

follow from these central principles: fairness, minimal violence (for example, justice without vengeance), an ethic of care, protection of those needing it, a recognition of interdependence, cooperation for the common good, the building of community, mutual respect, and so on. When applied to foreign policy, nurturant moral norms would lead the American government to uphold the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, sign and uphold international environmental accords, engage in a form of globalization governed by an ethics of care—and it would automatically make all the concerns listed above (such as the environment and women's rights) part of our foreign policy.

This, of course, implies (1) multilateralism, (2) interdependence, and (3) international cooperation. But these three principles, without nurturant norms, could equally well apply to a radically conservative foreign policy. Bush's foreign policy was one of self-interest ("what's in the best interest of the United States")—if not outright hegemony (the Cheney/Rumsfeld position). The Democratic leaders incorrectly criticized Bush for being isolationist and unilateralist on issues like the Kyoto accords and the ABM Treaty. He was neither isolationist nor unilateralist. He was just following his stated policy of self-interest, using strict father morality as his guide.

Imagine if Bush had happened to receive the full support of France, Germany, and the United Nations when he announced his policy. Then he would have been called an internationalist and multilateralist. When it was in America's interest (as he saw it), he would work with those nations willing to go along, "the coalition of the willing." Whether Bush looked like a multilateralist depended on who was willing. Self-interest crosses the boundaries between unilateralism and multilateralism. The Bush foreign policy was one of unyielding self-interest.

There is, interestingly, an apparent overlap between the nurturant norms policy and an idealistic vision of the war started by the Bush administration. The overlap is, simply, that it is a moral norm to refuse to engage in or support terrorism. From this perspective, it looked, at the onset, like left and right were united. It was an illusion.

In nurturant norms policy, antiterrorism arises from another moral norm: