ASIA WERE SHATTERED. THE US COMMANDED ABOUT HALF THE WORLD'S OUTPUT OF GOODS AND SERVICES. IT RAN A TRADE SURPLUS AND FISCAL SURPLUS. CREDITOR TO THE WORLD. DOLLAR FIXED TO GOLD WAS THE WORLD'S CURRENCY. IT COULD HAVE EXPLOITED ITS DOMINANCE BY RESORT TO THE POWER POLITICS OF THE PAST.

INSTEAD IT WAGED SUPPORTED AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER FOR MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND COLLECTIVE ACTION AGAINST THE ANCIENT SCOURGES OF MANKIND. EMBASSIES. THE US, REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ALIKE, SUPPORTED THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM. THE CENTER HELD.

TODAY IT IS HOLLOWED OUT. AN AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION DECLARED THE RIGHT TO WAGE PREEMPTIVE WAR BEHIND A MISSILE DEFENSE AS IF TO SEEK GLOBAL HEGEMONY WHILE IGNORING THE UN CHARTER IT WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN DRAFTING.

SOME 50 YEARS OF DIPLOMACY BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT MANKIND'S CHALLENGES REQUIRE COOPERATION ARE BEING TORN UP - COLLECTIVE EFFORTS TO CONTROL STRATEGIC ARMS RACE AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, BRING WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE, TO PROTECT THE

ENVIRONMENT, CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE HAVES AND HAVE NOTS - ABOVE ALL TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND THE RULE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT IS A FAR MORE INTERDEPENDENT WORLD TODAY THAN IT WAS 50 YEARS AGO.

IMAGINE AN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT COMPLAINING THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS IRRELEVANT BECAUSE IT DID NOT OBEY AMERICAN DEMANDS FOR SUPPORT OF A WAR OPPOSED BY VIRTUALLY ALL MANKIND AND MOST GOVERNMENTS. IT IS DIFFICULT FOR SOMEONE WITH MY MEMORIES TO IMAGINE AN AMERICA THAT CAN ONLY COMMAND 4 VOTES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, INCLUDING BULGARIA'S.

I WAS FIRST ACQUAINTED WITH THIS BAATHIS IRAQI REGIME IN 1976 WHEN ITS MINIONS TORE TOENAILS FROM THE FEET OF MY DRIVER IN BAGHDAD. IT HAS BEEN AROUND A LONG TIME; IT WAS AIDED BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WHEN IT USED WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN ITS PREEMPTIVE WAR AGAINST IRAN.

THE DCI HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN'S WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION ARE ONLY THREAT IF HE IS ATTACKED - AND IF HE HAS THEM. IT IS FAR WEAKER TODAY THAN IT WAS IN 1991.

WHY THE RUSH TO A WAR? 50 YEARS AGO WE WERE CONTAINING A NUCLEAR SUPER POWER. CONTAINED THIS SECOND RATE DICTATOR SHIP REMAINS A PARIAH IN THE MIDDLE EAST. UNDER ATTACK HIS LONG SUFFERING PEEOPLE WIN MORE SYMPATHY AND HE MAY WIN SUPPORT IN THE STREETS AND FROM TERRORIST.

9/11 BROUGHT TERRORISM TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PRESIDENT. BUT WAR AGAINST IRAQ AND BY PROXY AGAINST PALESTINIANS SPAWNS TERROR. IT CONFIRMS COMPLAINTS THAT THE US IS AT WAR WITH ISLAM.

AND TERROISM IS NOT A RECENT PHENOMENON. I LED FIRST STUDIES OF TERRORISM IN 1978 AFTER THE LIKUD CAME TO POWER IN ISRAEL. ITS LEADERS SET ABOUT COLONIZING THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, ANNEXING PART OF SYRIA. THE RELIGIOUS CLAIMS OF ZIONISTS AND THE SECULAR CLAIMS OF PALESTINIANS TO THE SAME LAND WERE IRRECONCILABLE. SINCE THE US SUBSIDIZED ISRAEL'S EXPANSION - TERROR WAS PREDICTABLE. THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI TERRORISM ACT OF 1979 WAS INTRODUCED WITH THE WARNING OF "SPECTACULAR ACTS OF DISRUPTION AND DESTRUCTION."

BUT THERE IS NO ATTEMPT TO WAGE PEACE IN PALESTINE EXCEPT BY PROTESTORS LIKE RACHEL CORRIE OF EVERGREEN COLLEGE WHO GAVE UP HER LIFE DEFENDING A PALESTINIAN HOME.

PRESIDENT BUSH IS IN DANGER OF PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE TERRORISTS. POLITICALLY MOTIVATED TERRORISTS ARE FANATICS, NOT FOOLS. GAVRIL PRINCIP. REACTION.

THEY CAN'T BRING AMERICA DOWN, ONLY AMERICA CAN DO THAT.

PRESIDENT HAS WAGED WAR AGAINST TERRORISM, BUT TERRORISM IS A PHENOMENON OF INFINITE DURATION AND GLOBAL DIMENSIONS. THUS THE GOVERNMENT SEIZES PEOPLE WHERE IT CAN AND HOLDS THEM WITHOUT REDRESS TO THE LAW WHERE IT WILL. CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE UNDER ASSAULT. A VAST TEUTONIC SOUNDING BUREAUCRACY HAS BEEN CREATED. THE BUDGET HAS PLUNGED FROM SURPLUS TO DEFICIT AT THE FAST RATE IN HISTORY.

THIS IS NOT THE SAME AMERICA OF 50 YEARS AGO. IT IS HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON IMPORTED OIL. IT IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST DEBTOR - HAS TO IMPORT \$2 BILLION A DAY TO FINANCE CHRONIC AND GROWING CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT. FINANCIAL MARKETS ARE WEAK, LIKE THE DOLLAR. UNEMPLOYMENT IS RISING. INDUSTRIES ARE IN DANGER OF FAILING. WE TRUMPED OUT MILITARY MIGHT - WHEN DID WE LAST WIN A WAR?

LOOK BACK OVER THOSE 50 YEARS AND ALL THE US WARS, ATTACKS - "INTERVENTIONS." AFGHANISTAN, YUGOSLAVIA, PERSIAN GULF, CUBA, LIBYA, LEBANON, SUDAN, SOMALIA, HAITI, KOREA, LAOS, CAMBODIA, VIETNAM (NOT TO MENTION THE COVERT ACTIONS WHICH INCLUDED ARMING THE TALIBAN, THE ABU SAYEF IN THE PHILIPPINES, SADDAM HUSSEIN) - MUST GO BACK TO WW II. - UNLESS GRENADA OR PANAMA - TO FIND AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS.

WHEN I WENT TO KOREA AS A MARINE CORPS TANK PLATOON COMMANDER. ASIA 50 YEARS AGO THE SUFFERING WAS TERRIBLE. NO ECONOMY. HUMAN HAIT. JAPAN, SE ASIA INSURGENCIES. CHINA. BY 1960 EA COMMANDED ONLY ABOUT 4% OF GDP; APPROACHING 40%. IT - 60% OF WORLD'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES. MONETARY RESOURCES FAR EXCEEDING NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE COMBINED. THE US IS DEPENDENT ON EAST ASIA.

WELL WITHIN THE NEXT 50 YEARS CHINA WILL HAVE A LARGER ECONOMY. MORE FDI THAN US. GROWTH. IT IS JOINING WITH JAPAN, THE WORLD'S LARGEST CREDITOR NATION, AND OTHERS TO DEVELOP A REGIONAL ECONOMY WITH A REGIONAL FINANCIAL MARKET AND MONETARY STRUCTURE. SOME DAY ANOTHER RESERVE CURRENCY FOR THE WORLD.

EUROPE IS ON TRACK TO ACHIEVE A VAST REGIONAL MARKET ECONOMY AND FINANCIAL MARKET. KUPCHAN. WITHIN A FEW YEARS EUROPE COULD HAVE A LARGER ECONOMY.

THE PRESIDENT WENT TO AN ISLAND IN THE ATLANTIC TO MEET WITH OTHER LEADERS - SAFE FROM THEIR PROTESTING PUBLICS. THE PRESIDENT OF

PORTUGAL, ITS EMPIRE GONE, THE PRESIDENT OF SPAIN, ITS EMPIRE GONE, THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN, ITS EMPIRE GONE, AND NEXT IN LINE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. WE MUST NOT LET THAT PICTURE BE SYMBOLIC.

THE WORLD IS DESPAIRING BUT IT STILL NEEDS AMERICA AS IT DID AFTER WORLD WAR II WHEN IT ROSE TO THE CHALLENGE. IT CAN AGAIN.

WE CAN SUPPORT OUR TROOPS. THE HARDEST PART COMES LATER. PREMIER CLEMENCEAU REMARKED IN 1919 THAT IT IS MUCH EASIER TO MAKE WAR THAN PEACE. HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES PROVED THE POINT. THEY CREATED PALESTINE AND IRAQ AFTER WORLD WAR I.

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