

caring and responsibility carried out with strength to respond to the world's problems.

In a values-based foreign policy, issues that were not previously seen as part of foreign policy become central. Women's education is the best way to alleviate overpopulation and promote development. Renewable energy could make the world oil-independent. Food, water, health, ecology, and corporate reform are foreign policy issues, as are rights: rights of women, children, workers, prisoners, refugees, and political minorities.

These issues were previously left to international advocacy groups, and many have done excellent work. But these issues need an integrated approach that requires a foreign policy that is serious about addressing them.

The Obama administration is making moves in this direction, with the understanding that these are foreign policy issues. The president is being attacked for it. And the media has not yet recognized them as foreign policy issues. Why?

The metaphors that foreign policy experts have traditionally used to define what foreign policy is have ruled out these important concerns. The metaphors involve self-interest (for example, the rational actor model), stability (a physics metaphor), industrialization (unindustrialized nations are "underdeveloped"), growth (our current economics depends on growth—of markets and access to cheap labor and abundant cheap resources) and trade (freedom is free trade).

There is an alternative way of thinking about foreign policy under which all these humanistic issues would become a natural part of what foreign policy is about. The premise is that when international relations work smoothly, it is because certain moral norms of the international community are being followed. This mostly goes unnoticed, since those norms are commonly followed. We notice problems when those norms are breached. Given this, it makes sense that foreign policy should be centered around those norms.

The moral norms I suggest come out of what in *Moral Politics* I called nurturant morality. It is a view of ethical behavior that centers on empathy and responsibility (for yourself and others needing your help). Many things