

DOYLE KANT, LIBERAL LEGACIES AND FOREIGNS AFFAIRS

In queste relazioni estere, il liberalismo porta a tre insuccessi confusi: i primi due sono quelli che Hume chiamava "veemenza imprudente" e, al contrario, un "disprezzo trascurato e supino"; la terza è l'incertezza politica che viene introdotta dall'ambiguità morale dei principi liberali che regolano la distribuzione internazionale della proprietà. Veemenza imprudente. Nei rapporti con i potenti stati di carattere non liberale, la politica liberale è stata caratterizzata da ripetuti insuccessi della diplomazia. Ha spesso sollevato conflitti di interesse nelle crociate; ha ritardato nello sfruttare appieno le rivalità all'interno di alleanze non libere; non è riuscita a negoziare un interesse reciproco stabile. Nelle relazioni con gli stati deboli di carattere non liberale, la politica liberale ha ceduto agli interventi imperiali che non è stata in grado di sostenere per ottenere profitto. I suoi interventi, progettati per creare società liberali promuovendo lo sviluppo economico e la stabilità politica delle società non liberali, hanno spesso fallito nel raggiungere i loro obiettivi. Confusione, deriva, costose crociate, l'imperialismo spasmodico sono il record contrastante della politica estera liberale al di fuori del mondo liberale. Il fallimento nel negoziare con i potenti e l'incapacità di creare clienti stabili tra i deboli sono i suoi retaggi. Perché? Da due fonti. In primo luogo, al di fuori dell'unione pacifica, come tutti gli altri stati, sono presi nello stato di guerra internazionale. Il conflitto e le guerre sono un risultato naturale delle lotte per le risorse, il prestigio e la sicurezza tra gli stati indipendenti; la confusione è accompagnamento in uno stato di guerra senza una legge o un'organizzazione affidabile. In secondo luogo, questi fallimenti sono anche il complemento naturale del successo del liberalismo come guida intellettuale alla politica estera tra gli stati liberali. *La restrizione costituzionale, gli interessi commerciali condivisi e il rispetto internazionale dei diritti individuali che promuovono la pace tra le società liberali possono esacerbare i conflitti nelle relazioni tra società liberali e non libere.* Se la legittimità dell'azione dello Stato si basa sul fatto che rispetta e rappresenta in modo efficace individui moralmente autonomi, allora gli stati che costringono i loro cittadini o residenti stranieri non hanno alcuna legittimità morale. Persino Kant considerava l'atteggiamento dei "popoli primitivi" legati a una libertà senza legge come "un degrado crudo, incivile e animale dell'umanità". Quando gli stati respingono la legge cosmopolita dell'accesso, Kant dichiara che loro violano la legge naturale. Tuttavia, Kant respinge la conquista o l'intervento imperiale come un errore uguale. La pratica degli stati liberali non è stata così tollerante. Secondo la pratica liberale, alcuni stati non liberali non acquisiscono il diritto di essere liberi da un intervento straniero, né si presume che rispettino l'indipendenza politica e l'integrità territoriale degli altri stati. Invece i conflitti di interesse vengono interpretati come passi in una campagna di aggressione contro lo stato liberale. Naturalmente, potenti stati autoritari o totalitari, a volte conducono campagne dirette o indirette di aggressione contro i regimi liberali. E la diplomazia totalitaria è offuscata dalla pervasiva segretezza che queste società stabiliscono. Ma parte dell'atmosfera del sospetto può essere attribuita alla percezione da parte degli stati liberali che gli stati non-liberali sono in uno stato permanente di aggressione contro il loro stesso popolo. Gli sforzi degli stati non liberali presso l'alloggio diventano quindi insidie per intrappolare gli incauti. Questa estrema mancanza di rispetto o di fiducia da parte del pubblico è una delle caratteristiche principali che distingue le relazioni tra società liberali e non liberali dalle relazioni tra società liberali. Allo stesso tempo, la mancanza di fiducia pubblica limita gli scambi sociali ed economici. L'interdipendenza commerciale può produrre conflitti e benessere quando una società diventa dipendente da azioni estranee che non può controllare. Ma tra società liberali e non libere, questi scambi, poiché sono limitati per considerazioni di sicurezza, non forniscono un contrappeso alle tensioni politiche interstatali né offrono la varietà che compensa la possibilità che un singolo conflitto di interessi definisca un'intera relazione. Inoltre, il patrimonio istituzionale dei regimi liberali, la rappresentanza e la divisione dei poteri, apre le strade a interessi speciali per plasmare la politica in modi contrari alla prudente diplomazia. E queste caratteristiche possono essere aggravate dagli incentivi per affermazioni esagerate che la politica elettorale competitiva tende a incoraggiare. La perdita di questi attributi non è dannosa per le relazioni interliberali, ma i mali di un pronto accesso alla politica estera creata dalla rappresentanza e dalla limitata connessione economica e sociale delle relazioni extra liberali. Insieme promuovono un'atmosfera di tensione e una lobby di discordia che può creare scompiglio sia con scelte strategiche che con intenti morali. Nei rapporti con potenti stati non liberali le conseguenze di queste tre caratteristiche sono state perse opportunità di perseguire la negoziazione della riduzione delle armi e del controllo degli armamenti quando è stato nell'interesse strategico reciproco e la mancata costruzione di schemi più ampi di accomodazione necessari per integrare il controllo degli armamenti. (diplomazia USA verso Unione Sovietica, Nel dopoguerra, e in particolare in

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