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## The Good American A Situation Report For Citizens

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I will begin my remarks today by asking you to consider two nations, each of which is exceptional as regards both its historical influence and its current impact on global affairs.

The first nation has been, throughout its history, much admired around the world. It was conceived during the Age of Enlightenment, when European civilization was at last shrugging off the doctrine that the right of rulers to govern was divinely ordained, and its founders declared openly and radically that the rights and powers of government derive solely from the consent of the governed.<sup>1</sup> In the preamble to its constitution the purposes of such a just government are made plain: to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to its citizens.

Despite many challenges and unforeseen contingencies, this nation remains dedicated to the founding documents in which these principles are articulated. Dozens of other nations, in creating their own democratic traditions, have taken this nation as their model. But this nation has done much more than merely to articulate admirable principles. It has opened its borders to provide a new homeland for more than 65 million of the world's oppressed and dispossessed,<sup>2</sup> and it continues to accept more immigrants every year than the rest of the world's nations combined.<sup>3</sup> It has led the world in promoting the democratic principle of government, including the extension of the right to participate in governance to all adult persons without prejudice. It has been on the front line of many of history's most pivotal battles against tyranny, spending its treasury and its blood—repeatedly—in defense of liberty and fundamental human rights.

This nation of which I speak is one of which I am deeply proud to be a citizen, for it is the United States.

The second nation I ask you to consider is undoubtedly the most violent nation in the history of humankind. Born in war, it has engaged in one or more military actions, interventions, or clandestine operations beyond its own borders in nearly every single year of its existence.<sup>4, 5</sup> At least sixteen of these military adventures had the express aim, generally successful, of wresting territory from other nations, and as many more were efforts to topple the governments of other countries, most of them democratically elected. In addition to foreign aggressions, it has undertaken 14 major wars and hundreds of smaller actions against its own indigenous population, with the aim and effect of largely eliminating it.<sup>6</sup>

It holds itself immune from prosecution for the crime of genocide, unlike 125 other countries that have ratified the UN convention on the prevention and punishment of that crime,<sup>7</sup> and it opposes the International Criminal Court, a permanent tribunal to prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression.<sup>8</sup> Indeed there is an established pattern of contempt for international institutions that promote peace and justice. For example, it spurned the International Court of Justice when it was convicted by that court in 1986 of illegal acts of aggression against another country,<sup>9</sup> refusing to pay the fine and reparations imposed despite a near-unanimous UN resolution urging it to do so.<sup>10</sup> It also refuses to enter into international agreements, signed by almost every other country, banning the use of weapons such as land-mines<sup>11</sup> and cluster munitions<sup>12</sup> that continue to maim and kill the innocent for years after their first deployment. Weapons such as these, which it contin-

ues to manufacture and deploy, kill thousands of men, women, and children every year.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to its own military forces, this nation currently employs more than 100,000 private military “contractors”<sup>14</sup>—really, mercenaries—accountable to no external oversight or system of justice.<sup>15</sup> These contractors are known to be responsible for recent atrocities including murder and torture.<sup>16</sup> In the past, private contractors on this nation’s payroll are known to have committed acts of overt terrorism, including the bombing of a civilian airliner in flight, bombing of hotels, assassinations, and so on. It continues to harbor many of these terrorists on its own soil, refusing lawful extradition requests from other countries seeking to bring these criminals to justice.<sup>17</sup>

This nation leads the world in the research and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.<sup>18</sup> It refuses to renounce the first-use of such weapons, or their use to enforce its will on other countries,<sup>19</sup> and it remains the only country in history to have demonstrated its willingness to use weapons of mass destruction on densely populated civilian targets to achieve its aims.<sup>20</sup>

This country reserves to itself alone the right to attack and destroy any country that threatens its interests, as it alone defines those interests, and it has publicly declared its intent to achieve military domination of the planet.<sup>21</sup>

These facts make it less surprising, if no less horrifying, that this nation is directly responsible for the deaths of at least 3 million non-combatant civilians in just the last 50 years. This is a conservative estimate.<sup>22</sup>

Incredibly, the majority of this nation’s citizens are not cognizant of these facts. So effective is the propaganda in this country that, according to respected, mainstream sociological studies, those members of its society who regularly view the primary domestic sources of news and information actually know less about their country’s role in the world than those who do not.<sup>23</sup>

This nation’s record on human rights is no less troubling. Its economic divide is vast, with 80% of its population sharing less than 10% of its financial wealth, the rest reserved to a wealthy ruling class.<sup>24</sup> Owing to a draconian justice system that includes harsh mandatory sentencing even for non-violent offenses,<sup>25</sup> and perhaps also owing to the fact that its prison system is increasingly run for profit,<sup>26</sup> with only one-twentieth of the world’s population it houses nearly one-fourth of its prisoners, more than 2 million, more than any

other country.<sup>27</sup> Half a million of these are known to be mentally ill, often severely.<sup>28</sup> One hundred thousand of these prisoners are children. Nearly ten thousand are serving life sentences for crimes committed while they were children, something unimaginable in almost any other part of the world. Somalia is the only other country besides this one not to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.<sup>29</sup>

The leaders of this country reserve to themselves alone the right to kidnap citizens of any country, anywhere in the world, secretly, and to suspend any or all of their rights, including the right of *habeas corpus*, the rights of petition and representation, the right of security from torture and other maltreatment or affronts to personal dignity, and any other right vouchsafed by the Geneva Conventions, international law, or the laws of any country.<sup>30</sup>

This is a nation disliked and distrusted by an overwhelming majority of the world’s citizens, according to respected international polls,<sup>31</sup> a nation whose foreign policy most view as the primary cause of many of the present conflicts around the globe, and a grave danger—indeed the foremost danger—to the future security of the world’s people.<sup>32</sup> It is a nation for which, as a citizen, I am grief-stricken with shame. For this nation too is the United States.

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When I was quite young it was commonplace for people to indulge in sanctimonious conversations about the “good German” in the time of Hitler. Such conversations took as axiomatic that the Third Reich was simply evil, and that the “good German” faced a paradox of loyalties, having to choose between the sin of participating in the evil or the sin of betraying one’s country and people. I have been alarmed to hear the echo of that facile discussion in assertions made by fellow Americans about our country’s present misadventures. One hears these echoes not only from those who defend our acts, but from those who condemn them.

The defenders, stereotypically, make a fetish of chauvinistic patriotism, equating opposition with betrayal. But many critics, some of whom I admire, are equally simplistic, equating patriotism with betrayal—that is, with betrayal of those universal ideals and values that are outraged by what the US has done.<sup>33</sup>

My own experience has the virtue of being both familiar to me and instructive: I didn’t find out I was an

American until I went abroad. Before then and throughout my youth, tutored as I was by internationalist relatives and schooled in universal values, I imagined that I was broader than my mere country of origin and that my cultural identity was mine to create. My thinking was that I would be sort of British in my sensibilities, but retain the rugged individualism associated with the American west, and be tempered by “Eastern wisdom.” I would like to think that these youthful conceits would be behind me now anyway, if not because they were conceits then at least because they were youthful, even if I had never left Colorado, but their demise was swift the first time I was immersed in a culture that hadn’t made me. I found out I was an American for good or ill—for good and ill—not at home but in a German church, an English pub, and the streets of Rome.

I don’t mean to say that I stopped being an internationalist or stopped professing universal values. Quite the opposite. But I ceased to suppose that my identity was at my disposal. I learned that I am an irreducibly and irrevocably characteristic product of a particular culture, and that I can no more walk away from it than I can walk away from my skin.

So ordinary patriotism is not jingoism, it is not totemism or rooting for the home team or any such superficial or bigoted loyalty. It is an acknowledgement that we only exist in virtue of our being bred and sustained by something much larger than ourselves, but particular and consisting of many selves past and present, that forms the linguistic, political, social, and cultural matrix of our lives. It is not merely one loyalty among others, but the very framework that makes loyalties possible.

So in considering the situation of the American (by which, following convention, I mean a citizen of the United States) and attempting to determine his or her ethical obligations, the first thing we cannot propose is, “stop being an American.” Anyone, including an American, can and should be much, much more than an American, but there are 300 million of us who can’t be less.

I also do not wish to attempt enumerating the ethical obligations that are common to all human beings. The universal values, and their commitments, that are acknowledged by educated and emancipated people of all cultures I naturally take to be binding upon my own people. *Homo sum*, as Terence wrote; “I am a man, I deem nothing common to humankind foreign to me.”

I am concerned here rather to identify those obligations that are specific to the American citizen at this

time. I have outlined already our singular dilemma. The situation is grave, and all eyes are turned, doubtfully, upon us.

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Americans as a people have four tasks to undertake if we are to avoid catastrophe for ourselves and the world. In logical order, they are *admission*, *revision*, *revolution*, and *reengagement*.

The first may well prove the most difficult. Americans imbibe their belief in American exceptionalism with their mother’s milk, and all our national myths repose upon this central tenet. *We* are the oldest democracy. *We* are the defenders of freedom. *We* are the beacon of hope for the world. In the words of a recent president, *we* are the world’s only “indispensable nation.”<sup>34</sup> The belief that oneself is exceptional is the deadbolt on the prison of hypocrisy. Americans must reexamine themselves as a people, read their history and the canon of their deeds with a new and unjaundiced eye, and confess:

- That they have been enemies of freedom and extinguishers of hope in dark episodes too numerous for pride to bear.
- That their appetite for lands, resources, wealth, and power is and always has been rapacious.
- That their economy and their culture are not free, but are alike captives of a corrupt system of state capitalism not legitimated by the principles upon which their nation was founded.

Above all, Americans must confront the ultra-violence that has colored their nation’s every historic moment, from the campaigns of extermination and the blood-soaked fields of the warring states to the irradiated hellscapes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the rape and devastation of Iraq. We have flooded the world with weapons of every obscene kind and slain whom it suits us indifferently, until the very stink of death is branded “Made in America.”

These things must be publicly admitted and commonly acknowledged, for if we cannot find the national humility necessary to admission and contrition, then we surely lack the strength for what must come after.

The next step is revision. We must revisit the principles and purposes of government enunciated in our founding documents, and identify the ways in which they are not fulfilled by our present political, social, and economic institutions. As often before in our his-

tory, we must confront the reality that our democracy remains uncompleted, and we must promulgate a national dialogue to determine and to envision the structural changes necessary to complete it. We could do worse than to begin with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights,<sup>35</sup> or the many proposals for economic democratization made at this conference.

Revision, however, remains an academic exercise absent the will for revolution. I do not shy from the word: revolution was identified by the founders as a continuing obligation of American patriotism. The Virginian Thomas Jefferson wrote, "Experience has shown that even under the best forms of government those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny,"<sup>36</sup> and he is widely believed to have said that "every generation needs a new revolution." But I also do not propose revolution cavalierly. I would almost rather say "restoration" than "revolution," because it is a rare revolution that supplants a government with one more just, particularly if there is deliberate violence. But it is clear that we are past being able merely to correct the course of our present institutions. The restoration of the democratic principles that are our rightful inheritance demands radical structural change in the economic order. Those who hold the levers of power will not relinquish their advantage, however unjust we may deem that advantage, without struggle.

I do not know how the revolution is to be accomplished, but I do know that the American empire is in its dotage, and a crash is coming. If we are to rescue our republic from the ensuing chaos, we must prepare now. We might do well to keep a studious eye on Venezuela, and our other courageous neighbors to the south.

With the revolution must come a reengagement with the world. Properly managed we will remain a wealthy country, and with the revolution we will have again the influence of democratic example. But we must be mindful of our sins and willing to earn the trust and friendship of others, not least by showing, in Jefferson's words, a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

But reengagement is critical not just for the restoration of our world citizenship. The globe faces multiple crises, any one of which is a threat to civilization. None can be solved without global cooperation, and all must be faced very soon.

But here, at last, we return to those obligations that are common to us all, so I will end my formal remarks.

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#### Endnotes

1. *Declaration of Independence of the United States*. Thomas Jefferson, 1776. "Governments [derive] their just powers from the consent of the governed."
2. US Government census data.
3. *U.S. population hits 300 million*. Xinhua News Agency. [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-10/17/content\\_5215770.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2006-10/17/content_5215770.htm). (17 Oct. 2006)
4. *US Military and Clandestine Operations in Foreign Countries - 1798-Present*. Global Policy Forum. <http://www.globalpolicy.org/empire/history/interventions.htm>. (Dec. 2005)
5. *American Experience*. "Timeline of US Military Actions and War, 1775-Present." Public Broadcasting System. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/warletters/timeline/index.html>. (2001)
6. *Indian Wars*. Wikipedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian\\_Wars](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Wars). (27 May 2007)
7. *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. Wikipedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genocide\\_Convention](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genocide_Convention). (28 May 2007)
8. *International Criminal Court*. Wikipedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International\\_criminal\\_court](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_criminal_court). (28 May 2007)
9. *Judgment of the ICJ in Nicaragua v. United States of America*, 27 June 1986. <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?sum=367&code=nus&p1=3&p2=3&case=70&k=66&p3=5>.
10. United Nations. *Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs*, Supplement 7, Volume VI, Article 94. [http://untreaty.un.org/cod/repertory/art94/english/rep\\_supp7\\_vol6-art94\\_e\\_advance.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/cod/repertory/art94/english/rep_supp7_vol6-art94_e_advance.pdf).
11. *Ottawa Treaty*. Wikipedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottawa\\_Treaty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottawa_Treaty). (28 May 2007)
12. *Cluster Munitions: Key Facts*. Cluster Muniton Coalition. <http://www.stopclustermunitions.org/dokumenti/dokument.asp?id=108>. (2007)
13. *Circle of Impact: The Fatal Footprint of Cluster Munitions on People and*

- Communities*. Handicap International. [http://en.handicapinternational.be/download/Circle\\_of\\_impact\\_EXECUTIVE\\_SUMMARY.pdf](http://en.handicapinternational.be/download/Circle_of_impact_EXECUTIVE_SUMMARY.pdf). (May 2007)
14. *Census Counts 100,000 Contractors in Iraq*. The Washington Post. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/04/AR2006120401311.html>. (5 Dec. 2006)
  15. *Private Military Contractors and the Law*. Human Rights Watch. <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/05/05/iraq8547.txt.htm>. (2003)
  16. Davidson, Osha Gray. *Contract to Torture*. Salon.com. <http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2004/08/09/abughraib/index.html>. (9 Aug. 2004)
  17. The most famous American-sponsored terrorist at present is Luis Posada Carriles, a Cuban exile known to have masterminded the bombing of Cubana flight 455 in 1976, killing all 73 people aboard. He is also responsible for additional bombings, assassination plots, and other crimes. He was trained by the CIA at the School of the Americas in 1961, and remained on the payroll of that agency intermittently from the early 1960's well into the 1990's. In 2005 he was arrested for entering the United States illegally. However, the U.S. refused an extradition request by Venezuela, the immigration charges were dismissed, and as of this writing Carriles is free and living in Miami. His case can be reviewed on the *National Security Archives* website maintained at George Washington University: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB153/index.htm>.
  18. The United States was the first to design, build, and use nuclear weapons, and has always been first with new technologies. There are at least a dozen sites in the United States still actively engaged in the research or production of nuclear weapons, most notably at the Los Alamos, Sandia, Livermore, and Oak Ridge national laboratories. The United States cancelled its biological weapons program in 1969 and ratified the international Biological Weapons Convention in 1975, but it continues "defensive" research—greatly expanded in the last six years—into biological agents at Fort Detrick, Maryland and at many government-sponsored labs around the country, and it has distributed "samples" of biological agents to allies around the world, including to Saddam Hussein during the Reagan and first Bush administrations. The United States renounced the use of chemical weapons in 1969, but as of October 2006 it had destroyed only 40% of its declared arsenal of 31,000 tons of nerve and mustard gases, according to the U.S. Army Chemical Materials Agency.
  19. Examples when commanders may request presidential approval for use of theater nuclear weapons include "to counter potentially overwhelming adversary conventional forces," to obtain "rapid and favorable war termination on US terms," and "to ensure success of US and multinational operations." *Joint Publication 3-12, Doctrine for Joint Nuclear Operations*, Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, 15 March 2005.
  20. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, on August 6th and 9th respectively, 1945.
  21. "Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States." *National Security Strategy of the United States*, Sept. 2002. This document, still available on the White House website at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>, also explicitly reserves to the president the right to conduct "preemptive" military operations anywhere in the world at his sole discretion. In concert with the Department of Defense's governing military doctrine (since 1996) of *Rapid Dominance*, better known as "shock and awe," which calls for the physical obliteration of any opponent's "means of communication, transportation, food production, water supply, and other aspects of infrastructure," this statement has put the nations of the world on notice that the U.S. shall not be challenged, on penalty of utter destruction (*viz.* Iraq).
  22. According to figures released in 1995 by Vietnam's Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs, two million North Vietnamese civilians died in their war with the United States, and two million additionally perished in

South Vietnam. Most of these four million may reasonably be assumed to have perished from direct U.S. military action, most from deliberate massive bombing of civilian populations.

These numbers do not include the deaths of an estimated half-million defenseless Cambodians and Laotians, on whom the US also dropped a staggering tonnage of bombs. An unknown number of Vietnamese have suffered spontaneous abortion, stillbirth, cancer, and other devastating effects since the war from the 12 million gallons of dioxin-containing Agent Orange the United States sprayed over 10% of the country. A recent study by a Canadian team found levels of contamination around Da Nang, a typical city, at 300–400 times the level considered minimally safe, 30 years after the end of the conflict, and Vietnam says that 3 million people have been affected. The birth-defect rate in Vietnam is 10 times that in other countries. In Iraq, U.S.-led sanctions and the deliberate targeting of Iraq's water and electrical systems led directly to "half a million...deaths of children under-five" during the Clinton administration (UNICEF, 12 August 1999), a fact admitted to by the then U.S. Secretary of State, Madeline Albright, who opined in an interview with journalist Leslie Stahl (CBS, 60-Minutes, 5/12/96) that the human cost was "worth it." That country is also now widely contaminated by carcinogenic and birth-defect-causing depleted uranium dust, ensuring that the civilian death rate will be much higher than normal for decades to come. These deaths will be in addition to the hundreds of thousands of civilians killed outright in the invasion and occupation of Iraq. These are just the principle, most direct, and least controversial episodes of mass civilian death at the hands of the United States in the last several decades. As the world's foremost weapons supplier and military hegemon, it is indirectly responsible for many more of the past half-century's massacres, even when it was not directly involved.

23. A study in October 2003 by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) found that those Americans who watched cable or commercial network news were more likely

to have significant misperceptions about Iraqi WMD's, about Iraq's involvement in the 9-11 attacks, and about attitudes in other countries towards the American invasion of Iraq

([http://65.109.167.118/pipa/pdf/oct03/IraqMedia\\_Oct03\\_rpt.pdf](http://65.109.167.118/pipa/pdf/oct03/IraqMedia_Oct03_rpt.pdf)).

24. According to an analysis by Professor G. William Domhoff at the University of California at Santa Cruz, as of 2001 the top 1% of households (the upper class) owned 33.4% of all privately held wealth, and the next 19% (the managerial, professional, and small business stratum) had 51%, which means that just 20% of the people owned a remarkable 84%, leaving only 16% of the wealth for the bottom 80% (wage and salary workers). In terms of financial wealth, the top 1% of households had an even greater share, 39.7%, with just 8.8% left to the bottom 80% of the population. Professor Domhoff's analysis is at <http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html>.
25. Federal minimum sentences for drug trafficking range variously from 5 years to life in prison, depending on the type and amount of substance involved and prior convictions. For an analysis by the United States Sentencing Commission in 1991, see [http://www.ussc.gov/r\\_congress/MANMIN.PDF](http://www.ussc.gov/r_congress/MANMIN.PDF).
26. For-profit detention centers sprang up in the 1980's and flourished. As of 2003, about 6% of all prisoners were incarcerated in privately run facilities, according to NotWithOurMoney.org. The largest, Corrections Corporation of America, had revenues of \$1.15 billion in 2004, and it boasts that it is the nation's 5<sup>th</sup> largest prison system with facilities in 19 states.
27. The Bureau of Justice Statistics, US Dept of Justice, reports that at year-end 2005 there were 2,193,798 inmates in federal, state, and local prisons and jails, or 736 per 100,000 population. Roughly half of these are for non-violent offenses, primarily drug and property offenses (<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/prisons.htm>). The number of prisoners worldwide is slightly more than 9 million (<http://www.csdp.org/research/r234.pdf>). Using US and world population figures from the CIA

- world fact book (<https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/>), it can be calculated that the US, with less than 5% of the world's population, holds nearly 25% of its prisoners.
28. Many of these 500,000 mentally ill prisoners are in prisons at least in part because there are no mental health facilities to take them. Most are severely mentally ill, suffering from schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, or other psychoses (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/asylums/>).
  29. "The U.S. is the only United Nations member-state except Somalia that has neglected to ratify the UN's 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. In February 2001, George W. Bush explicitly objected to its 'human rights-based approach' which, among other things, prohibits prosecuting and incarcerating children as adults because their minds are too immature to form 'criminal intent.' Indeed, the U.S. stands alone in its rush to sentence children to a lifetime in prison without the possibility of parole, and is home to more than 99 percent of youths serving this sentence worldwide. According to a joint 2005 study by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, the U.S. had 9,400 prisoners serving life prison terms for crimes committed before the age of 18, of which 2,225 were serving life without parole. Of those, 16% were between 13 and 15 years old at the time they committed the crimes for which they were convicted. More than 100,000 children are currently incarcerated in local detention and state correctional institutions across the country." Sharon Smith, writing in CounterPunch (<http://www.counterpunch.org/sharon04252007.html>).
  30. An excellent summary is provided by Amnesty International at <http://web.amnesty.org/report2005/usa-summary-eng>.
  31. A BBC World Service poll of 26,000 people in 25 countries (released 1/23/2007) showed broad disapproval of US behavior, with roughly 2/3 expressing disapproval of such aspects of US foreign policy as the invasion of Iraq, relations with Iran, Mideast peace generally, the "war on terror", and global warming ([http://www.globescan.com/news\\_archives/bbcusop](http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbcusop)). Sixty-eight percent agreed with the statement that US foreign policy causes more conflict than it prevents. A Pew Global Attitudes Project Poll found majority disapproval of the US in 10 out of 14 countries polled. An analysis of these polls show that while people around the world reject US policies, they continue to embrace its values ([http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views\\_on\\_countriesregions\\_bt/326.php?nid=&id=&pnt=326&lb=btvoc](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/views_on_countriesregions_bt/326.php?nid=&id=&pnt=326&lb=btvoc)).
  32. A Pew Research poll in 2006 found a majority in most countries viewed the United States' presence in Iraq as the greatest threat to world peace (<http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=252>). A poll conducted by The Guardian in Britain, Haaretz in Israel, Reforma in Mexico, and the Toronto Star in Canada found significant majorities identifying U.S. foreign policy as making the world less safe (<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15544601/>), with 75% of Britons agreeing with the statement that the U.S. leader is a threat to world peace. Just prior to the invasion of Iraq in 2003, an informal Time poll of European online respondents found that when offered the three choices of Iraq, North Korea, or the United States, a whopping 87% said the U.S. was the greatest threat to peace (<http://www.time.com/time/europe/gdml/peace2003.html>).
  33. See for instance Robert Jensen, *Saying Goodbye to Patriotism* (<http://www.counterpunch.org/jensen12.html>) and Glen Martin, *The Corruptions of Patriotism* (<http://www.counterpunch.org/martin10032003.html>).
  34. "America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation." Bill Clinton, 2nd inaugural address, Jan 20th, 1997.
  35. FDR proposed his "second bill of rights" in his last inaugural address, 1944.
  36. Diffusion of Knowledge Bill, 1779.

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