



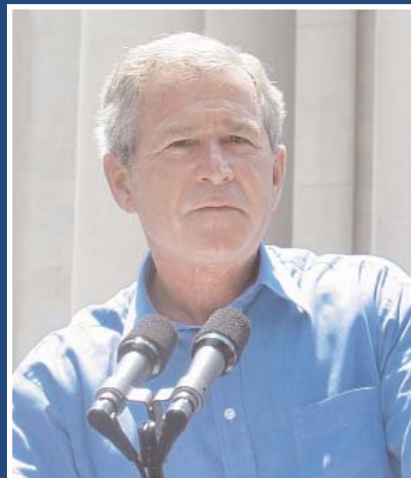
Carnegie Council
ON ETHICS AND
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



ECKERD COLLEGE

ETHICAL DIMENSIONS TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

A STUDY GUIDE TO THE
FOUR FREEDOMS



ETHICAL DIMENSIONS TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

A STUDY GUIDE TO THE
FOUR FREEDOMS

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This booklet was inspired by a four-part lecture series, *America and the World: Ethical Dimensions to Power*, held at Eckerd College during the 2004–2005 academic year (See page 6 for more details). The series was part of Eckerd's Presidential Events Series, the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs public affairs series, and the Col. Christian L. and Edna M. March International Relations Lecture Series.

The author of this study guide is Mary-Lea Cox, director of communications at the Carnegie Council. She gratefully acknowledges Lili Cole, Bill Felice, and Joel Rosenthal for their wealth of comments and input.

Foreword

By Joel H. Rosenthal

The moral purpose of any community is revealed by the words and deeds of its leaders. From time to time, moral principles are clarified and animated in a single gesture or moment in time. Such a moment occurred in January 1941, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed the principles for which America stands at home and abroad: freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of expression, and freedom of worship.

When FDR posed the question of America's core values in 1941, it was in the face of rising tides of fascism and communism. In his Four Freedoms address to Congress, he gave the United States and the world a signature idea: that there were four freedoms, four simple universal principles, that when presented in plain words, could become a rallying point for fighting against insecurity, intolerance, poverty, and religious persecution. In saying what America was for, FDR was also saying what America was against.

It is not surprising that President Bush invoked the words of FDR in 2005, during his second inaugural address. In the face of terrorist threats and global economic challenges, Bush reached for a similarly plain-speaking and clear expression of what America was for, as well as what it was against. In doing so, he was drawing on a long and deep nonpartisan tradition—the basic idea that America is a moral nation, a community with a moral purpose.

It occurred to me—and to the editors of this booklet—that the principles of FDR's Four Freedoms could be usefully revisited in light of Bush's foreign policy. The clear lines of correspondence between the two are unmistakable. Notice the direct links between freedom from fear and the war on terrorism; freedom from want and the moral challenges of global capitalism; freedom of expression and the policy of expanding democracy; and finally, freedom of worship and the role of religion in an age of extremism.

Such continuity of aspiration seems noteworthy. And with these long-term ideals in mind, it seems logical to ask: "How we are measuring up?" That is the question we gave the participants at the Eckerd College series that formed the basis for this booklet. It is also the ques-

tion we offer to our readers.

An ethical inquiry into American foreign policy begins by asking: "What choices do we make? According to what values, what standards?" The Four Freedoms provide a point of departure. We trust that the insights of our lecturers, along with the resources listed here, will open the door to further discussion and debate, and that our readers will be able to sharpen their views of America's foreign policy agenda and its ethical dimensions.

Introduction

By William H. Felice

FDR's Four Freedoms are as familiar to me as my hometown of Seattle, Washington. They are something that I, as an American citizen, have taken for granted all my life. Where would I —where would we all—be today without the freedoms of expression, or worship, from want, and from fear?

But sometimes an innovative experience can shed new light on a familiar place or set of ideas. So it was during the four-part lecture series, "America and the World: Ethical Dimensions to Power," held at Eckerd College during the past year and cosponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs. The five speakers in the series—Nancy Birdsall, John B. Judis, William F. Schulz, Michael J. Smith, and Joel Rosenthal—focused on the ethical choices America has faced in crafting its post-9/11 foreign policy. Specifically, they examined the areas of human rights, empire building, economic justice, and development.

At some point during the series, it struck me and a number of others that these speakers were providing a kind of report card on the progress the United States has made with realizing FDR's vision of the post-WWII world order. Steeped as I was in FDR's New Deal literature from working on my book, *The Global New Deal*, I was curious to see how far we had come in constructing a world order based on ethical principles.¹ Had we made substantial progress, or were we regressing, particularly since the attacks of 9/11? Certain common normative themes emerged from these notable scholars and practitioners, which we summarize in this booklet on the Four Freedoms.

The Four Freedoms

On January 1, 1941, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) slowly dictated in his small study on the second floor of the White House his famous declaration of hope for "a world founded upon four essential human freedoms": freedom of speech and expression; freedom of religion; freedom from want; and freedom from fear. (See Appendix A.) FDR believed these were not a vision for "a distant millennium" but "a def-

¹William F. Felice, *The Global New Deal: Economic and Social Human Rights in World Politics* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

inite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation.” Newspaper editors declared that the president had given the world “a new Magna Carta of democracy,” and the Four Freedoms became the moral cornerstone of the United Nations.² Accordingly, the Four Freedoms formed the basis of the internationalist ethical principles found in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that arose out of the great depression and the world wars of the twentieth century.

We should underline the point that in their original context, the Four Freedoms were designed as a global moral framework, on which to base the restructuring of international relations after World War II. While FDR’s “New Deal” was primarily a domestic program of reform intended to protect the weak and vulnerable in the United States, the Four Freedoms addressed a larger stage. FDR realized that national security and economic prosperity for our country depended upon the creation of a cooperative world system based on ethical principles.

FDR called for freedom of speech and religion “everywhere in the world.” He sought freedom from want in “world terms” meaning “economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world.” And, finally, freedom of fear translated into world terms meant “a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.” FDR called for a “new moral order” based on the “supremacy of human rights everywhere.”

FDR thus provides us with a planetary foundation to ethical world leadership. In essence, he made the claim that it is morally and politically unacceptable to ignore global human rights concerns, including the plight of the world’s poor. This ethical conclusion is based not only on abstract moral principles but also on a new understanding of national security. FDR realized that security for U.S. citizens (freedom from fear) could not be attained through a sole focus on the assertion of military power. He recognized that a state of constant fear, fueled by the arms race, does not create secure rule, but rather a condition of instability and insecurity. Global security, on the other hand, can be built on principles including freedom and democracy, instead of militarism. FDR’s first freedom, “freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world,” is thus central to the creation at home of a secure and just America.

² Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *FDR and the Creation of the UN* (Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 26-27.

To a significant extent, the current Bush administration has prioritized FDR's Four Freedoms in its foreign policy—democracy promotion (freedom of speech and expression), faith-based initiatives (freedom to worship), free trade and economic liberalization (freedom from want), and security and the war on terrorism (freedom from fear). In this pamphlet we explore the difficult ethical choices the Bush administration confronts as it tries to implement this vision.

The Four Freedoms as Guiding Principles

Few dispute the position of hegemonic dominance held by the world's sole superpower, the United States, in world politics today. On almost all indicators of power resources, the United States has emerged, since at least the fall of the Berlin Wall, as the world's most potent and forceful state. Such power gives America the potential to do both enormous harm and immense good. America's moral legitimacy rests, to a large degree, on how the country navigates these moral hazards.

International relations and foreign policy require moral choice. Policy-makers may justify their goals and actions as being “in the national interest.” Yet there are moral consequences to their decisions, even if policy-makers remain unaware of the moral nature of their choices. Ethical action in the global community involves moral restraints on state and non-state actors, as well as moral duties. Globalization enhances the importance of such ethical action. All states, including the United States, are faced with the challenges and vulnerabilities of economic, environmental, and security interdependence.

Scholars at the Carnegie Council have long argued that the precondition to ethical action is moral awareness. Most citizens recognize the many ways in which our private lives are filled with ethical choices regarding our personal behavior and our treatment of fellow human beings. The decisions of policy makers regarding state behavior toward other states, religions, and the poor are also filled with ethical choices. Such decisions have moral consequences, especially those made on narrowly defined grounds of short-term “national interest.”

FDR's Four Freedoms provide an ethical vision for policy-makers and citizens for foreign policy in today's complicated world. These four ideas—freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—provide a moral compass and an ethical scale upon which to evaluate plans of action and their consequences. The trade-offs between valid rights-based claims are difficult. But a true “moral politician” will struggle, as Kant wrote so long ago, to use ethics to “cut through the knot that politics cannot untie.”³

³ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (1795).

AMERICA AND THE WORLD: Ethical Dimensions to Power

A four-part lecture series cosponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs and Eckerd College's program on International Relations and Global Affairs.

Series Moderator: William F. Felice

September 23, 2004 AMERICAN POWER AND HUMAN RIGHTS

William F. Schulz

October 19, 2004 AMERICAN POWER AND EMPIRE

John B. Judis

March 8, 2005 AMERICAN POWER AND JUSTICE

Joel H. Rosenthal and Michael J. Smith

April 12, 2005 AMERICAN POWER AND DEVELOPMENT

Nancy Birdsall

Edited transcripts of the above talks are available at CarnegieCouncil.org.

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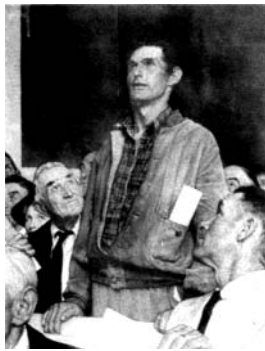
WILLIAM F. SCHULZ is the executive director of Amnesty International (USA) and an ordained Unitarian Universalist minister. He recently authored a book on the impact of 9/11 on human rights.

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Study Guide to the Four Freedoms

By Mary-Lea Cox

“The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.”



President Roosevelt's speech to Congress about the “four essential human freedoms” so inspired the illustrator Norman Rockwell that he decided to use these concepts for a series of paintings about why the United States was entering World War II. He wanted his art to suggest what the potential downfall of other democratic nations would mean for America.

In his memoirs Rockwell describes how he struggled to come up with ideas for simple, everyday scenes to convey the president's high-minded ideals.⁴ Tossing and turning one night over the problem, he woke up remembering a town meeting he had attended where a manual laborer, Jim Edgerton, stood up and said something that everyone else disagreed with. Rockwell recalled being impressed that no one had shouted him down; on the contrary, he was permitted to voice his objections to a proposed policy.

Thus Edgerton became Rockwell's model for Freedom of Speech. Of the four pictures in the series, it was the only one that portrayed a public scene, showing ordinary people engaged in the participatory democratic process. At a time when Hitler and Mussolini seemed bent on destroying free speech, Americans must have appreciated the reminder that this freedom was alive and well in their local communities. (Freedom of Speech was reputedly Rockwell's favorite painting in the series as well as the favorite of much of his audience.)

Little did that audience suspect that a year later, Roosevelt would authorize incarcerating more than 110,000 people of Japanese origin, most of whom were American citizens, in what he called “concentra-

⁴ See historian Robert Westbrook's discussion of the inspiration behind Rockwell's Freedom of Speech in *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History* (1993).

tion camps,” on the grounds that they could pose a risk to national security. Justifying it as a “military necessity,” the government forced these people to leave their homes and live in camps under armed guard. This policy was not to be repudiated until 1983, when a U.S. congressional commission uncovered evidence to prove that there had been no military necessity for the unequal, unjust treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II. The commission reported that the causes of the incarceration were rooted in “race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership.”⁵

A Threat to Terrorists—or to Liberty?

If deciding where to draw the line between freedom of expression and freedom from fear was a challenge in Roosevelt's time, it is equally challenging, if not more so, today. Shortly after September 11, 2001, Congress overwhelmingly passed the USA PATRIOT Act, enhancing the authority of law enforcers to investigate and preempt potential acts of terrorism. The U.S. government now enjoys far-ranging powers including the ability to conduct so-called “sneak-and-peek” searches, obtain access to private records, and use secret proceedings in immigration cases. More recently, the act was expanded to permit the FBI to obtain a person's medical, financial, and other records in terrorism cases without seeking a judge's approval.

While some Americans believe that this expansion of government powers is justified given the threat of further acts of terrorism on their own soil, others fear the consequences of allowing intelligence and law enforcement agencies to monitor and sometimes confront individuals who are exercising their First Amendment rights.

Many have also expressed concern about the costs and perils of stifling political dissent, a requisite for a functioning democracy. At the March Eckerd meeting, scholar Michael Smith found it troubling that American citizens do not feel free to debate the problem of terrorism openly, without questioning one another's patriotism. The clampdown on political protest was particularly apparent in the period leading up to the Iraq War, when according to the ACLU, some dissenters were branded as un-American and became the subject of media attacks, hate Web sites, death threats, and in some cases, even job loss.⁶

While positive images of America as a beacon of human rights and

⁵ For more information, go to <http://www.densho.org>. Densho, or the Japanese American Legacy Project, uses digital technology to preserve and make accessible primary source materials on the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans.

⁶ For instance, the ACLU documented more than 300 allegations of wrongful arrest and police brutality from demonstrators at anti-war rallies in Washington and New York.

liberation still persist, favorable opinions of U.S. actions have been declining worldwide, particularly since the invasion of Iraq. According to recent Pew Center polls, majorities in a number of countries felt that the United States was “not sincere” in its efforts to curb international terrorism. Harsh actions against Muslims not only in the United States but also in Afghanistan, Guantánamo, and Iraq; stiffer obstacles for foreigners seeking entry to the United States; support for crackdowns on human rights abroad by governments friendly to the goals of the “war on terror” —such factors have contributed to the broadening and deepening of anti-American sentiment, to the point where many now regard the United States as a threat to world peace.

Democracy Everywhere

Curiously, while the “war on terror” has restricted freedoms at home, it appears to have accelerated the campaign to introduce such freedoms abroad. Promoting democracy (particularly in the Middle East) is now the centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy. As President Bush put it in his second inaugural address, the hope is that successful elections in Iraq will inspire democratic reformers “from Damascus to Tehran.” This echoed a remark he had made on the occasion of the National Endowment for Democracy’s twentieth anniversary: “The establishment of a free Iraq at the heart of the Middle East will be a watershed event in the global democratic revolution.”

So what criteria can be used to measure the successful implementation of democracy in countries outside the United States? Natan Sharansky has proposed “the town square test” for free societies—a definition endorsed by Condoleezza Rice when, during her Senate confirmation hearings for Secretary of State, she asked: “Can a person walk into the middle of the town square and express his or her views without fear of arrest, imprisonment, or physical harm?”

The Rockwell painting *Freedom of Speech* could almost be an emblem for this concept. That said, had Rockwell lived today, he might have thought twice before choosing a New England town meeting as his subject. As noted by Smith, American citizens are no longer able to get into a town meeting with the president without being prescreened for their views. This seems a bitter irony.

Smith said he would be more comfortable with the American policy of democracy promotion if the government behaved consistently at home. He would also feel better “if we took it seriously in countries where we get along, more or less, with the government, like Saudi Arabia.” Finally, he would be “happier if the administration were more thoughtful about the means they use for achieving democracy.”

“Building democracy is a long-term political process, and that’s not how things happen after an invasion,” he explained.

Freedom of Speech versus Freedom from Fear

Addressing America's growing credibility gap, Eckerd College speaker William Schulz of Amnesty International said: “What the world most admires about America is not our military might, not our economic power; it is the vision this nation seeks to embody of a society that respects immigrants, that protects minorities, and that guarantees due process even to the most heinous and evil among us.”

In Schulz's view, America now risks being seen as a nation that has lost its moral compass as the result of the fears aroused by 9/11. While he finds these fears understandable—terrorism is, after all, “the antithesis of respect for human rights”—he argues that American society has yet to strike a reasonable balance between freedom of speech and freedom from fear. After an attack of the proportions of 9/11, rights may be limited “to secure the public order, to protect us against things like terrorism,” Schulz said. But he also believes that these limitations should be modest, short term, and not based on racial or ethnic discrimination.

Schulz noted that historically, the United States has been inclined to clamp down too broadly when faced with security threats—the incarceration of Japanese Americans being a prime example. Yet Schulz believes that human rights advocates concerned about government abuse tend to downplay the importance of the right to security. When al-Qaeda commits what are essentially crimes against humanity, the human rights community should actively work with the government to thwart their activities. “Human rights advocates like myself have an obligation not just to stubbornly resist every effort of the government to protect the people. We have an obligation to work with the government, not just always to criticize it—to find the right balance between security and liberty,” he said.

Advocating an end to absolutes, he believes, is central to making progress. Only with the government and human rights advocates working together will the fight against terrorism succeed. In Schulz's view, the best way to defeat terrorists is to offer those who are inclined to support them a better vision—which includes the highest respect for human rights.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1) If Norman Rockwell were alive today, what model might he have chosen for his “freedom of speech” painting?
- 2) Should democracy promotion be an integral part of U.S. foreign policy? If so, what are the most ethical means for pursuing this goal? Can the use of force be justified? What standards of accountability apply?
- 3) Has the U.S. clamped down too broadly on civil liberties in response to recent security threats? By the same token, are human rights advocates guilty of playing down the importance of security concerns because of their preoccupation with abuse of detainees and prisoners? How can advocates of security and human rights work together more effectively?

SOURCES & RECOMMENDED RESOURCES:

General

“The Cost of Freedom—Civil Liberties, Security and the USA PATRIOT Act.” PBS documentary, aired September 2004. See in particular the interview with Ruth Wedgwood—transcript of which is available at http://www.duncanentertainment.com/interview_wedgwood.php

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Leone, Richard C., Greg Anrig, Jr., and Greg Anrig, eds. *The War on Our Freedoms: Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism*. PublicAffairs, 2003. Full text of Alan Brinkley’s chapter, “A Familiar Story: Lessons from Past Assaults on Freedoms,” is available at <http://www.amazon.com>.

Pew Survey Report: “A Year After Iraq War: Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists.” The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, released March 16, 2004. Available at <http://people-press.org>.

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Rieff, David. "At the Point of a Gun: Democracy and Armed Intervention." Merrill House Programs, 2005. See also a related CarnegieCouncil.org interview with Rieff.

Roth, Kenneth. "Three Challenges for the Human Rights Movement: Darfur, Abu Ghraib, and the Role of the United Nations." Merrill House Programs, 2005.

Sharansky, Natan. "The Case for Democracy: The Power to Overcome Tyranny and Terror." Merrill House Programs, 2004.

Sunstein, Cass. "Why Societies Need Dissent." Merrill House Programs, 2003.

Other Carnegie Council resources (full text on CarnegieCouncil.org)

Empire and Democracy Project Report: "Multilateral Strategies to Promote Democracy." Carnegie Council Series, 2004.

Empire and Democracy Project Report: "Promoting Democracy Through International Law." Carnegie Council Series, 2004.

"Public Security and Human Rights." *Human Rights Dialogue* 2.8 (Fall 2002).

“The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.”



FDR included the right to worship as the second of the four freedoms America would miss if it had to live in a world where tyranny reigns. At first glance, this right may appear narrower than the other three on FDR's list: speech, want, and security. Historically, however, this has not been the case. Religious freedom and tolerance are intimately bound up with the rights to free thought and free speech, and to free association and peaceful assembly.

Modern ideas about religious liberty are said to date back to the last major religious wars in Europe, known as the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). A partial solution to help end these devastating civil wars lay in the terms set out in the peace treaty of Westphalia, which specified the nation-state as the highest level of government. Sovereignty meant that each state could choose its own religion without outside intervention, thus putting to rest the idea of the Holy Roman Empire having dominion over the entire Christian world. In addition, the treaty called for the protection of Catholics in Protestant states and vice versa.⁷

Despite Westphalia, intolerance continued to rage on the European continent. Puritans and other religious dissidents fled to the British North American colonies in hopes of being able to practice their faiths without persecution. Eventually, they would set up a new republic based on the idea that enforced religious belief was a tool of oppression and a cause of bloodshed. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states that Congress cannot establish a state religion or show preference for one religion over another, nor can it prohibit religious freedom.

America as Moral (and Christian) Nation

Paradoxically, however, religion still lies at the heart of American politics. One of the nation's greatest (and perhaps least understood)

⁷ For the full text of the Treaty of Westphalia (October 24, 1648), go to <http://www.vale.edu/lawweb/avalon/westphal.htm>.

ironies is that religion continues to play a pivotal role in motivating and shaping the way America views itself and its mission in the world. As the journalist John Judis observed at an Eckerd College address in October, George Bush's rhetoric of good and evil, his insistence that Americans have been "called" to spread "the Almighty's gift" of freedom to every man and woman in the world, has often been attributed to his ties with the religious right, but in fact reflects a centuries-old tradition. "This very same vision runs through American foreign policy from the beginning—even before America became its own country," Judis told the Eckerd audience. "It goes all the way back to the Puritan settlers, who saw themselves as God's chosen people, with a mission to establish the kingdom of God on earth."

Judis went on to qualify this statement by pointing to a crucial difference between then and now. Whereas the Puritans wanted to create "a city on the hill"—one that would set a moral example for the rest of the world—today's America is interested in "actively transforming the world." President Bush may have framed this mission in largely secular terms—those of spreading democracy; but his statements on democracy promotion hark back to the pro-imperialists of the late nineteenth century—to the missionaries, adventurers, and soldiers who felt compelled to shoulder the "white man's burden" in places far from home.

Judis suggested that in this sense Bush resembles Theodore Roosevelt, who, as vice president, embarked on campaigns in the Philippines and Mexico, justifying this expansionist policy on the grounds that America had a "calling" to take its religious beliefs to the world.⁸ The Progressives of Roosevelt's era believed that it was God who wanted the United States to dominate the Western Hemisphere. "He has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world," remarked Senator Albert Beveridge in 1900. Likewise, America's sense of mission in the twenty-first century remains embedded in a system of predominantly Christian values.

President Bush has taken care to stress the nation's tradition of religious tolerance, stating in his second inaugural speech that the edifice of the American national character "is sustained by the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Koran, and the varied faiths of our people." Nevertheless, the tenor of many of his statements about the "war on terror" suggests that the United States is engaged in a moral struggle against those of other religious persuasions. Examples include Bush's own use of the word "crusade" shortly after

⁸ Roosevelt lost his enthusiasm for the imperialist experiment after becoming president, however, concluding that the attempt to take over the Spanish empire had been unsuccessful.

9/11 and Lt. Gen. William Boykin's now-infamous remark: "I knew that my God was bigger than his. I knew that my God was a real God, and his was an idol."⁹ President Bush retracted his "crusade" remark and eventually reprimanded Boykin for his outspokenness. Yet the animosity expressed through these words still rankles and, according to polls, has damaged the image of the United States abroad, particularly among Muslims.

New Threats to Religious Liberty

In FDR's day, the greatest challenge to religious tolerance entailed resolving long-standing tensions among people of various Christian faiths, and between Christians and Jews. The mid-twentieth century was, after all, a time when people would argue whether a Catholic or Jew would ever become president. Now we have had a Catholic president and a Jewish vice-presidential candidate. Despite this progress, religious freedom faces new challenges.

With the passage of the USA PATRIOT Act following the attacks of 9/11, FBI agents were given broader powers to monitor religious and political groups, and visit houses of worship without any evidence that a crime has been committed. They have used these new powers to pay close attention to what is being preached in America's mosques—an activity sanctioned by significant numbers of Americans.¹⁰ In the words of conservative social activist Robert Spencer: "Many American mosques receive funding from Saudi Arabia. Isn't it reasonable to suspect that the noxious ideas preached in Saudi mosques have followed all this Saudi money to America? And if so that terrorists acts might follow? Unless we're paying attention to what the American imams are preaching, we may never know the answer until it's too late."

Likewise in Europe, religious liberty came under pressure with the discovery of al-Qaeda cells in Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Spain. Politicians across the continent have been pushing for laws reining in Europe's burgeoning Muslim community as well as sterner measures against Islamic radicals—a movement given impetus by the bombings of the public transport systems in Madrid and London, and by the assassination of a Dutch filmmaker who criticized Islam.

The debate over limiting rights to free speech and religion has yielded an important outcome in France, which is home to Europe's

⁹ Boykin made this remark in an address to a church congregation in 2003. He was referring to his battle with a Muslim warlord in Somalia, which had taken place ten years before.

¹⁰ Nearly half (44%) of the respondents to a recent Cornell University survey said that they favored some restrictions on the civil liberties of Muslim Americans.

largest Muslim community and now acknowledges the failure of its “republican” approach to integration, whereby immigrants were supposed to blend harmoniously into society and not exist in separate communities. France recently passed a law banning conspicuous displays of religious symbols in state schools, including the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women. This secularist credo, which enjoyed 80 percent public support in France, is a new stretch for the European Union's human rights laws pertaining to the freedom of religion.¹¹

As Michael Smith noted at the March Eckerd meeting, the notion of freedom to worship has become so besieged that it is sometimes difficult to remember why religious pluralism became the established norm in the first place. Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) guarantees the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, including the freedom to change one's religious beliefs. World leaders agreed to this article because of having witnessed firsthand the ethnic and religious massacres of two world wars. They believed that the only way for people of various backgrounds to live together in relative peace was by cultivating an attitude of religious plurality. Since no religion can claim to teach the sole or absolute truth, people of various faiths (or no faith) should respect and tolerate one another, and should interact without conflict or pressure toward assimilation.

Growing Religious Diversity—and Extremism

Smith acknowledged, however, that the forces of globalization have complicated the picture since FDR's time. Thanks to the ease of international travel and migration, as well as to demands for cheap labor, an estimated 3-6 million Muslims live in North America today, and 35-50 million in Western and Eastern Europe. These new demographics lend urgency to the age-old question: to what extent does a liberal society have to tolerate illiberal minorities? Answering that question is particularly difficult when such groups insist upon educating their children in separate schools.

The United States faced this issue last century when a group of Amish people made the claim that state education was detrimental to Amish religious values. In a landmark Supreme Court decision of 1972, the Amish were granted the right to remove their children from compulsory education after the eighth grade—a decision hailed as a

¹¹ See Charles Bremner, “Stoned to death...Why Europe is starting to lose its faith in Islam,” in *The Times of London*(4 December 2004).

victory for religious liberty in America.

But the Plain People, as the Amish are known, are a Christian sect, preaching peace and the virtues of simple living. Would Americans feel comfortable if any religious group were to argue that the same freedom applies to them, and then sent their children to religious schools preaching hatred of the West?

At the same time that globalization has led to religious diversity beyond anything FDR or his contemporaries envisioned, it has also spawned a new wave of religious extremism in reaction to the spread of modernization and secular values. Michael Smith noted that this second trend has become apparent not only in the Muslim world but also in the United States, where fundamentalists of various faiths have joined forces to wage a political battle for control of the American identity. The composition of Bush supporters in the 2004 election suggests that Christian fundamentalists, Orthodox Jews, and conservative Catholics have united against their progressive counterparts—secularist, reform Jews, liberal Catholics and Protestants—as each side struggles to shape the values governing the family, art, education, law, and politics.¹²

Thus whereas in FDR's time, struggles centered around the issue of whether Christians of various sects could coexist with one another and with Jews, a chasm has now opened up between Americans who would prefer less separation between church and state, and those who do not wish to see this principle further eroded.

Eckerd speakers repeatedly stressed the need for both the United States and the world community to find their way back to religious pluralism. Judis urged American leaders to study the results of the nation's previous attempts at empire building in the name of God. Such efforts have not served us well in the past. Instead of Americans seeing themselves as a “chosen people” and a “Christian nation,” Judis suggests that we would be better off projecting an understanding and an acceptance of the great diversity of the world's religions.

¹² See the special report on America's religious right in *The Economist* of 23 June 2005, which explains that religious people of all faiths tend to be anchored in the Republican Party.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1) In 1995, the U.S. Congress established an independent bipartisan commission on international religious freedom, along with an ambassador at large to represent this issue on behalf of the U.S. government. The formation of this body reflects a commitment to promoting religious liberty at home and abroad that goes back to FDR's freedom of worship. Should the United States government be lobbying for religious freedom in other countries? What action should it take in response to violations? Should it also be highlighting positive examples?
- 2) Significant funding for al-Qaeda came from the al-Farooz mosque in Brooklyn. How much religious freedom should be granted to Muslims living in the United States? Is it right to monitor their places of worship?
- 3) Do believers have the right to offer their children a one-sided education in private religious schools, excluding all points of view that may conflict with their beliefs? What happens when the right to education, as enshrined in Article 26 of the UDHR, comes into conflict with Article 18, the right to religious freedom?
- 4) Could a non-believer or atheist be elected president of the United States? If not, why not, and what does that say about separation of church and state in this country?

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“The third is freedom from want...everywhere in the world.”



When FDR first took office, the country was in the depths of the Great Depression. Thus, from the start of his first administration, President Roosevelt placed a high priority on securing “freedom from want,” seeing it as essential to the nation’s long-term strength and future. Social Security, unemployment insurance, aid to dependent children, the minimum wage, housing, stock market regulation, and federal deposit insurance for banks—these are but a few of the measures introduced through FDR’s New Deal programs, many of which are still with us today.

With the onset of World War II, Roosevelt further saw the necessity of spreading “freedom from want” throughout the world. The Second World War, he believed, was caused in part by the currency disorders, mass unemployment, and economic desperation that had brought Hitler and Mussolini to power. As he stated when proposing an economic bill of rights (see Appendix B): “[T]rue individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. ‘Necessitous men are not free men.’ People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.”

During his first administration, FDR had informed his countrymen that American democracy could not survive if one-third of the nation were ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. During his second term, he urged the further recognition that American welfare could not be assured in a disordered and impoverished world economy. America should seek “economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants,” he declared in his Four Freedoms speech—a sentiment he reiterated a few months later when meeting with Winston Churchill to draw up the Atlantic Charter, which included a provision for international economic collaboration. Specifically, Roosevelt had in mind the creation of new international organizations—an international monetary fund, a world bank—with the mandate of fostering high levels of employment, growth, trade, and economic justice throughout the world.

Untold Prosperity—for Some

Sixty years after Roosevelt's death, a large number of Americans have achieved living standards far beyond the wildest dreams of their forbears who endured the Great Depression. Indeed, Rockwell's painting of a family about to enjoy a hearty Thanksgiving meal depicts the kind of scene of plenty that many Americans have come to take for granted. Likewise, citizens of other Western countries—including those living in the vanquished nations of Germany and Japan—have experienced an unprecedented rise in living standards.

Yet there are still significant numbers of Americans who are hungry and poor. According to a recent U.S. Department of Agriculture report, in 2003, 36.3 million Americans lived in households experiencing food insecurity, compared to 33.6 million in 2001 and 31 million in 1999. Meanwhile, the U.S. Census Bureau has found that in 2003, 35.9 million Americans were in poverty, up 1.3 million from 2002.

How did this situation evolve? William Felice of Eckerd College traces it back to the Cold War, when "human rights" were equated with political rights and civil liberties—not to economic and social rights, which were associated with the values of communism. The right to an adequate standard of living was not seen as the government's special province and instead was left up to private enterprise and market forces.

The trend toward privatization is evident in President Bush's domestic agenda, which is focused on restructuring the government-sponsored social safety net created by FDR—including the capstone of the New Deal, Social Security. Meanwhile, the gap between the super-rich and the common working person continues to widen—to the point where the top 1 percent of U.S. citizens now possess more wealth than the combined incomes of the bottom 90 percent. A recent *New York Times* investigation of class in America revealed that despite the nation's greater affluence, it has become even harder for Americans to move up from one economic class to another. "Americans are arguably more likely than they were thirty years ago to end up in the class into which they were born."

Strategies to End World Poverty

Prosperity at home is only half of the equation. What about in the rest of the world? As former World Bank economist Nancy Birdsall pointed out in her Eckerd College lecture, today's world is "incredibly unequal." In the foreign policy arena as well, the United States has yet

to put its weight behind the goal of guaranteeing “a more secure, more prosperous world, a less unequal world, a world where fewer people live in poverty.” On the contrary, the gap has been widening between rich and poor nations. Again in the words of Birdsall: “The wealth and income levels of rich countries like the United States and those Scandinavia, in Northern Europe, is one hundred times on average, in real terms, the average income level in countries like Ethiopia, Nepal, much of Africa, and some parts of Central America. That gap was about 10:1 a hundred years ago.”

Why are we so far away from realizing FDR's vision of securing freedom from want “everywhere in the world”? Some economists, most notably Joseph Stiglitz, have blamed irresponsible, “one size fits all” trade policies for the growing disparity between Western countries and the rest of the world. Others, such as Jagdish Bhagwati, are more optimistic about the potential for trade liberalization to benefit the economies of developing countries by stimulating growth. As *Financial Times* writer Martin Wolf, another globalization advocate, wrote in his recent book: “Never before have so many people or such a large proportion of the world's population enjoyed such large rises in their standard of living.”

Still others have focused on practical plans to address the limitations of market forces in helping the world's poor. They argue that with 1.1 billion people suffering from extreme poverty (defined by the World Bank as an income of less than \$1 a day), it is high time to do something to reduce these numbers.

Economist Jeffrey Sachs, for instance, has been spearheading an ambitious UN scheme to end global poverty by 2025. In his view, geography has played a crucial role in determining Africa's fate—it is landlocked and disease prone—yet such problems, once acknowledged, can be overcome. By increasing foreign aid, disease (such as malaria) can be controlled, and infrastructure can be created. The upshot will be greater returns on private investment, triggering market-led growth. Otherwise, political elites will continue to focus on removing resource-based wealth from poor countries as quickly as possible; investment and development will never be anything but empty promises.

At the April Eckerd meeting, Birdsall outlined the anti-poverty plan developed by her organization, the Center for Global Development, which has much in common with Sachs' prescriptions. The United States, she said, has an ethical duty to make “freedom from want” a high priority in its foreign policy. Birdsall finds it paradoxical that America readily utilizes its “hard power” resources in both the market and military affairs while failing to make use of its “soft

power” resources to shore up its reputation and moral standing in the world.

She went on to list a number of key ways in which the United States could enhance its soft power, beginning with foreign aid. U.S. Overseas Development Aid (ODA) is “scandalously cheap,” she said. As a share of overall GDP, the U.S. aid level has dropped to 0.15%, the lowest of any major industrialized country. To the poor and vulnerable of the world, America seems to be sending the message that it just doesn't care. Birdsall called for dramatic action to improve the U.S. record on this score. Such action would include not just more aid but also “development-friendly” steps such as lower agricultural subsidies and a cabinet-level development agency tasked with working with other affluent countries to come up with feasible strategies for alleviating world poverty.

All Talk and No Action?

In fact, there is no shortage of proposals on the table for freeing the world from want. President Bush has proposed the Millennium Challenge Account, which directs aid to countries that have taken responsibility for government reforms. In the view of journalist Nicholas Kristof, this plan, while off to an “agonizingly slow start,” is at least “shrewdly focused on encouraging good governance and economic growth.” Another hopeful sign was Bush’s recent announcement of \$1.2 billion for a five-year campaign against malaria—acknowledged by *New York Times* editors as an “admirable start” to the July 2005 G8 summit meeting in Gleneagles, Scotland.

But while there are plenty of ways, is there a will? The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, known as the Bretton Woods institutions, celebrated their sixtieth anniversaries in 2004 with very little to show for their goals of reducing world poverty and fostering development. Likewise, six decades after FDR attempted to persuade world leaders to work cooperatively toward promoting prosperity around the globe, we are once again faced with a situation where the heads of nation-states are primarily interested in pleasing their own constituents—a position that one speaker described as “democratic narcissism.” Such a narrow and short-sighted approach makes it difficult to implement even the simplest of proposals, such as the Tobin tax initiative.¹³ Western leaders lack the political traction to

¹³ The so-called Tobin tax calls for a tiny tax being levied on capital transfers and then being transferred into a global development fund.

move such ideas forward.

In Michael Smith's view, the time has come for the United States to revisit Roosevelt's rationale for international economic collaboration: namely, that a world marred by rising poverty is unstable and hence insecure for all of its inhabitants. Particularly during these times of heightened insecurity, taking action to lessen global inequalities should be seen as being in America's best interests. People who think that America's interests come first "need to be persuaded that they are living on borrowed time," he suggested.

Birdsall reinforced Smith's conclusions in the final meeting of the Eckerd series, stating that America should use its power not only to capture for Americans the benefits of globalization but also to "reduce the two kinds of risk, conventional security risks and human security risks, that globalization has brought." Improving the plight of the world's poor would not only bring ethical returns, it would also serve U.S. national interests, she argued.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1) In the 1950s and 1960s many economists predicted that the newly independent African countries would become wealthier once they developed modern industrial sectors. Yet Africa has failed to prosper in an era of globalization. What can, and should, be done to address the situation?
- 2) Do market-friendly (i.e., free trade) policies stimulate economic growth and in turn reduce poverty? How can we measure this?
- 3) The economist Jeffrey Sachs claims that ending world poverty should be possible in our lifetimes. What are the main proposals of the UN anti-poverty plan he espouses? Are such proposals feasible?

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*“The fourth is freedom from fear . . .
anywhere in the world.”*



For FDR, who had experienced two world wars, freedom from fear meant a worldwide reduction of armaments and the building of a collective security mechanism. Collective security, along with human rights and economic cooperation, was one of the three great pillars on which FDR based his concept of the postwar world order—elements that found their way into the United Nations charter, taking concrete expression in global and regional institutions that remain with us today.

FDR wanted to create a world where no nation would be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against a neighbor—hence his commitment to building a new international organization designed to manage world affairs and prevent catastrophes like World War II from recurring.

According to FDR's vision, all UN members, whether large or small, would undertake common commitments to settle their disputes peacefully and refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other nations. Four countries—China, Britain, Russia, and the United States—would put their forces at the disposal of the UN to keep the peace and in turn would receive the special privilege of the veto (with the addition of France, these became the five Permanent Members of the Security Council).

For many years, FDR's vision of a postwar world order held some promise. Interstate conflict declined dramatically in the latter half of the twentieth century, although intrastate and ethnic conflicts flared at a rapid rate, especially after the end of the Cold War in 1991. Ongoing humanitarian catastrophes and the events of 9/11 have led many to question the UN's effectiveness. Can states work together through the UN to respond to new kinds of threats, or has the system grown too cumbersome? In the view of Bush administration officials, the collective security mechanism provided by FDR and other post-WWII visionaries no longer suffices to meet the security challenges of a world where networks of stateless civilians have unprecedented capabilities for inflicting harm.

Others have argued, however, that for all its imperfections, the UN is the best potential peacemaker the world has, and thus should be restruc-

tured and reformed to confront the combined threats of terror and poverty. As Secretary-General Kofi Annan recently declared: “[T]he world does need a forum for collective decision-making and it needs an instrument of collective action. Our founders intended the United Nations to be both those things. Our task is to adapt and update it so that it can perform those functions in the twenty-first century.”¹⁴

New Security Blueprint

One year after 9/11/01, the Bush administration presented a National Security Strategy document embracing prevention and preemption as strategies for dealing with rogue states and terrorists. The doctrine rests on the premise that traditional approaches to security are no longer acceptable. The rules have changed since the attacks of September 11, as the circumstances under which we define the lawful use of force no longer exist. Given its overwhelming military might, the United States is unlikely to be engaged in conventional warfare with another nation-state. Rather, it faces a new class of enemy consisting of non-state actors who flout the conventions of war by targeting civilians—and who are threatening to use nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Reflecting these changes, we need new criteria for the use of force and the handling of enemy combatants.

Notably, Norman Rockwell portrayed “freedom from fear” by showing American parents tucking their children safely into bed during the 1940 Battle of Britain. In so doing, he called on Americans to be thankful that the war was not being fought on their soil. Now that terrorists have attacked American cities, does this give the United States justification for rewriting the rules governing the use of force?

For sure, the Bush administration's shift to a preventive war strategy has had profound consequences for world affairs. First and foremost, it paved the way for the United States to act in the name of self-defense against Iraq in the spring of 2003—absent an actual, or even imminent, armed attack from that country and absent the approval of the UN Security Council. The argument was that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction that it could pass on to terrorists. Thus the risk of inaction was greater than the risk of action—even if that action had to go forward with only an ad hoc “coalition of the willing.”

The UN Security Council, however, rejected that conclusion, and their recent reform report, “A more secure world: Our shared responsibility,” argues that the institution can meet threats from non-state

¹⁴ Annan made these remarks at a 10 February 2005 London forum on the UN's future.

actors—and hence can be effective in the twenty-first century. As stated in the report's executive summary: “The Security Council has the authority to act preventively, but has rarely done so. The Security Council may well need to be prepared to be more proactive in the future, taking decisive action earlier.” The report proposed two new models for reforming the Security Council, along with measures to strengthen the Secretary-General's role in peace and security.

Revisions to the Geneva Conventions

The Bush administration's security strategy also paved the way for revisions to the Geneva Conventions as they apply to “unlawful combatants.” Here we return to FDR's first freedom, freedom of speech and expression. As Michael Smith explained at the March Eckerd meeting, Bush administration officials looked for a way to circumvent international legal norms so that the president could “essentially declare any of us in this room to be an enemy combatant and lock us away without giving us access to a lawyer, or indeed without charging us with anything.” In other words, “military necessity” could overrule the Geneva principles.

The Supreme Court has since declared this policy to be illegal. Meanwhile, evidence has been cropping up of the mistreatment of prisoners by American soldiers—ranging from extraordinary rendition (delivering terror suspects into the hands of foreign intelligence services without extradition proceedings) to allegations of prisoner torture and abuse in Afghanistan, Guantánamo, and Iraq.

President Bush has claimed that Abu Ghraib was an aberration, the work of a “few bad apples.” A number of observers have disputed this claim, however, on the grounds that the administration approved the policies that led to the torture procedures used in Abu Ghraib and elsewhere.¹⁵ Smith expressed concern that the only people to have been punished for the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuses were a handful of military personnel at the bottom of the command chain. “American society has reached a point, it seems, where disclosure and an expression of horror are considered to be an adequate substitute for genuine accountability—accountability being a key norm for democratic societies,” he remarked.

¹⁵ According to documents collected by journalist Mark Danner, a fierce argument broke out within the Bush administration over whether al-Qaeda and Taliban prisoners were protected by the Geneva Conventions and how far the United States could go in interrogating them.

Americans Still Fearful?

So has the administration's attempt to direct all major policy toward winning the "war on terror" resulted in less fear? Ironically, as Joel Rosenthal pointed out in his Eckerd College address, post-9/11 trauma lingers, and many Americans remain paranoid about their personal safety. Michael Smith concurred with Rosenthal's assessment and said that this "culture of fear" should be attributed to the "schizophrenic" way the U.S. government has approached security since 9/11. "On the one hand, we see the president and the people in his administration talking about the importance of freedom and democracy. On the other hand, we have a sort of underside to that policy, resting on what appears to be a Hobbesian philosophy...the notion that we have to behave even more badly than our enemies because that is the only way to command their attention and respect." Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's instruction to the military to "take the gloves off" when questioning prisoners epitomized this attitude.

According to Smith, the administration's confused policy has been "counterproductive in very deep ways." It has spread fear and distrust of America's motives among its traditional allies, many of whom do not share the Bush administration's new criteria for intervention and hence have come to see the United States as part of the problem, not the solution, to the threat of terrorism. Crimes committed by American troops, along with the practice of depriving the Guantánamo detainees of the right to liberty without due process of law, strike very deeply at the core of what a free country is supposed to represent. Is the United States becoming the kind of country it had always claimed to oppose?

Smith remarked that the Bush administration's single-minded focus on taking preventive military action has kept the United States from engaging in the kind of "old-fashioned, hard-slogging police and law enforcement work" that in the long run catches more terrorists. This latter approach requires cooperation from one's allies as well as information-sharing. It also requires winning the trust of people in places that support terrorists.

He further noted that the Europeans, with their long experience of terrorism by the Irish Republican Army, Basque separatists, and other groups, tend to view terrorism as a matter for law enforcement, security, and intelligence agencies. In general, they have not been receptive to American-style measures such as detention and coerced interrogations of suspected terrorists, and have favored greater cooperation. Particularly after the London bombings, some Europeans as well as

Americans are persuaded that the war in Iraq is fanning broader flames, increasing the threat of terror attacks by suicide bombers, in Western countries.

In contemplating the status of “freedom from fear” in today’s America, let us give the last word to FDR, who as far back as 1928, called for “a newer and better standard in international relations.” In a *Foreign Affairs* article, he wrote: “Single-handed intervention by us in the affairs of other nations must end; with the cooperation of others we shall have more order . . . and less dislike.” Later, in his first inaugural address of 1933, he declared, “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1) Can the UN be reformed to respond to threats from non-state actors like al-Qaeda?
- 2) Can there ever be any justification for the torture of prisoners? When such abuse occurs, what is the proper government response?
- 3) When is there a just ethical argument for preventive war in violation of international law – what is the ethical threshold?

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APPENDIX A: FDR's "Four Freedoms" Speech

January 6, 1941

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented," because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today...

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. In no case, however, had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition to any attempt to lock us behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any part of the Americas.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not over-emphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world deconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment

being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations still at peace. During sixteen months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your president, performing my constitutional duty to “give to the Congress information of the state of the Union,” I find it necessary to report that the future and safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged on four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. The total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion—or even good business. Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. “Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase the little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.” As a nation we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-hearted. We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal preach the “ism” of appeasement. We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British

Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate. But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years. The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack. That is why the future of all American Republics is today in serious danger. That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history. That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the government and every member of Congress face great responsibility—and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting the foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency. Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all our fellowmen within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this.

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored

by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In recent national elections there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today, it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger. Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need man power. They do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge." In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law and as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be. When the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war. Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger. We must prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency—as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups. The best way of dealing

with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which come from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action which we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect. Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are: equality of opportunity for youth and for others; jobs for those who can work; security for those who need it; the ending of special privilege for the few; the preservation of civil liberties for all; the enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple and basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement. As examples: We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old age pensions and unemployment insurance. We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care. We should plan a better system by which person deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to

a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its million of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is in our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

Source: *Congressional Record*, 1941, Vol. 87, Part I.

APPENDIX B: FDR's Economic Bill of Rights

Excerpt from 11 January 1944 message to Congress on the State of the Union

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people—whether it be one-third or one-fifth or one-tenth—is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

As our nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. “Necessitous men are not free men.” People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return

which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens.

Source: Samuel Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers & Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Vol XIII (NY: Harper, 1950), pp. 40-42.

CREDITS

Cover Images

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1933/Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum.

Office of War Information Poster #47, depicting Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms paintings (clockwise from top left: Freedom of Speech, Freedom from Want, Freedom to Worship, and Freedom from Fear), 1943/Library of Congress.

President Bush, Charleston, West Virginia, July 2004. Photo by Amanda Haddox/shutterstock.com.

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