

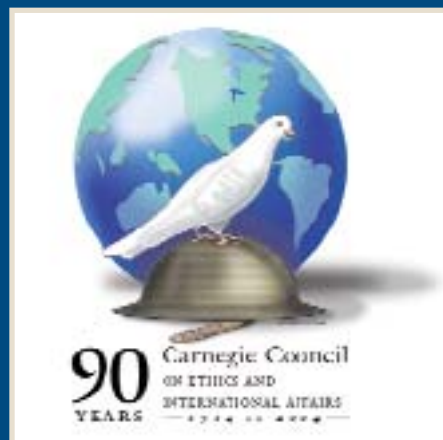


CELEBRATING 90



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Letter from the President

Every year, opinion makers come to Merrill House from far and wide to reflect on ethical concerns in world politics—concerns that today are as urgent as ever in the Carnegie Council’s ninety-year history. War in Iraq, the global war on terrorism, the human cost of globalization—these are the overriding moral issues of the present and as such, have formed the landscape of the Carnegie Council’s work, as recorded in these pages.

Today ancient arguments about war have been revived in light of the new challenge of global terrorism. Put simply, what are the arguments for and against the use of force in a world of failed states and an ever-present terrorist threat? And although the issue of world poverty is hardly new, the post-cold war burst of global capitalism has raised fresh concern about glaring and growing inequalities among rich and poor nations, which have persisted despite today’s unprecedented opportunity to ensure decent living standards for all. Participants in the wide-ranging global justice movement—including members of the corporate sector as well as labor, human rights, and environmental advocates—have all found a home at the Carnegie Council during the past year. Animating their work is the question: how might globalization be re-invented to address the moral demands of basic human equity and planetary sustainability?

This book is a combination of yearbook and annual report. The lead essay, which was previously published as a supplement to our *Interim* newsletter, outlines the critical areas of moral debate that have emerged in the aftermath to the Iraq war. This is followed by a special section in honor of the Carnegie Council’s ninetieth anniversary in 2004. Here we explore the notion that the Council’s past can be part of our future. We include a tribute to *Worldview* magazine, the Council’s flagship publication from 1958 to 1985. The *Worldview* archives, which are newly available in the form of an electronic archive, attest to the value of having a past to call on in an organization concerned with the timeless themes of just war, human rights, and universal justice.

The yearbook also offers a wide range of ideas for educators working in traditional classrooms, as well as those in search of self-education. Have you read all the books and seen all the films? If not, then perhaps our suggestions will help you. For those actively engaged in teaching ethics, we have featured excerpts from a discussion that appeared on our Web site between a teacher giving an ethics class for the first time and her student.

The latter half of the publication contains organizational and financial information. It includes the list of those who gave generously to support the Council’s operations during this special anniversary year.

Ninety years after our founding, the Council has grown to become an influential voice in the policy and academic communities, a resource for educators, and a space for those seeking guidance on the moral dimensions of international affairs. Whether you are actively engaged in working on pressing global problems or simply a concerned citizen, this institution—and this book—is for you.



Joel H. Rosenthal
President, Carnegie Council

Reviews Core Themes

The struggle to win the peace in Iraq has highlighted the need for the United States to face up to its imperial destiny, according to some Council observers.

The Aftermath of Iraq

WHILE MAJOR COMBAT OPERATIONS in Iraq ended over a year ago, hostilities continue. In the parlance of official U.S. foreign policy, the worldwide war on terrorism goes on. As of this writing, the 2003 Iraq war is in many ways incomplete, as is lingering conflict in Afghanistan and other far corners not in daily news reports. Questions remain about ends and means, targets and tactics. Gray areas have emerged. Moral principles are being tested.

When confronted with hard moral choices, it is important to clarify the criteria involved in reaching decisions—a process that frees us to think harder, further, and more imaginatively about existing policy as well as to come up with options for more effective choices in future. This essay outlines the criteria for three areas of debate that have emerged in the aftermath of the Iraq war. It presents a synthesis of the ideas discussed on the pages of *Imperial* and other Council publications, in our online forums, and at our events and seminars during the 2003–2004 program year.

SHALL WE CALL IT AN EMPIRE?

The American willingness to act with such alacrity and self-assurance in Afghanistan and Iraq drives home the point of the nation's unrivaled position in the world. As Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal wrote in *Imperial* a year ago, “The projection of American power inspires the great debate of our time. Is the United States a twenty-first century empire, and if so, what kind?”

Theories about America's burgeoning imperial status have been circulating, in one form or another, for the past thirty years. But in Rosenthal's view, the



empire question today carries even greater moral urgency than previously. The United States, he pointed out, has gone from effecting quick, lethal regime change in Afghanistan and Iraq to assuming responsibility for nation building. American political and economic muscle has created and maintained an integrated world economy and the institutions that support it. America's soft power—its culture and values—continue to radiate outward through its strengths in popular culture, higher education, and technological innovation. Where some see a benevolent hegemon spreading democracy and security, others see a hyperpower in need of constraint.

Empire has also been a frequent theme at the Council's public speakers series of the past year. At a Merrill House Program in late April, historian Niall Ferguson said that the American people were in “imperial denial.” Preferring the image of liberator to that of conqueror—“We don't do empire,” as Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld famously said—America has yet to face up to being the most powerful country the world has ever seen. In Ferguson's view, it would do well to shoulder its imperial burden in trying to emulate the model developed by Britain 100 years ago, which, among other things, demonstrated the wisdom of remaining in countries for long enough to build civil institutions such as courts and schools.

But while Ferguson would like to see America improve its imperial performance, other, more skept-

British historian Niall Ferguson discussed his new book, *Colossus*, at a 4/28/04 Merrill House Program.



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tical critics think it is performing only too well. One such skeptic is political theorist Benjamin Barber, who told a Merrill House audience last October that the more ethical course for the United States would entail curbing its militaristic impulses and working for “global comity within the framework of universal rights and law, conferred by multilateral political, economic, and cultural cooperation.”

Likewise, the contributors to a special section on empire in the Fall 2003 *Ethics & International Affairs* maintained that the United States has more than succeeded in harnessing the rest of the world through “network power” and expanding markets. The development economist Robert Wade, for instance, argued that the United States had arranged the world economy in such a way that it can finance a military many times bigger than anyone else’s without having to cut consumption; it also has greater freedom to run big deficits than other debtors have. In the view of Wade and other critics, the crucial question then becomes: are there feasible alternatives to American empire that would help to shore up a more just world order?

However one approaches the empire question, there can be little doubt that it needs to be approached. As Jedediah Purdy put it in his book *Being America*, “There is no need to admire or accept this characterization of American power, but there is no escaping the need to understand it. The idea of American empire is part of the world’s landscape, as familiar elsewhere as it is alien to Americans.”

CAN DEMOCRACY BE EXPORTED?

In a speech given at the end of 2003 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy, President Bush asserted, “The establishment of a free Iraq at the heart of the Middle East will be a watershed event in the global democratic revolution.”

In turning the promotion of democracy into a centerpiece of his foreign policy agenda, the president has opened up a critical area of debate: can direct conquest and occupation pave the way for democracy? Iraq’s prospects for a democratic future

were hotly contested inside Merrill House during the past program year. While few questioned the worthiness of the president’s policy as an abstract ideal, many saw it as unconscionably risky to attempt to impose democracy on a country as fractious and brutalized as Iraq. As Merrill House speaker Benjamin Barber put it: “How do you create democracy in regimes that have known only tyranny, theocracy, dictatorship, or even totalitarianism? Our record here is not great.”

In a CarnegieCouncil.org forum on Iraq, independent journalist Micah Garen said that the United States had lessened its chances for a successful democratic transition through an unrealistic time frame and lack of preparation. “It is a ‘shock treatment’ approach that is not supported by enough troops or any real plan.”

Democracy specialist Larry Diamond delivered much the same verdict when visiting the Council in late February after having spent time in Iraq consulting for the occupation authorities. While agreeing with President Bush that it is important “to build a world order in which the momentum is for freedom, human rights, the rule of law, open societies, and open borders,” Diamond stressed that it takes time to build the partnerships to help generate this momentum.

In the present circumstances, it is just about possible Iraq could gradually move toward democracy, Diamond said; but “the task is huge and the odds are long against it.” He advised “a frank recognition of the obstacles and dangers, and a sober reflection on the lessons of post-conflict reconstruction.”

Other commentators were even less sanguine than Diamond. As Carnegie Council senior associate Andrew Kuper wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, the historical precedents of Germany and Japan suggest that democracy cannot be successfully imposed on another nation unless enemy forces have been completely defeated, extensive groundwork has been laid, and the occupying power has an assured departure. “None of these conditions is in place in Iraq, which does not bode well for the Bush administration’s dream of democracy,” Kuper said, noting that softer strategies,



At a 2/26/04 Merrill House Program, democracy specialist Larry Diamond painted a cautiously optimistic picture for the prospects of achieving universal democracy.



What's New in Ethics & International Affairs

Professors teaching courses on the concerns raised by the war in Iraq and its aftermath may find useful the following materials from recent issues of *Ethics & International Affairs*.

A special section entitled “The Revival of Empire” (Vol. 17.2) examines the concept of empire to determine whether it is helpful analytically or normatively in approaching the practical challenges of today’s world. Jedediah Purdy explores the recent historical developments that have made the idea of empire seem less objectionable—yet argues forcefully that we should still reject that idea. Jean Bethke Elshtain says that the United States must forthrightly accept its unique role in the world and enforce what she calls a fundamental norm of “equal regard”—the right of aggrieved groups to have force exercised on their behalf. Pratap Bhanu Mehta discusses how empire can have a corrosive effect on the domestic political life of the imperial nation, including the undermining of cherished civil and political freedoms. And Robert Hunter Wade and David Singh Grewal imaginatively examine the idea of global economic empire, noting how various countries can “agree” to international rules that nonetheless tend to benefit a few privileged countries at the expense of others.

In their essay on the preventive use of force (Vol. 18.1), Allen Buchanan and Robert Keohane argue that preventive war can be justified only if undertaken within an appropriate rule-governed institutional framework that is designed to help protect vulnerable countries against unjustified interventions, while also avoiding unacceptable risks of the costs of inaction. The key to ensuring the fairness of rules governing the preventive use of force, Buchanan and Keohane claim, is accountability. They present detailed proposals for institutions that would make the preventive use of force more accountable both for those countries promoting and those rejecting it.

—Christian Barry

Editor, *Ethics & International Affairs*



The Fall 2004 *Ethics & International Affairs* features a special section on humanitarianism and intervention.



Nobel laureate economist Joseph Stiglitz participated in a 12/05/03 Council panel on the feasibility of various democracy promotion strategies.



Political thinker Francis Fukuyama discussed the challenges of state-building at a 5/19/04 Merrill House Program.

such as strengthening electoral commissions and voter education, might yield better results.

According to Barber, the Bush administration assumed that democracy in Iraq could begin by developing free markets. However, history has proved that “capitalism needs democracy more than the other way around; thus the notion that the path to democratization lies directly through marketization is a terrible mistake,” Barber said.

Likewise, at a Council panel discussion of multilateral democracy promotion strategies held at the end of 2003, participants, who included Joseph Stiglitz and Adam Przeworski, said that market reforms do not encourage democratization in the absence of political reforms. Without an accountable political system, market reforms tend to result in crony capitalism, vast inequalities, and corrupted markets—all of which are bad for democracy.

Perhaps the ongoing difficulties in Iraq attest to what international political economist Francis Fukuyama describes as a dearth of knowledge about the concrete measures that can be taken to assist failed or weak states. “We know less than we think we know about building political institutions, designing consti-

tutions, and bolstering civil society,” he told a Merrill House audience in May, adding that in Iraq’s case, it might make sense to put money into building political parties, which the nation now desperately lacks.

THE FUTURE OF THE PAST: CAN HISTORY PROMOTE PEACE?

Coming to terms with Iraq’s recent difficult past—and taking steps to preserve its ancient past—should be high on the list of tasks for the American-led reconstruction, according to several participants in Council publications and events.

While consensus was quickly reached on the need to identify and arrest senior figures responsible for the political crimes of Saddam’s regime and ban their supporters from post-war governance, there is considerably less agreement on the strategies that should be pursued in the hopes of achieving reconciliation among the nation’s ethnic factions. The \$18.4 billion aid package for Iraqi reconstruction, approved in October of 2003, allocated \$1 million for building the Museum of Baathist Crimes—the brainchild of Kanan Makiya, an Iraqi

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dissident who fled in 1968 and was prominent in calling for the American-led invasion. The museum will house a collection of state documents on the tortures and executions ordered during the three decades of the Baathist regime.

Writing in the November/December 2003 *Annals*, Lili Cole, who directs the Council's program on history and the politics of reconciliation, warned that while Makiya's plans seem commendable, "in a fragmented society like postwar Iraq, deciding on the truth about the old regime will not be easy." She stressed that not everyone in Iraq agrees that all the country's postwar woes are the product of Saddam's tyrannical rule; instead they point to the damage done by thirteen years of economic sanctions. "Nor does it seem likely that Makiya, an exile backed by an occupying power, is the right person to spearhead the nation's truth-seeking effort."

Cole wondered if in the early days of reconstruction, Iraq might in fact be better off focusing on its distant, rather than recent, past. "An effort to restore the looted Iraq National Museum, with its wealth of ancient treasures attesting to the region's glory days, might do more to restore a sense of national pride and belonging than an atrocity museum, with all of its potential to divide rather than unify."

Cole's reference to the glorious past calls to mind the debate that raged in the early days of the American-led invasion, when officials from the museum world and UNESCO, the UN's cultural agency, took the coalition forces to task for failing to protect the treasures housed in the National Museum in Baghdad.

Micah Garen has made several trips to Iraq over the past year and a half to gather evidence for a documentary he is making on the looting of Iraqi antiquities and consequent loss of the nation's cultural heritage. While confirming that fewer items from the national museum were plundered than initially reported, he told a meeting of the Council's Young Associates that more recently, the shrine of Imam Ali in Najaf has been looted, consisting of "1,000 years of historical documentation and gifts from other countries—everything that's important in Shiite history."

According to Garen, in the "power vacuum created by the war," the area between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (sometimes referred to as the "cradle of civilization," with traces of 10,000-year-old human settlements) has attracted large numbers of local and professional looters, who are working "on an unprecedented scale." The result, Garen said, is "complete disaster." For the past sixteen months, there has been nothing but ad hoc protection of the archeological sites in the south (provided mainly by the Italian national police, who are part of the coalition forces).

Yet another lost (and still to be restored) part of the Iraqi legacy is the habitat of the so-called Marsh Arabs. This tragedy occurred as a result of Saddam Hussein's policy of draining and damming the southern marshlands, thereby depriving its residents of their livelihood and traditional way of life. In an article for the Spring 2004 *Human Rights Dialogue*, Sayyed Nadeem Kazmi and Stuart Leiderman reported that those who are charged with rebuilding Iraq had not yet given priority to the restoration of the region, despite the clear importance of such an initiative for reasons both humanitarian (the majority of Marsh Arabs have been displaced) and ecological (the area once constituted the largest wetlands ecosystem in the Middle East).

Not everyone concurs, however, that the marshlands should be re-flooded. According to the AMAR [Assisting Marsh Arabs and Refugees] Foundation, the region is the site of some of the country's richest oil deposits. So would the Marsh Arabs (who are among Iraq's poorest inhabitants) be better off if their homeland were transformed into an oil economy and they were given some of the financial benefits?

The Carnegie Council recently launched a new event series, "The Ethics of Preserving Cultural and Natural Heritages," which will include a public roundtable on the Marsh Arabs' plight and an exhibition of Micah Garen's photographs of Iraq's plundered archeological sites. The Council looks forward to reporting on these events in the coming year.



Archeology journalist Micah Garen gave a first-hand report on the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq to a group of Carnegie Council Young Associates in late May.

—*Annals* Editors, Summer 2004
@ON THE WEB: RESOURCE LINKS

THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL Celebrates 90 Years

Staff member Mary-Lea Cox wonders to what extent the Council's past can—and should—figure in its future.

“The Future of the Past”: A Celebration

ON FEBRUARY 10, 2004, AT EXACTLY 3:00 p.m., Carnegie Council staff gathered in the boardroom for a special occasion. Champagne glasses in hand, we listened as Council President Joel Rosenthal read from the minutes of the meeting held at exactly that moment ninety years before, to mark the launching of Andrew Carnegie's last philanthropic initiative, the Church Peace Union (CPU), now known as the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs.

After this informal ceremony of remembrance, our president urged us to shift focus to considering what shape we hope the Council will take by 2014, the year of its centennial. From that time on, I have been wrestling with the question of what it means to look forward in such an esteemed institution. Do we just put aside the past ninety years and move on, or do we carry this history with us somehow?

Inspired by a recent Council seminar featuring Alexander Stille discussing his book *The Future of the Past*, I would like to test the idea that to move forward, the Council needs to engage with its past. What is our relationship with the past ninety years, and what ideas do we have about how that relationship should change if the past is to have a future in the institution's development? As Stille put it, “A sane relationship to the past is somehow an essential part of a healthy functioning society.”

Graceful Reminders of Bygone Eras

In the introductory chapter to *The Future of the Past*, Stille comments on how comfortable he feels in Rome, a city where the physical remains of the



past live “gracefully and casually in the midst of everyday life.” The ruins, he says, “change your sense of time and place in the world, making the ups and downs of the present seem smaller, while also making you feel a part of a much larger continuum.”

In my view, the Carnegie Council is a remarkable fusion of past and present. Our headquarters, known as Merrill House, occupy two adjoining townhouses in Manhattan's historic Upper East side. But while some visitors may feel as though they have stumbled upon the set of a Merchant-Ivory film, Merrill House is anything but museum-like. Appearances can be deceiving.

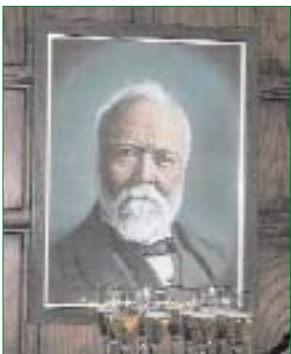
Nowhere is this more true than in the Council's board room. In bygone days, this was the formal dining room of Henry Goddard Leach, a CPU trustee. The CPU purchased Leach's townhouse in 1949 and named it for William Pierson Merrill, the organization's first president. It later purchased the house next door from writer and CPU friend Theodore White.

The board room looks largely untouched since Leach's time, with its oak-paneled walls, massive stone fireplace, vaulted plaster ceiling, and mullioned windows. Even the less fanciful among us would find it easy to imagine the menfolk standing before the fireplace with their cognacs and cigars, deliberating over the responsibilities of the United States as an emerging world power. The only new addition appears to be the portraits of Andrew Carnegie and Hans Morgenthau on the walls; but as formal portraits are in keeping with the period, they blend in perfectly.

Still, such physical reminders and ghosts of the past do not impede the Council's pursuit of a twen-

@ ON THE WEB
TRANSCRIPT FOR
ALEXANDER STILLE

A champagne toast marked the occasion of the Council's ninetieth birthday (February 10, 2004).



ty-first century mission. In this Edith Wharton-like setting, groups of scholars and practitioners regularly convene to debate the most critical issues of our day. This past April, for instance, the room was the scene of a debate among several of the foremost thinkers on Iraqi reconstruction, including the scholar Noah Feldman and the journalist David Rieff. (The fruits of their exchange will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Ethics & International Affairs*.) And the room will soon be host to Nobel laureate James Watson, philosopher Peter Singer, and other leading thinkers, for a workshop on bioethics.

All of this is not to say that participants in the Council's programs are oblivious to their historic surroundings. Often in the midst of discussing thoroughly modern problems, someone will wonder aloud what our predecessors in the field of international affairs might have made of the situation. The past is never very far away, and I am convinced this is in large part because of Council's physical setting.

I witnessed this phenomenon firsthand at an event for the Carnegie Council's new Young Associates group, held in the board room this past January, under the portraits of Andrew Carnegie and Hans Morgenthau. Carnegie, Joel Rosenthal explained, was an early internationalist who believed in what today we would call "peace at any price." He was basically a pacifist, calling attention to the insanity (as he saw it) of militarization and of spending so much blood and treasure on war.

Morgenthau, on the other hand, was the "toughest of realists," insisting that states are all about maximizing their power. At the same time, however, he recognized that ethics also plays a part in states' calculations. "It's a question of how you use power, in the service of what principles," explained Rosenthal. "And power brings certain duties as well as certain restraints."

By the time the meeting ended, the youthful participants—most of whom had come believing that post-9/11 they had been living in the worst of times—were cognizant, as never before, of belonging to a continuum beginning with the idealism of Andrew Carnegie and other early internationalists and extending through the realism of Hans Morgenthau, who

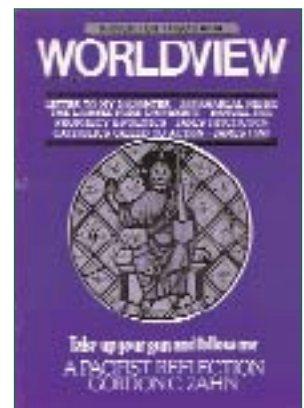
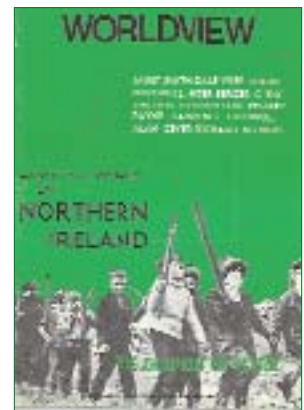
only just survived the Holocaust to find himself living in the shadow of thermonuclear threat. Americans of today are by no means the first to face threats to their welfare on a massive scale—a thought that many in the group seemed to find comforting.

The Worldview Legacy

As it happens, our ninetieth anniversary has coincided with the launching of an electronic archive containing 318 issues of the Council's longest-running publication, *Worldview* magazine. Published on a monthly basis from 1958 to 1985, *Worldview* reported on events in Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, Asia (the Vietnam War in particular), and (unusually for that era) sub-Saharan Africa. It also covered the broader themes of nuclear weapons and arms control, ethics and the use of force, globalization of the economy, human rights, and the environment, this latter before it was widely written about. Regular contributors included Peter Berger, Lester Brown, and Henry Steel Commager. Many issues also carried articles by prominent thinkers, such as Hans Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, and William Pfaff.

Stille observes that "new technologies have given us extraordinary and unprecedented opportunities for studying and preserving the past." Now that *Worldview* has been converted into 3,463 digital files representing just over one gigabyte of data, the Council can be more closely in touch with this portion of its past than ever before. For instance, in response to the news of President Reagan's death, Communications staff created a report consisting of links to a collection of *Worldview* articles on Reagan's foreign policy during his first administration—something that would have been much more difficult to accomplish before.

The *Worldview* archives provide proof that for almost three decades—one third of the Council's history—political philosophers, scholars, churchmen, statesmen, and journalists addressed the international issues of the day in a well-respected publication. And unlike other political affairs magazines, *Worldview* writers attempted to place the discussion within an ethical framework, one that reflected the



values of a Judeo-Christian, classical humanist view of man and society.

While there is a certain satisfaction in learning that *Worldview* helped to make the Council what it is today, is that all the archives can do for us? Or is there some kind of future in delving into the past that *Worldview* represents? Instead of preserving *Worldview* in oil, the Council has spent the months since the archives were launched developing a creative relationship with this portion of our heritage. In the way that Roman architects of the seventeenth century would sometimes repair sculptures by redoing (rather than preserving) them, we have started taking excerpts from *Worldview* articles and adding some contemporary musings to come up with an altogether new creation. Our Web site showcases one such attempt, on the moral implications of torture—a theme as timely now as it was in *Worldview*'s day.

Something surely has been lost in converting a publication as lively as *Worldview* into countless PDF files. By holding a copy of *Worldview* in your hand, you will notice that it was printed quickly and often on low-grade paper—because getting it out every month (no doubt on a fairly tight budget) was more important than producing something perfect. I once spent an afternoon leafing through physical copies of the magazine, and by the end of the time I could perceive a clear line running between it and the newspaper-style Web site (and corresponding [IMPRINT](#) newsletter) I manage for the Council today.

All the same, if it is a choice between an electronic *Worldview* and no *Worldview* (which it soon will be, given how rapidly the paper copies are deteriorating), then obviously it is better to have the archive preserved in an electronic format. That said, chances are that it will not be long before today's technology is made obsolete—another irony noted by Stille. (Notably, *Worldview* was preserved on microfiche for many years.)

Even as we acknowledge these actual and potential losses, we

should also recognize that things change, and change is often welcome. If something has been lost in shutting down *Worldview*, something has also been gained. In 1987 the Council launched a new flagship publication, the scholarly and reference journal *Ethics & International Affairs*. Over the years, the journal has been highly successful at raising the Council's profile and credentials within the various academic fields that cover ethics and international affairs—and hence in nurturing new generations of scholars doing important work on human rights, the ethics of armed conflict, and related topics.

The CPU'S Opening Manifesto

Returning to that momentous day in February 1914 when the CPU held its first meeting, I would like to draw attention to the list of resolutions adopted by the twenty-eight members in attendance. Thanks again to the new technology, this document is now available on the Council's Web site. The Communications office spotted a reprint in an issue of *Worldview*, and within a matter of minutes had it uploaded as a PDF file.

What does this new (to us) piece of evidence about the Council's origins reveal? Again, I feel a sense of loss. Most obviously, the institution has lost the innocence that sparked Andrew Carnegie's decision to endow it in the first place. (Given that he founded the CPU on the eve of World War I, that innocence was in any event destined to be short lived.) Reflecting Carnegie's vision, the drafters of the CPU's first resolutions unanimously agreed that as long as the “two outstanding evils of the day” that cause wars could be addressed by the “rulers, statesmen, and people of all civilized lands,” the “crime of men killing each other may soon be banished from the face of the earth.”

Interestingly, their notion of “two evils” was grounded in common-sense economics. First, war was expensive. And as maintaining



standing armies and battleships contributed greatly to the combined debt of the world, the group reasoned that it made no sense to continue such a wasteful habit. Secondly, and even more distressingly, “in war we are still capturing private property upon the high seas”—a crime that inhibits the “peaceful and necessary exchange of products,” which in its turn permits “peaceful, neighborly exchange with other nations, thus creating a brotherhood of man.”

Perhaps I am merely registering the nostalgia every generation feels for its own immediate past. I envy that group of twenty-eight for being among the first to contemplate the modern meaning of globalization, with all of the excitement such a prospect held. I am impressed that they managed to distribute their manifesto to 100,000 politicians, clergymen, students, professors, and members of the general public—in an era long before electronic mail campaigns. At the same time, I feel saddened that a century that began with so much promise—with the dreams of peace advocates like Andrew Carnegie—ended as the bloodiest in human history, a time of hatred and mass genocide.

But even as I feel these losses, I am also powerfully aware of the gains the Council has made since adopting these resolutions. The original members of the CPU were all men; and they were all either Christian (of various denominations) or Jewish. They were also all Americans. Notably, the stable of writers for *Worldview* matched this original profile rather closely (though for some reason it included a disproportionate number of Roman Catholics).

The Council of 2004, by contrast, is extremely diverse. As reflected in our title changes (from the Church Peace Union, to the Council on Religion and International Affairs, to the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs), we now have a more secular focus, which means that people of all religions or no religion are welcome to walk through our doors. Nowadays, too, many prominent women are involved in our programs (Mary Robinson and Anne-Marie Slaughter, for instance, were participants in recent Council events).

Finally, today’s Council encourages diversity in terms of nationality: we now have people from all

over the globe participating in our programs, writing for our publications, and accessing our resources. A high proportion of our Web traffic comes from overseas, and the number of international subscribers to our *Worldview* newsletter has been growing steadily since its launch three years ago. Nowadays, too, Council staff travel to other countries to sponsor events. This past year, for instance, some of my colleagues went to Shanghai to hold a faculty development workshop at East China Normal University, on concepts of global justice. And, as a result of the Council extending its network to a group of university professors in China, there is now a Chinese-language version of the *Ethics & International Affairs* reader, which should support the development of a curriculum on ethics and international affairs in that country.

* * *

In his opening chapter, Alexander Stille tells the story of Father Reginald Foster, senior Latinist to the pope, who “walks through and sees a different city from the Rome most of the rest of us know.” Following Foster around, Stille says he came to appreciate the “correspondence or ironic juxtaposition between a monument’s origin and its current status and all the layers of meaning that have accumulated between them,” lending the city “a kind of symphonic quality, whose music most people are no longer able to hear.”

Similarly, I have found it enriching—and dare I say, entertaining—to scrape off the patina of the Council’s past and see the kinds of stories it reveals. I am constantly shocked by how little many of us in the foreign affairs field (myself included) know about history because of the pressing need to focus on whatever is “policy relevant.” As an antidote, I would recommend a search through the Council’s *Worldview* archives: I guarantee you will feel liberated from the burdens of the present. And for staff, the past is a useful starting point for thinking creatively about the institution’s future.

Mary-Lea Cox has worked at the Carnegie Council for four years and now serves as its director of communications. She composed this essay in August 2004.



A portrait of Hans Morgenthau, long-time Council friend and trustee, adorns one wall of the Council’s board room.

A cross-section of Carnegie Council supporters explain what attracted them to the institution in the first place, what it offers that they cannot find elsewhere, and how they envision the Council evolving as its centenary approaches.

Tributes from Carnegie Council Friends, Old and New



Martin Cook

This Air Force Academy professor says that his first experience with the Council was the most professionally significant of his career.

FIRST LEARNED ABOUT THE COUNCIL?

I attended the Carnegie Council's faculty development seminar in 1994 held at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. From that time on, I began seeking ways to integrate military ethics projects into my research and teaching. Before that, I had worked primarily on medical ethics, which practically everyone was doing at that time. The Council provided me with an opportunity to carve out a niche that really suited my background. Having grown up a military brat, I am the rare person who is comfortable moving back and forth between academic and military circles.

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

In the field of philosophy, many of those who address military issues tend to write things that are almost embarrassing in their naiveté. The training I got from the Council seminar gave me the confidence to use the language of international affairs, and I began writing about just war theory, among other topics. The Council is also unusual in that it succeeds in bringing together military and civilian experts to discuss international affairs—a task becoming ever more difficult.

COUNCIL'S FUTURE?

The reality facing my students today has changed dramatically since I first joined the faculty at the Air Force Academy. My students are much more aware

that they're not going out to a peacetime Air Force, making sound ethical training more important than ever. Likewise, organizations like the Council, which offer opportunities for finding common ground between military and civilian communities, are increasingly vital.

Steven Lamy

This University of Southern California professor says that the Council has profoundly influenced his work and teaching, both directly and indirectly.



FIRST LEARNED ABOUT THE COUNCIL?

About a decade ago, USC's School of International Relations was part of the original attempt by Pew Charitable Trusts to bring the case-study method to graduate studies in international affairs. That's how I got in touch with the Council, which had also received Pew funding. I met the various people involved in the project, including Joel Rosenthal. He wrote the case study about the withdrawal from UNESCO under President Reagan.

INFLUENCED YOUR WORK?

Not long ago, I attended a conference on just war issues held by Al Pierce of the U.S. Naval Academy, who has worked with the Council for many years. That experience inspired me to write a case study about the Dutch in Srebrenica, highlighting human rights versus national interests, which in turn led to my doing research on issues of human security. I recently contributed a chapter on that topic to a book on G8 and Canadian foreign policy.

ANNIVERSARY SPECIAL



CRIA Remembered

In 1961 Andrew Carnegie's Church Peace Union was renamed the Council on Religion and International Affairs, or CRIA, an incarnation that lasted until 1986. CRIA made its home in the townhouse located at 170 East 64th Street (it was not until 1986 that the institution would annex the adjoining property). A few staff members and friends share their personal reminiscences of CRIA.

Ulrike Klopfer, longest-reigning Council staff member: I remember being in Dr. Loos's office one day [Dr. William Loos ran CRIA from 1955 to 1974], when he suddenly said, somewhat mischievously, "Well, Ulrike, what do you think of this?" I was taken aback because CRIA staff had always been very formal, using titles and last names. So I responded, "Ulrike?! Well, in that case, I'll have to

call you Bill." He agreed and from then on, all staff went on a first-name basis, and Merrill House became a lot less formal.

Dorothy Loos, wife of former CRIA president William (Bill) Loos: My husband used to borrow from Voltaire's saying about the Holy Roman Empire; he always said the Church Peace Union was neither church nor pacifist nor a union.

Kenneth Thompson, long-time advisor to CRIA: I remember sitting up all night in extended discussions on the state of the world. The goal was to get together people who were writing about the problem with the people who were making decisions. The real purpose of the meeting was to join the two sides, the thinkers and the doers.

Jerry Harris, director of the Conversations Program during the 1970s and early 1980s (pictured above, far right): I recall catching the eye (in which there was always a twinkle) of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who had just walked into the Merrill House function from his nearby apartment. He glanced over at the journalist Theodore White, who lived next door, and then looked over at me and said, "Oh—it's a block party!" [Harris still lives on East 65th Street.]

Eva Becker, who joined CRIA in 1980 as office manager and now serves as the Council's vice president: When I first came to CRIA, the person who made the strongest impression on me was Susan Wolfson, a New York journalist of the old school. I can see her now, a cigarette in her mouth, her desk piled high with papers, typing furiously to get the next *Worldview* issue out in time. For over twenty-five years, Susan was the magazine's mainstay, churning out an issue a month—no easy feat in the days before computers, when everything had to be typed and laid out by hand.

From the notes of the 25 June 1980 board of trustees meeting that took place in Port Hill, Huntington, Long Island: The CRIA Committees (Program, Financial Resources, Human Resources) met all together following a well (de)served dinner and a peaceful watch of the sunset on the Sound. [The report follows with a summary of the board's discussions and then ends with: "The trustees adjourned in the moonlit night air."]

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

I have long relied on educational materials from the Carnegie Council to teach international relations to my students—not only the case studies series but also the newsletters. And I promote the Council's Web site for background resources on some of the cases I assign to my students.

Nancy Sherman

This Georgetown philosophy professor says that her close association with the Council (she recently served as a trustee) expanded her horizons.



INFLUENCED YOUR WORK?

Whenever I attend Council functions, I hear about world events in ways I otherwise wouldn't and rub

shoulders with people I wouldn't ordinarily: members of the New York City media, UN ambassadors, military chaplains, and so on. Once when I attended an event on humanitarian intervention, I ended up working with then journal editor Deborah Washburn to write an article for *Ethics & International Affairs*, about empathy, respect, and intervention. The experience forced me to meld some of my philosophical work on empathy and notions of respect with my interest in international affairs and humanitarian efforts.

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

One specific end of the Council is to create a field where it is not an oxymoron to talk about ethics and international affairs, and to make that notion more commonly understood by practitioners and academics alike. The Council has more than succeeded in this aim. It promotes an association among

people from various backgrounds: international affairs, political science, ethics, and moral philosophy. And it conveys to them the message that international affairs is not just about economics and realpolitik but also about ethics: how does a nation set its foreign policy priorities, and what counts as humanitarian intervention and aid?

BEST FEATURE OF BOARD SERVICE?

For me the most stimulating aspect of serving on the Council's board was, again, having the chance to interact with people outside of my immediate field: ambassadors, military chaplains, deans of international affairs programs. Many of us came from different walks of life, yet as trustees we shared a common commitment to the Council. I found that exciting.

Michael Smith

This University of Virginia professor, considered a pioneer in the field of ethics and international affairs, says he found the Council an essential part of his professional career.

HOW LONG INVOLVED WITH THE COUNCIL?

I have been closely involved with the Carnegie Council for the past seventeen years or so, ever since *Ethics & International Affairs* reviewed my book, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger*. I was then asked to join the journal's editorial board. For a while I also served on the Council's board of trustees. Merrill House became a home away from home, providing much-needed intellectual sustenance and support.

MOST INTERESTING COUNCIL EXPERIENCE?

I've participated in numerous Council programs over the years. One of the most interesting involved working with Joel Rosenthal on a faculty development seminar. It was a six-week course held at my home institution, with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The class consisted of about thirty people who were interested in the subject of ethics and international affairs but who had never had the chance to study it in a systematic, thoughtful, and non-dogmatic way. Joel and I

saw it as a way of restocking our mutual reserves of scholars. Most of the students are still in touch.

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

One of the hallmarks of the Carnegie Council has been its independence. The Council has taken a deliberate decision not to become a shrill think-tank or mouthpiece for a particular political ideology. Rather, it tries to create a space for debate that is earnest and honest but without the usual posturing. That's a difficult task—and it's getting harder all the time. For me the Council has been a place where it's possible to test new ideas and keep up with what others in the field are doing. It is both rigorous and welcoming at the same time. The quality of the intellectual exchange is high; but people make an effort to get out of the shorthand of their own disciplines, realizing that more than one point of view is required for grappling with the complex issues of our time.

Scott Silverstone

This West Point professor says he has benefited immensely from the experience of having spent a year as a Carnegie Council fellow.

FIRST LEARNED ABOUT THE COUNCIL?

I have been aware of the Council ever since picking up a copy of *Ethics & International Affairs* ten years ago. I learned a great deal more when my department at West Point received a call for applicants to the Fellows Program and I decided to apply.

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

The Council acts as a dedicated center of excellence for the continuing study of, and debate over, the role of ethics in world affairs. Many in the international affairs field try to marginalize ethical considerations. The Council plays a vital role in serving as a hub for those of us who want to do this kind of critical thinking. In addition, the Council strives to bring together a diverse group consisting of policy analysts, academics, NGO professionals, diplomats, members of



the business and legal communities, and interested observers—people who would otherwise not have the opportunity to interact on foreign affairs.

FUTURE PLANS TO STAY INVOLVED?

I intend to stay closely associated with the Council by attending talks and workshops and by giving presentations on my ongoing research. On occasion I may also bring my West Point students to Council events.

Marcus Hall

This Switzerland-based environmental researcher and former Carnegie Council fellow says he has been impressed by the Council's efforts to bridge academic and NGO worlds.



FIRST LEARNED ABOUT THE COUNCIL?

I learned about the Council from colleagues at the American Society for Environmental History, a group of historians and enthusiasts who are expanding their interests beyond U.S. borders.

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

Last year I attended the Council's conference on environmental ethics at Oxford University, at the invitation of Joel Rosenthal. British, Japanese, and American academics gathered to discuss the topic of wilderness and what different cultures mean by it, as well as the various rationales for protecting it. Participants pointed out that while Americans have sought to protect wild areas from human intrusion, Europeans in their parks and reserves find it impossible to separate nature completely from people, while the Japanese apply extremely strict measures of nature protection to their sacred groves and religious sites. Fostering this international conversation about humanity's appropriate role in nature is the sort of thing the Council is well positioned to undertake.

FUTURE PLANS TO STAY INVOLVED?

I hope I can continue acting as a kind of Council representative in Europe, encouraging whenever possible clearer analyses of past and present envi-

ronmental issues (broadly construed). I also hope I can make occasional contributions from afar, both formal and informal, to Council publications and programs. And I expect to pay the Council the occasional visit when I happen to be in New York.

Nadia Roumani

This young professional is delighted to be managing a new project on global policy innovations under the Council's auspices.

FIRST LEARNED ABOUT THE COUNCIL?

I joined the Carnegie Council in May of this year as a senior associate and co-manager of the Global Policy Innovations Project, which receives funding from Rockefeller Brothers Fund and institutional support from the Council. The project aims to increase the momentum behind a range of policy alternatives conducive to a more equitable, democratic, and transparent process of global economic integration.

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

The Council is an ideal base for forging partnerships with the wide array of actors who have a stake in proposing practical policies for surmounting the challenges of economic globalization. Because the Council is nonpartisan, representatives from civil society, academia, government, the media, inter-governmental organizations, and foundations can feel comfortable gathering here for frank and open dialogue on creative policy choices.

FUTURE PLANS TO STAY INVOLVED?

In addition to developing this new project, I am serving on the steering committee for the Young Associates Program. This is a new initiative of the Carnegie Council. As there are very few venues in New York City where young adults can gather to discuss foreign policy, particularly from an ethical perspective, the program occupies a unique niche. I find it exciting to be involved from the beginning, and expect to play an active part in the program for some time to come.



are talking about ...

BOOKS

This year, the books that have engaged us—whether at Merrill House Programs, in print, or online—include not only the usual works on America’s global power but also a rather unconventional tribute to Thoreau.

Editors’ Choices

AMERICAN EMPIRE

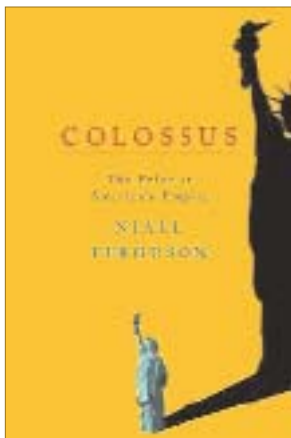
Debating America’s imperial status has long been a popular pastime within international affairs circles. The debate acquired fresh impetus with the American decision to impose regime change on both Afghanistan and Iraq. Even now, however, many Americans think that “empire” is not a good fit for a nation that was originally founded in opposition to imperial rule, by people escaping oppression. Despite being the only superpower left, the United States continues to prefer the role of liberator to that of conqueror—as alluded to by President Bush in his ultimatum to Saddam Hussein: “[W]e believe that the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty.”

In line with current trends, the Carnegie Council has provided a platform for authors of recent works on America’s global power. One of the most distinctive voices in this category belongs to British historian Niall Ferguson, who has spoken at Merrill House about his two recent books **EMPIRE: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power** (Basic Books, 2003) and **COLOSSUS: The Price of America’s Empire** (Penguin Books, 2004).

For Ferguson, the United States is undoubtedly an empire, the most powerful the world has ever seen. Thus from his point of view, the more important question is why it has had so little success in exporting the institutions of political, social, and economic freedom to countries like Afghanistan and Iraq. As Ferguson explained to his Merrill House audience,

the answer is threefold: a military manpower deficit; a financial deficit (as the American economy is based on credit and borrowing), and worst of all, an attention deficit. As the British knew, a successful overseas engagement depends on winning the cooperation of local elites—a process that takes time.

Ethics & International Affairs recently reviewed a French-language work analyzing the projection of American power for a French audience: **WASHINGTON ET LE MONDE: Dilemmes d’une superpuissance** (Éditions Autrement, 2003), by Pierre Hassner and Justin Vaïsse. Written during the build-up to the Iraq war, the book traces the two main strands in American foreign policy: the belief that the United States is a power the same as any other, with no special role in history, as embodied by President Roosevelt; and the notion of America having a singular destiny, as embodied by President Wilson. The authors point out that while the Wilsonian strand is evident in the foreign policy choices made by President Bush—particularly in his decision to bring democracy to the Middle East, by force if necessary—the current administration has distanced itself from Wilson’s other core belief in the subordination of the use of force to international law. “Americans would learn much from seeing themselves dispassionately reflected in this particular French mirror,” wrote *Ethics & International Affairs* reviewer Gregory Reichberg of the International Peace Institute.



On Paige Arthur's Desk

Paige Arthur, book reviews editor of *Ethics & International Affairs*, selects a few favorites from the many books that reached her desk during the 2003-2004 program year.

- **IMPERFECT JUSTICE: Looted Assets, Slave Labor, and the Unfinished Business of World War II**, by Stuart Eizenstat. A personal account by the Clinton administration official who negotiated reparations in Europe for American survivors of the Holocaust, recounting how the pursuit of justice and reparations became entangled with less scrupulous elements.
- **JUSTICE, LEGITIMACY, AND SELF-DETERMINATION: Moral Foundations for International Law**, by Allen Buchanan. A powerful reconsideration of the international legal system, arguing that the primary goal in arbitrating disputes should be a concern for justice—even above the goal of maintaining peace.
- **NATION-BUILDING UNRAVELED? Aid, Peace, and Justice in Afghanistan**, edited by Antonio Donini, Norah Niland, and Karin Wermester. Essays by recent and current UN and NGO field officials in Afghanistan exposing the practical challenges of attempting to deliver aid, peace, and justice simultaneously.
- **RED SKY AT MORNING: America and the Crisis of the Global Environment**, by James Gustave Speth. An impassioned treatise by the dean of the Yale School of Forestry, recounting America's failure to act on international environmental issues and outlining steps for a "citizen's agenda for action."
- **WAR AND SELF-DEFENSE**, by David Rodin. A concise analysis of the concept of self-defense and whether it can be used to justify going to war.

As the above selections attest, some of America's staunchest critics come from former European imperial powers—a theme taken up at the Council's Merrill House Programs by foreign policy analyst Robert Kagan. Visiting the Council in February 2002, just as France and Germany were facing down the United States over the use of force in Iraq, Kagan had a relatively easy time convincing the audience of the validity of his Mars-vs.-Venus interpretation of U.S.-European relations, as presented in his work **OF PARADISE AND POWER: America and Europe in the New World Order** (Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

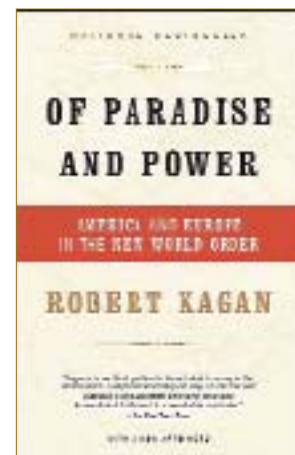
By the time he returned to the Council one year later, Kagan had shifted his focus to the crisis of legitimacy the Iraq war had precipitated for the United States vis-à-vis its European allies, noting that many leading Europeans have now joined the French and the Germans in believing that an "American leviathan unbound" poses an even greater threat to world stability than the so-called axis of evil. "In the post-cold war world, instead of looking at the United States as guardian, Europeans are now asking, 'Who guards the guards?'" Kagan explained. They expect the United States to seek legitimacy for its military action through the UN Security Council while

simultaneously signaling their own lack of belief in the UN's effectiveness. Why else, Kagan argued, would they have agreed to go to war in Kosovo without Security Council authorization?

He concluded his 2004 remarks with "two hopeful, but probably hopeless" pleas to both sides in the transatlantic relationship. On the one hand, "Americans must understand that they cannot continue, as the Bush administration did before September 11th and afterwards, to talk about 'America's national interest' as if that alone can be the guiding principle of a foreign policy of the world's sole superpower." On the other, "Europeans should get over the irrational, though understandable, obsession with American power that may make them lose sight of what the real dangers are in the world that will ultimately affect them as well as the United States."

POLITICAL ISLAM

To many of us, the terrorist attacks on that perfect Indian summer day of September 11, 2001, came as a bolt from the blue, and we can admit to having been a willing audience for the apocalyptic descriptions of Islamic fundamentalism that appeared in the popular press shortly thereafter. Council mem-



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• NIALL FERGUSON
• ROBERT KAGAN
• GRAHAM FULLER
• IAN BURUMA

bers, by contrast, would have no excuse, as they have had ample opportunity to hear from authors of thoughtful works on political Islam—its sources and likely future directions.

For instance, Graham Fuller, author of **THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL ISLAM** (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), informed a Books for Breakfast audience that bin Laden and the Taliban are only the fringes of a broad-based movement that encompasses many moderate elements. “Islamism is really a variety of political movements, principles, and philosophies that draw general inspiration from Islam but produce different agendas and programs at different times.” According to Fuller, the rise of militant Islamism is partly a response to centuries of Western colonialism and cultural domination and partly sheer practicality. Indeed, for Muslims who are living under repressive political regimes, drawing from the Qur’an is often the only way to critique the government’s actions.

So what direction will the movement take over the next few years? Fuller predicted that, although unlikely to disappear altogether, radical Islamist groups will eventually learn to compromise as more moderate groups spring up to compete with them. The process will be helped along if some of the radicals actually gain power—and are seen to fail fairly conclusively, particularly when they take on problems having nothing to do with religion, such as government corruption and unemployment. He noted furthermore that once Muslim regimes become more pluralistic, the Islamists will no longer be the only dissenters to rally around.

Going back even further and echoing Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, which analyzed Westerners’ distorted stereotyping of the East, Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit have written a thought-provoking work, **OCCIDENTALISM: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies** (Penguin Books, 2004). In their view, the hatred animating the Islamic radicals can be seen as the “bastard child” of the West’s own attempts to challenge its materialist values and replace them with something more spiritual and pure.

At an April Books for Breakfast meeting, Buruma pointed out that counter-Enlightenment-inspired

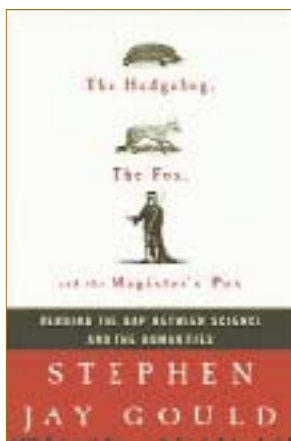
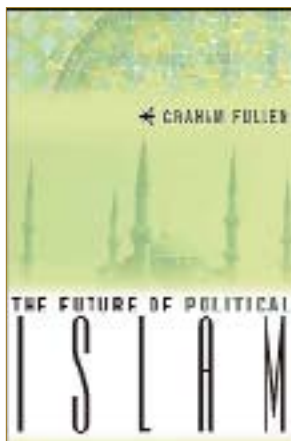
critiques crop up quite frequently in Middle and Far Eastern thought. Drawing on his knowledge of modern Japan, Buruma said he could see similarities between al-Qaeda’s anti-American animus and the backlash against Western ideals that occurred in Japan after the Meiji reformation and that still exists today. “Al-Qaeda’s vision reminds me of the Japanese cult group, Aum Shinrikyo, made up of [well-educated] people who felt that Japanese society was empty—and who wanted to foment a religious revolution to create a purer society. They would create this Armageddon by, first of all, feeding sarin gas into the Tokyo subway.”

Thus in Buruma’s view, the “recipe we are told will work in foreign policy—that more secularism, openness, and democracy will somehow deal with the problem of religious revolutionary movements in the Middle East—will not succeed, because it’s the other way around. The religious reaction of young Muslims in Europe is precisely against secularism, openness, and liberalism.”

MORALITY AND BIOLOGY

In his 1999 work *Consilience*, philosopher-scientist Edward O. Wilson argued in favor of renewing the Enlightenment quest for a unity of knowledge made possible through reason, in light of recent scientific advances such as the genome project. According to Wilson, integrating knowledge from the natural sciences with that from the social sciences and the humanities would bring us closer to solving humankind’s most intractable problems, such as ethnic conflict, arms escalation, environmental destruction, and endemic poverty.

The question of whether morality has any biological or evolutionary basis has long preoccupied former *Worldview* editor Jack Becker, who these days contributes a “To Be Read” column to CarnegieCouncil.org. In his January column, he considered the response to Wilson’s consilience theory delivered by essayist Stephen Jay Gould in his posthumously-published **THE HEDGEHOG, THE FOX, AND THE MAGISTER’S POX: Mending the Gap between Science and the Humanities** (Harmony,



2003). Continuing a theme of his earlier works where he argues that science and religion should be treated as two separate teaching authorities, Gould explicitly takes issue with Wilson's thesis, stating that there is no good reason for violating the integrity of either the sciences or the humanities in the name of unity. Becker found refreshing Gould's belief that the humanities and religion are in no way inferior to science. "Both scientists and humanists have something to learn from each other," he concurred, if only they can "transcend their respective jargons."

Likewise, Becker had doubts about David Sloan Wilson's attempt to apply the theory of "survival of the fittest" to various world religions. Reviewing Wilson's **DARWIN'S CATHEDRAL: Evolution, Religion, and the Nature of Society (University of**



Chicago Press, 2002) in another of his columns, Becker said that while there is something seductive about the notion of religion as a culturally adaptive "organism" that endures by embracing "secular utility"—even musing that Wilson's theory could explain

why Andrew Carnegie's original Church Peace Union ultimately took a more secular path—the theory falls down as soon as Wilson tries to insist that an acceptance of the "practical realities" shaping various world religions does not preclude an appreciation of their "beautiful and moving elements." In Becker's view, Wilson is driving us toward a "politically correct, as in bland and non-committal, acceptance of the infinite variety of religious beliefs," when in fact, what motivates religious belief is faith. Faith gives religion "its beauty and motivating power," Becker countered.

ENVIRONMENTAL THREATS

President Bush's fight against international terrorism has shifted attention away from the issue of environmental sustainability—yet this issue may soon come back to haunt us, according to authors Lester Brown and James Gustave Speth, both of

Books for a Presidential Election Year

In a year dominated by the presidential election, CarnegieCouncil.org invited a number of people to submit ideas for books they thought the candidates—and the electorate—would benefit from reading. Former Council program assistant Vivek Nayar suggested Robert Baer's **SEE NO EVIL: The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism** for the discussions it would provoke on the best way of handling intelligence gathering in a war to combat terror. Drawing on his experience as a CIA field officer in the Middle East, Baer argues that the CIA would be better off returning to its original mission of spy agency rather than attempting to reinvent itself as a high-tech operation, relying on satellites and other technology for information. There can be no substitute for human contact in the intelligence business, he contends.



For Kim Andreasson, a frequent participant in Council programs, the election year called for revisiting classic works such as John Mearsheimer's **THE TRAGEDY OF GREAT POWER POLITICS**, for his theory of "offensive realism"; Paul Kennedy's **THE RISE AND FALL OF THE GREAT POWERS: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000**, for its warning about the crippling costs of defending an empire; and Sun-Tzu's **THE ART OF WAR** (translated by Ralph Sawyer), for its 2,000-year-old advice on combat strategy—for instance: "One who knows when he can fight, and when he cannot fight, will be victorious."

Not everyone, however, recommended non-fiction works. Courtenay Sprague, a member of the Carnegie Council's Young Associates, suggested a story by Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe called **ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH**, about three young revolutionaries in a fictional West African state who learn the hard way that power corrupts. And former Worldview editor John Tessitore chose Curzio Malaparte's **KAPUTT**, an historical novel about World War II. "Kaputt casts a cold light on the hidden horrors of warfare, from the horses caught frozen in a Nordic lake to the young women taken for service in military brothels to the small boy shot for sport at the wall of the Warsaw ghetto," Tessitore writes, adding that Malaparte's vision of the godlessness of war helped him to understand how a scandal like Abu Ghraib could come to pass.

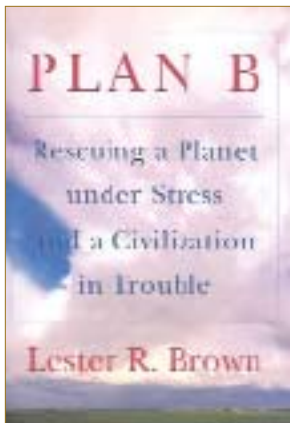
whom spoke at Merrill House during the past year.

"Political leaders and the media have been so focused on terrorism, and more recently Iraq, that we've almost forgotten the trends that are undermining our future," Lester Brown told a Books for Breakfast audience last October. In **Plan B: Rescuing a Planet under Stress and a Civilization in Trouble (W.W. Norton, 2003)**, Brown warns that we now have a "bubble economy based on the overconsumption of the earth's natural capital," which, if not deflated soon, could explode into a major world crisis.

Brown said he was particularly concerned about

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SPETH
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the food sector, given the widespread overpumping of aquifers taking place in the world's three largest grain producers (China, India, and the United States). "Overpumping is a way of expanding food production in the short run that virtually guarantees a decline in food production in the long run once the aquifer is depleted," he explained. In addition, the world's farmers are particularly vulnerable to the effects of global warming, since every one degree Celsius above the optimum during the growing season results in a 10 percent decline in grain yield.

How to stave off the looming crisis? Brown's *Plan B* has three main components: raising water productivity, stabilizing the world's population, and stabilizing the earth's climate by cutting carbon emissions in half by 2015. He recommends switching to wind power and converting to cars that run on hydrogen fuel, pointing out that both of these proposals are eminently feasible as well as cheap.

Visiting Merrill House on Earth Day earlier this year to discuss his new book, **RED SKY AT MORNING: America and the Crisis of the Global Environment** (Yale University Press, 2004), James Gustave Speth echoed Brown's gloomy forecast in pointing out that if present wasteful trends continue, it will soon be too late to avert disaster. Waxing nostalgic for his days in the Carter administration—an era of substantial progress on the domestic environmental front with initiatives like the Clean Water Act and Earth Day—he went on to lament the failure of American and other governments to replicate these successes on an international level. In Speth's view, the only real achievement of the past twenty-five years has been the ban on ozone-depleting chemicals—a finding that is particularly troubling given the gravity of the environmental threats currently facing our world.

Speth's recommended steps for "transitioning into sustainability" range from creating a world environmental organization with enough power and funding to make "treaties with teeth," to taking measures to encourage innovative initiatives at a local level—what he calls "green jazz."

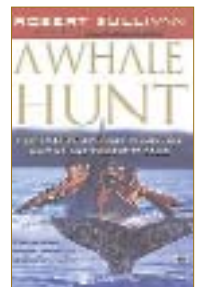
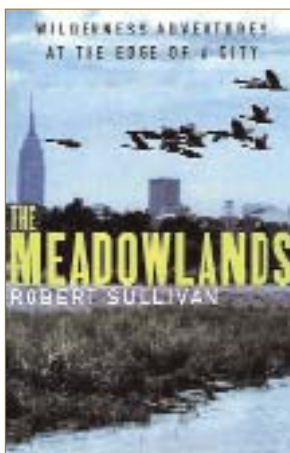
The future of the planet may lie in the balance, but some habitats and species are continuing to flourish

nevertheless. "Let others explore uncharted wildernesses," declared author Robert Sullivan to participants in a May faculty development workshop, all of whom teach environmental ethics. "An interesting thing about pristine wilderness is that it doesn't have a story. It's out of context somehow." A more worthwhile pursuit, according to Sullivan, is the study of man's often bizarre encounters with nature. For his first book, **THE MEADOWLANDS: Wilderness Adventures at the Edge of a City** (Scribner, 1998), Sullivan ventured into the polluted swamps of northern New Jersey. Despite being less than salubrious, this environment yielded a wealth of stories—from the saga of Jimmy Hoffa to the long-burning fires beneath hills of garbage.

Finding that his next book, **A WHALE HUNT: How a Native-American Village Did What No One Thought It Could** (Scribner,

2000)—about a Native-American tribe's aborted attempt to revive its whale-hunting past—was relegated to the nature shelves just like his first, Sullivan asked himself, "What is the thing that nobody thinks is natural? What is the creature that people have a problem with?" The answer became the subject of his next work: **RATS: Observations on the History and Habitat of the City's Most Unwanted Inhabitants** (Bloomsbury, 2004). Sullivan explained

that he intended the book as a kind of homage to Thoreau, of whom Emerson wrote: "In the end, he loved any plot of land that he was standing on." For his research Sullivan chose a particularly dirty, rat-infested alley in New York City, giving it his undivided attention for a year. He soon noticed that rats share many traits with humans—which may explain why they are not normally included in our nature studies or animal rights campaigns. "I think the reason we don't like rats is because they so expertly, so perfectly point out exactly how vile we humans are," Sullivan concluded.



COUNTRY REPORTS

Although the Council covers international affairs thematically rather than regionally, it provides frequent opportunities to interact with country and regional specialists, usually at Merrill House book talks. This section contains a few highlights from the country reports delivered during the past program year.

New York Times reporters Julia Preston and Samuel Dillon won a Pulitzer prize for their coverage of Mexico’s drug trade. Their recent book, **OPENING MEXICO: The Making of a Democracy (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004)**, tells the story of the collapse of the PRI, Mexico’s main political party, after seventy years of uninterrupted rule. As Preston and Dillon reported at a recent Merrill House Program, this stunning transformation came about not as the result of any single leader or opposition party but because of a groundswell of citizens’ groups all over the country. A 1968 massacre of students by government snipers galvanized public opinion against the PRI; but it would take another three decades to unseat it. Preston and Dillon’s behind-the-scenes account unfolds through the stories of individuals involved, including labor organizers and leaders of the Chiapas rebellion. It ends with the story of how Vicente Fox rose to become the nation’s first democratically elected president.

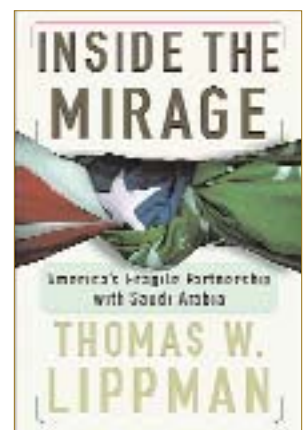
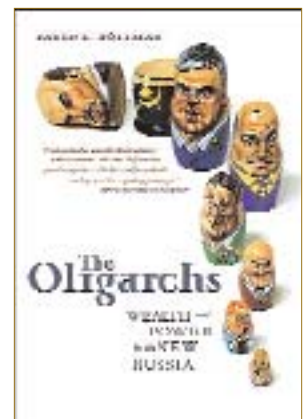
As Preston and Dillon put it, Mexico is now an “imperfect democracy.” With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia had what looked like “imperfect capitalism”—but has been regressing on nearly all counts ever since, according to David Hoffman, former Moscow bureau chief for the *Washington Post* and author of **THE OLIGARCHS: Wealth and Power in the New Russia (PublicAffairs, 2002)**. Hoffman regaled a January Merrill House audience with the now-infamous story of what happened when the former Soviet state began selling off its assets. A handful of ruthless and clever men seized the opportunity to get rich quick, grabbing up oil companies, mines, and factories at bargain prices. Many of them have also attempted to buy power, standing as candidates in Russia’s 2003 elections.

At the time of Hoffman’s talk, the news had just broken about Putin’s arrest of former Yukos Oil Company chairman Mikhail Khordorkovsky, one of the most notorious of this new breed of tycoon. Hoffman opened his remarks by saying that when he submitted his first profile of an oligarch for the book, his editor told him, “I can’t quite figure out this story. This fellow you’ve written about, is he a capitalist or a criminal?” As Hoffman went on to say: “What are capitalists in a land that was hostile to the idea for seven decades? What are criminals in a state without the rule of law?”

“After the September 11 attacks, like everybody else, I was scratching my head about what had happened and why,” veteran Middle East correspondent Thomas Lippman told a June Merrill House audience. “So I went back and reread all the iterations that I could find of bin Laden’s manifestoes against the United States—his claims that the United States had stolen Saudi Arabia’s oil, hoodwinked its monarchy, violated its holy places, and undermined Islam.” The upshot was a new work, **INSIDE THE MIRAGE: America’s Fragile Partnership with Saudi Arabia (Westview Press, 2004)**.

Delving into the history of the U.S.-Saudi relations had been an eye opener, Lippman admitted. Indeed, while bin Laden had been wrong in the larger sense—the United States never colonized the Saudi Arabia but was there at the behest of the Royal Family—he was nevertheless right about the United States having been intimately involved in the kingdom’s development. Created in 1932, the unified Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was in debt from the start. There was no electricity, few roads, no communications and almost universal illiteracy. King Abdul chose to give the oil concession to the United States rather than the British, marking the beginning of America’s “across-the-board involvement” in Saudi life. “It’s now fair to say that as a result, Saudi Arabia is a mechanized, computerized, electrified, paved, air-conditioned society; and that there is no aspect of contemporary life, other than religion, that was not heavily and directly influenced by Americans and by contact with Americans,” Lippman informed us.

@ ON THE WEB
TRANSCRIPTS FOR:
• JULIA PRESTON AND
SAM DILLON
• DAVID HOFFMAN
• THOMAS LIPPMAN



are talking about ...

FILMS

CarnegieCouncil.org now offers film suggestions for teaching and learning about ethics and international affairs.

A Film Collection Is Born

THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL'S ONLINE communications team has been collecting recommendations for films following last year's faculty development seminar held at McGill University, on concepts of "evil" in an international affairs context. After a special screening of *Ararat*, about the 1915 massacre of the Armenians by the Turks, workshop participants met with the film's director, Atom Egoyan, and quizzed him about why he decided to make a film exploring the legacy of historical atrocity. The educators concluded that film could be a good way of teaching abstract philosophical concepts such as "historical injustice" and "reconciliation."

The resulting collection of recommended films for teaching (and learning about) ethics and international affairs is now being housed on CarnegieCouncil.org. This section provides a few highlights from the new electronic archive, arranged by themes the Carnegie Council covers. As in our database, so in print: each film listing includes a short synopsis, comments from reviewers, and links to Carnegie Council resources on related topics.

HISTORY AND RECONCILIATION

The films reviewed here bring to life little-known past atrocities and provide an opening for discussing



how a society can make reparations for its past wrongs.

Rabbit-Proof Fence (2002), directed by Phillip Noyce

Set in 1930s Australia, this film tells the true story of three teenage girls born to Aborigine mothers and white fathers. They live beside the rabbit-proof fence of the title, a line of barbed wire built across Australia in a vain attempt to keep rabbits out of the farmlands. As half-castes, the children are particular targets of the government's efforts to assimilate the Aborigines into white society. They are brutally snatched from their mothers and taken to a mission boarding school over 1,000 miles away, where they are forbidden to speak their own language, told to forget their culture and family, and taught the ways of the white world. The film follows the girls' heroic attempt to escape as they trek through the outback for three long months, using the fence as guide. The film concludes with some documentary footage of the women on whom the story is based, telling of the further hardships they endured.

FOR MORE FILM CHOICES, VISIT THE ELECTRONIC FILM ARCHIVE AT WWW.CARNEGIECOUNCIL.ORG. FURTHER COMMENTS ON THESE FILMS, OR SUGGESTIONS FOR OTHER FILMS TO BE INCORPORATED? PLEASE SEND TO FILM@CCEIA.ORG.

Notes on Film Reviewers

Yesim Yemni, formerly a program assistant at the Carnegie Council (2003-2004), is now a graduate student at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

Madeleine Lynn is the Carnegie Council's staff writer.

Jacob Park is an assistant professor in business and public policy at Green Mountain College in Vermont and has participated in Carnegie Council programs.

The additional resources mentioned on these pages can be found by searching www.carnegiecouncil.org.

COMMENT: “Though some have faulted the film for lacking subtlety, I found it very moving,” says Yesim Yemni. “We often talk about cultural rights here at the Council; but it is not until you see a film like this that you begin to appreciate how it feels to be on the receiving end of a deliberate policy to suppress the culture to which you belong. Imagine being forcibly removed from your home and not being allowed to speak your language or learn the history of your own people.”

RELATED RESOURCES:

- SPEECH TRANSCRIPT “Why Cultural Rights Now?” by Elsa Stamatopoulou, UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (Studies seminar, 2004)
- SPEECH TRANSCRIPT “Indigenous Peoples and the Creation of an Inclusive International Legal System,” by John Scott, UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (Studies seminar, 2003)

Journey to the Sun (1999), directed by Yesim Ustaoglu

The Turkish film *Journey to the Sun* exposes the terrible effects of Turkey's suppression of, and discrimination against, its minority Kurdish population. Mehmet, a teenager from a small village in western Turkey, comes to Istanbul to make a living, and at first he succeeds, finding a job and a girlfriend. But then, during a routine roadblock, he is mistakenly charged with possessing a gun; and although he is Turkish, the police take him for a



Kurdish rebel because of his dark complexion. After a week of brutal detention, they finally release him. He returns to his one-bedroom apartment to find that the police have marked it with a red “X.” His frightened roommates throw him out, and he is fired from his job. Ironically, apart from his girlfriend, the only person to stand by him is his Kurdish friend Berzan, who in fact is involved with an underground Kurdish terrorist organization. When Berzan is killed, Mehmet decides to take his friend's body back to his beloved home village, near the border with Iraq. He steals a truck and travels eastwards on a “journey to the sun,” through a landscape devastated by the Turkish army's scorched-earth policy to quell the Kurds. He arrives to find Berzen's village destroyed. The entire area has been flooded, presumably for a government dam project. All Mehmet can do is release Berzen's body into the water and watch it disappear.

COMMENT: Yesim Yemni thinks that the fact the film was screened in her native Turkey “marks an important step in the government's willingness to encourage more open discussion of the nation's controversial past and to critique its policies.” It was probably not coincidental, she adds, that the film's Turkish release took place shortly after the capture of Abdullah Ocalan, the main architect of armed Kurdish nationalism in Turkey.

RELATED RESOURCE:

- EVENT REPORT “Exploring the Legacy of Historical Atrocity through Film with Atom Egoyan,” by Mary-Lea Cox with Vivek Nayar

HUMAN RIGHTS

The following films illuminate topics at the center of today’s human rights debate: violence against women and issues of racial stereotyping.

Osama (2003), directed by Siddiq Barmak

In *Osama*, a woman doctor and her twelve-year-old daughter lose their jobs when the Taliban close the hospital where they work. Under Taliban rule, females were not even allowed to go out on the street without a male relative. Confined to their home, mother, daughter, and grandmother (who lives with them) are quietly starving to death. Finally, in desperation, the grandmother and mother cut the girl’s hair, dress her in her dead father’s clothes, and send her out to work for a sympathetic grocer. But then the Taliban come searching for recruits, and she is taken off to an all-boys training school run by a lecherous mullah. A boy who guesses her secret gives her the name “Osama” and tries to shield her, but it doesn’t take long for the mullah to—literally—uncover her. She is imprisoned by a Taliban court for her sin, which is punishable by death. The mullah ultimately intercedes on her behalf, but she is now his property, joining his collection of wives in an isolated village.

COMMENT: “This bleak but beautiful film, the first made in Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban, was inspired by a true story and is played by non-professional actors,” writes Madeleine Lynn. “The frightened eyes of the innocent young girl, caught in a brutal situation beyond her control, will haunt the viewer long after the film is over.”

RELATED RESOURCE:

- PUBLICATION Human Rights Dialogue (Fall 2003): “Violence Against Women”

West Bank Brooklyn (2002), directed by Ghazi Albuliwi

Nearer to home, *West Bank Brooklyn* is a hilarious comedy with a serious message about the conflicts involved in growing up as an Arab Muslim in Brooklyn. It centers on a young Palestinian named Ali, who lives with his older brother Mustafa and their widowed father near Borough Park, a community of

Hasidic Jews: hence the title. While Mustafa struggles with whether to accept the arranged marriage his father plans for him, Ali becomes a caregiver to an elderly Hasidic Jew, the only job he can find. Despite initial misgivings, a friendship develops between the two men. Meanwhile, we are introduced to two of Ali’s friends, one of whom becomes a militant advocate of the Palestinian cause. The other, however, takes the opposite approach. Bemoaning his fate in being named Saddam, and living in constant fear of anti-Arab racism, he re-invents himself as “Tito” and pretends to be Puerto Rican. In one of the movie’s funniest scenes, Saddam/Tito goes to dinner at his Puerto Rican girlfriend’s house and manages—very clumsily—to field her parents’ questions about what part of Puerto Rico he is from, only to gag when her mother brings out the pride of Puerto Rican cuisine: *lechon asado*, or roast pork.



COMMENT: “Interestingly, although this film was released in 2002, it was actually made before September 11, 2001,” writes Madeleine Lynn, “demonstrating that even then, there was a great deal of anti-Arab feeling in this country because of the first Gulf War and the World Trade bombing of 1993.”

RELATED RESOURCE:

- PUBLICATION Human Rights Dialogue (Fall 2002): “Public Security and Human Rights”

ARMED CONFLICT

These two films expose the hazards of becoming an occupying power and as such help to frame the ethical issues that have emerged in the aftermath to the Iraq war.

The Battle of Algiers (1965), directed by Gillo Pontecorvo

“Banned in France in 1965. Viewed by the Pentagon in 2001” ran the trailer for the recent re-release of this cinema classic. The lessons for an occupying power are obvious: you can win the battle but lose hearts and minds—and eventually the war itself.



FILMS

FROM THE ARCHIVES: Two Australian War Films

Sy Syna (1929-2000) was a theater critic for the New York Tribune and a frequent contributor to *Worldview*. The following edited excerpt is from a column he wrote on the 1981 Australian film festival that took place in New York City.

Breaker Morant and *Gallipoli* are both war films, each angrily perceiving Australian troops as cat's paws used to pull England's imperial chestnuts out of the fire. But here the two offerings diverge sharply.

Today two monuments to those who died at Gallipoli stand close to each other at the entrance to the Dardanelles: one for the Allies, the other for the Turks. The entire Gallipoli campaign—allegedly the brainchild of Winston Churchill—was a disaster for the Allies. Mr. Weir's film does not dwell on this; he takes as his theme the folly of war. In fact, most of the action is set not in Gallipoli but in Australia. There he displays the often vain and petty motives for which young men enlist their lives.

The satire is sharper when the Australian soldiers arrive in Egypt for training. During a mock attack near the pyramids, Arab children scamper about hawking oranges. From this casual scene, it appears only a step to the Australians obeying the orders that will leave most of them massacred in a diversionary assault that permits English troops to land elsewhere and have their tea on the beach. Here the film ends.

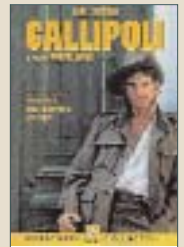
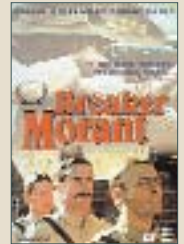
Breaker Morant, on the other hand, raises questions both large and small about the behavior of men under arms. Fighting a guerrilla war against Boer commandos (a new word then), the Bushveldt Caroneers, the combat unit in which Lieutenant Morant served, were under oral orders to execute all captured enemies. When the Boers murder and mutilate the unit's commander, who was Morant's best friend, he and some of his fellow officers take revenge by shooting some of their Boer prisoners. Morant and two others end up being court-martialed for these murders, and for the murder of a German clergyman who might have been a witness.

As in the Kenneth Ross play upon which it was based, the film centers on the court-martial. The year is 1901. How does one fight "a new war for a new century"? We have heard an officer observe, "When the rules and customs of war are departed from on one side, one must expect the same sort of behavior from the other," and later, "A junior officer had no reason to question the orders of a superior officer"—the very issue raised at the Nuremberg trials. "War changes men's natures," declares the defense counsel. "The barbarities of war are not committed by abnormal men. They are committed by normal men in abnormal circumstances."

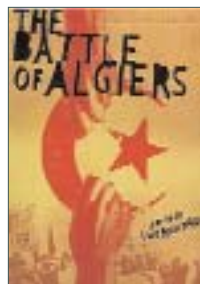
To exculpate the British of responsibility for the "shoot the prisoners" order and to appease Germany, which was looking for a pretext to intervene on the side of the Boers, Morant and his fellow defendants are found guilty. Earlier, a British junior officer, speaking with a superior about Boers and "colonials," remarks, "They lack our altruism." It is the film's most sarcastic line.

As Morant and his fellows are led out at dawn to be shot, Morant mentions to the chaplain "Matthew 10:36." The minister looks it up: "And a man's foes shall be they of his own household."

—WORLDVIEW (DECEMBER 1981)



The film, which depicts the Algerians' guerrilla war against the French for independence in the late 1950s, so closely resembles a documentary that the original U.S. distributor had to insert the disclaimer: "Not one foot of newsreel or documentary film



has been used." The action follows a small group of rebels and their charismatic leader, who use all means at their disposal to induce the French to leave their country. Carrying bombs in shopping baskets, Algerian girls disguise themselves as Europeans and cross the checkpoints into the French section of town, coolly leaving the baskets in crowded cafes.

Even children become killers. In response, the French troops step up their patrols and torture of prisoners, only to be to be called to account by the French press. "Is France to remain in Algeria?" the French colonel in charge asks them in return. "If your answer is still yes, you must accept all the necessary consequences." The French, of course, ultimately left.

COMMENT: "Although filmed in black and white, one of the reasons this masterful film still resonates is that it has shades of gray," says Madeleine Lynn. "Our sympathies are with the Algerians yet the camera lingers on the faces of the innocent civilians they kill; and we are made to understand the French colonel's dilemma also. To win the battle he sees no choice but to clamp down ruthlessly, yet he knows that this will

probably mean losing Algeria in the long run.”

RELATED RESOURCE:

- PUBLICATION Supplement (Summer 2004): “Carnegie Council Covers Aftermath of the Iraq War”

Bloody Sunday (2002), directed by Paul Greengrass

On Sunday January 30, 1972, in the city of Derry, Northern Ireland, about 10,000 people set out on a protest march against internment, the British government’s policy of jailing suspected troublemakers without trial. By the end of the day, thirteen of them had been shot dead by British army paratroopers. Another fourteen were in hospital, one of whom later died. Bloody Sunday, as it was called, marked a turning point in the Troubles, leading to an escalation of violence that continued for the next twenty-five years. The film recreates the events of this fateful day. Shot with a hand-held camera and featuring many extras who actually took part in the march, it has the cinéma vérité feel of real footage. The action centers on one of the march’s organizers, a Protestant named Ivan Cooper, who is just as eager as the Catholics to get the British out of Ireland. An official British inquiry exonerated the soldiers, pointing out that the marchers were armed. But as the film shows, many Irish continue to believe that although a few marchers had weapons, the troops fired in cold blood and also planted false evidence of homemade bombs in the pockets of one of the dead marchers.

COMMENT: *New York Times* critic Elvis Mitchell writes that the film immediately presents “two contrasting points of view”: the British Army’s preoccupation with security versus Ivan Cooper’s insistence on civil rights. “The dramatic scheme is established with deft simplicity, but the movie doesn’t oversimplify the conflicts.” Other critics have called it the best guerrilla war film since *The Battle of Algiers*.

RELATED RESOURCE:

- PUBLICATION “A Case Study of Terrorism: Northern Ireland 1970-1990,” by John W. Soule (Carnegie Council Case Study Series, No. 5)

GLOBAL JUSTICE



Multinational corporations may not be nation-states, but they are a powerful force in setting global labor and environmental standards. The film reviewed below suggests we should be asking MNCs similar questions to those ordinarily posed to state actors: who are their stakeholders, what are their norms, and to whom are they accountable?

The Corporation (2003), directed by Jennifer Abbott and Mark Achbar

Since corporations now have the same legal rights as individuals, what kind of personalities are they? Psychopaths, concludes this movie, ticking off a list of psychopathic traits found in the standard manual of mental disorders, such as “ruthless self interest.” The film traces the history of the rise of corporations and goes on to show just how powerful and pervasive today’s behemoths have become. The cast of characters includes CEOs of all persuasions, academics, whistleblowers, and even a corporate spy. If corporations have their way, they will soon take ownership of the elements themselves, as the moving footage of the Bolivian struggle against water privatization suggests. Happily, the Bolivians win. One of the only other rays of hope in this funny but despairing film comes from CEO Ray Anderson, head of the world’s largest commercial carpet manufacturer. He had an epiphany and is doing his best to produce carpets in a way that does not harm the environment.



COMMENTS: “Though overlong and a bit too gimmicky—a case of Michael Moore techniques gone wild—the film makes a powerful case that will make you see the world with different eyes,” writes Madeleine Lynn. “This is particularly true when the footage is allowed to speak for itself, from the interviews with CEOs and their detractors (including the articulate and funny Moore himself) to the material on pumping cows full of antibiotics.”

RELATED RESOURCE:

- PUBLICATION Human Rights Dialogue (Spring 2003):

“Human Rights in a Globalizing World,” especially the article, “Winning the Water War,” by Marcela Olivera and Jorge Viaña.

ENVIRONMENT

The following two films are among Hollywood’s recent attempts to address the themes of environmental injustice and the impact of global climate change.

A Civil Action (1998), directed by Steven Zaillian

Lawyer Jan Schlichtman (played by John Travolta) is always on the lookout for lucrative cases. Working for a small firm in Woburn, Massachusetts, he says he simply cannot afford to take on challenging cases. So when he is approached to represent the families of eight children who died of leukemia, his first instinct is to refuse. The families believe that their children’s deaths were caused by poisons dumped into the town’s drinking water by a local tannery, and Schlichtman sees no likelihood of large profits in pursuing such a small company. But when he discovers that the tannery is a subsidiary of two major corporations, W.R. Grace and Beatrice Foods, he changes his mind. His firm goes into debt, however, as a result of spending thousands of dollars to establish scientific proof. Yet having had a change of heart, Schlichtman persists in the fight.



COMMENT: Jacob Park comments that this true story about a community fighting back against polluters is useful in teaching students about the interactions between local communities and corporations. “By supplementing the film with journalistic accounts of this case study, I was able to expose my students to the potential, as well as the limits, of citizen-led environmental advocacy.”

RELATED RESOURCE:

- ONLINE ROUNDTABLE “Erin Brockovich Revisited,”

by Anna Davies, 2000–2001 Carnegie Council Fellow

The Day after Tomorrow (2004), directed by Roland Emmerich

Tornadoes, typhoons, the entire northern hemisphere buried in ice and snow—and it is all because of global warming. This big-budget movie pulls out all the stops to demonstrate what might happen if the polar ice caps melt, thereby lowering the temperature of the ocean and then the atmosphere—although even the movie’s paleoclimatologist (played by Dennis Quaid) believes that it would be centuries from now before such a new Ice Age could in fact take place. Still, it makes for some spectacular visual effects, and will perhaps cast a chill over our current habits of destroying our environment without thought of tomorrow.



COMMENTS: Noting that some environmental groups are hoping the film will raise awareness of global warming, *New York Times* reviewer A.O. Scott disputes their claim that the accuracy of the movie’s science is beside the point. It may be “the prerogative of movies to heighten, condense, and extrapolate,” writes Scott, but if the “film is meant to prod anxieties about ecological catastrophe and to encourage political action in response, it seems unlikely to succeed. Not because the events it depicts seem implausible, but because they seem like no big deal.” Jacob Park concurs, pointing out that the film would not be useful in a classroom setting. “It simply isn’t subtle enough to show the complexity of the dilemmas posed by an issue like global warming, with all of its sociopolitical, economic, and ecological dimensions.”

RELATED RESOURCES:

- SPEECH TRANSCRIPT “Red Sky at Morning: America and the Crisis of the Global Environment,” by James Gustave Speth (Merrill House Program, 2004)
- JOURNAL ARTICLE “The Global Warming Tragedy and the Dangerous Illusion of the Kyoto Protocol,” by Stephen M. Gardiner in *Ethics & International Affairs* 18.1 (Winter 2004)

are talking about ...

CLASSROOM
TOOLS

An exchange between teacher and student reveals the twin demons of moral relativism (students who think truth is relative) and moral absolutism (students who think there is just one right answer).

The Perennial Challenge of Teaching Ethics

CARNEGIECOUNCIL.ORG RECENTLY hosted an online mini-symposium in which high school teacher Layton Lawlor described the challenges she faced in teaching ethics as part of a philosophy elective, the school's first ever. Her student, Mike McCamman, responded, after which Jack Becker, a seasoned teacher and former *Worldview* editor, and Christian Barry, editor of *Ethics & International Affairs*, offered commentary. Edited portions of the teacher-student exchange and the remarks that followed appear below.

LAYTON LAWLOR: When I sat down to plan the first philosophy elective for Langley High School, I expected that the study of ethics would require little introduction. We could leap right in and begin clarifying ethical issues right away, drawing examples directly from the students' everyday lives. I couldn't have been more wrong.

Most of my students found the study of ethics even murkier than more arcane areas of philosophy. Although all of them knew what it meant to be confronted with an ethical dilemma, almost none of them knew how to think about ethical choices in a systematic way. Sure, their teachers and parents had often lectured them about the importance of not

cheating on tests or plagiarizing on their writing assignments. But they were also aware that colleges would judge them on transcripts consisting of grades and test scores—there's no line on the forms asking for proof of integrity.

This reality hit me hardest when I presented the theory of Egoism, which argues that human beings tend to act in their own self-interest. It was easy to present this idea—I simply referred to the *Friends* episode where Joey tells Phoebe that there's no such thing as a selfless act, and she tries to prove him wrong, unsuccessfully. The students, with a few initial protests, soon agreed that everything we do is self-serving on some level. I explained that the normativists take this a step further, arguing it is right for people to be motivated in this way.

I imagined we would marvel at this prospect and then brush it aside. To my surprise, my students did not want to let go of egoist theory. They insisted we would all be better off looking out for ourselves. Several even observed that if we always act in our own self-interest, then it means we have no choice in the matter, which automatically justifies our actions.

I pointed out the problems with this thinking. I asked them if they thought that the Good Samaritan, who cared for a bleeding stranger on the side of the road, had acted immorally. Or what if you had a way to save an entire hemisphere by pressing a button: would it be immoral to do so if there were nothing in it for you? The students tried to redeem the theory by stressing the emotional satisfaction that incurs to the do-gooder. If positive feelings could be gained by helping others, then the

High school teacher Layton Lawlor and her student Mike McCamman candidly appraise the frustrations inherent in teaching (and learning) ethics.



Good Samaritan was acting ethically—doing something that made him feel good was in his own self-interest.

It is not my role to provide my students with answers about how to live. Rather, all I can do is give them the tools they need to make their own decisions. By helping them to do (not just learn) philosophy, I am preparing them to think through difficult issues they will face in the future, whether in their personal lives or in their lives as American—and global—citizens. Perhaps in later life my students will gain the clarity about ethical issues I had hoped this class would help them achieve.

MIKE MCCAMMAN: Mrs. Lawlor is right that we, her students, were slow to let go of Egoism. For us, the notion of acting in one’s own self-interest made sense after examining the range of ideas at the heart of moral philosophy. As virtually nothing can be classified as universally right or wrong, the student of ethics must ask what principles to hold on to when confronting a moral dilemma—and that is where we got into trouble.

It seems as though most ethical theories can be discounted almost as soon as they are devised. Divine Command (“Do what God says”) is unusable since the Bible is full of contradictions; and even when one looks beyond that, which religion’s teachings should we follow? Social Contract (the group decides what is right and wrong) cannot stand up to the issue of how to define a group. I can demonstrate this with polygamy. The U.S. government and the majority of the American population agree it is wrong; however, we can find Mormon fundamentalist towns in Utah where polygamy is practiced.

Utilitarianism (the greatest good for the greatest number) leads to harvesting organs. Many people would benefit from the suffering of one, so harvesting the organs of one healthy person in order to benefit several sick people would be morally justifiable. The Categorical Imperative (the Golden Rule) can be discounted by returning to the polygamy example. If we were all polygamists, polygamy would be universally accepted, and dis-

agreement over whether it is immoral would end; this is certainly not the case. Thus the only remaining refuge seems to be Egoism.

I am aware that Egoism is deeply flawed. It is not in our own self-interest to be egoists as we could be the person used by another in their bid to get to the top. The idea directly contradicts itself. However, in the cutthroat world that we see around us today, it seems to be where our role models have turned; it is nearly universally practiced, though not everyone likes to admit it.

In my view, the right action to take is one you would not regret with the gift of hindsight. This, needless to say, does nothing for a person who is facing an ethical dilemma. Parents, teachers, and friends all have tried to teach us how to act in a manner that is right when, in fact, they may not know what is right. This is the trap of ethics from which no philosopher appears to be able to escape.

Mrs. Lawlor would like us to “gain clarity” about ethical issues when, in fact, nothing can ever be clear. I see this as a fundamental flaw with the teaching of ethics. For someone to say they know what is right and wrong is the height of arrogance and narcissism.

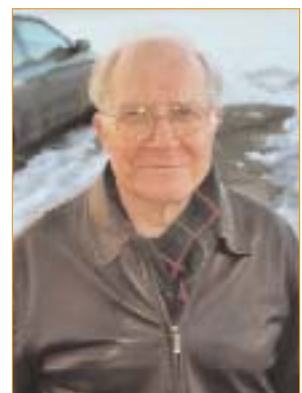
Clashes in opinion over right and wrong will probably continue forever. Maybe individuals will find ethical answers as they proceed through their lives; but I wonder if we would all be better off starting out by admitting we don’t know right from wrong—by adopting Socrates’ stance of “I know nothing.”

JACK BECKER: This student’s response to his teacher made me think of William Perry’s empirical study of intellectual and ethical development in the college years. Perry shows that students begin their college careers expecting to be taught the truth. Their teachers, however, refuse to cooperate. They try to get students to see the range of ways people have understood any given subject of discussion. Occasionally, students respond to this approach by becoming universal skeptics: nothing is certain; every conclusion is possible.

Skepticism and cynicism, however, are not the only responses. Some students achieve what Perry considers to be mature intellectual and ethical



Former Council staff member Jack Becker invokes Charles Taylor, insisting that the study of ethics should involve moral self-discovery.



development. They arrive at a point of committing to certain values and conclusions. That said, this commitment is not ironclad or rigid. Ethical and intellectual maturity means that one remains open to new perspectives. Perry defines ethical maturity as commitment with openness.

But on what grounds does one commit oneself to this or that ethical position? Here I shift to my favorite ethical thinker, Charles Taylor, specifically to his *Sources of the Self*. Taylor sees ethics primarily in terms of a fundamental vision of the self: what sort of person do I want to be? This is something that each of us possesses, whether consciously or not. This primary vision is the context, then, for secondary-level ethical thinking, i.e., the arguments we make about specific questions: what to give the poor, whether to cheat on exams or taxes, and so on. This is the best escape from the trap of Egoism and the facile cynicism attendant on the young person's discovery that most people act in their own interests. Once a student gets hold of such an idea, even obvious unselfishness gets twisted into selfishness (my parents do good because it makes them feel good).

No one can predict or prescribe what a person will discover as his or her own personal vision. But ethical discussion can at least reveal what's in there, what's been brewing. It can also do more. It can point out lacunas that need to be filled: yes, I want to be a good parent, or I want to be a person who is loyal to my friends; but now that you mention it, I also want to exercise some responsibility about the larger society I live in. I don't want to destroy the environment. I don't want my country to become a racist dictatorship. The teaching of ethics is profoundly sterile if it does not involve the process of moral self-discovery.

CHRISTIAN BARRY: A common way of introducing students to the study of ethics is to present them with ethical theories. But although the study of theory can be very rewarding, this fascinating exchange between a high school teacher and her student suggests that it may not be the most promising way to

encourage students to begin to think rigorously about ethical questions. A more effective way might be to invite them to discuss and argue with each other about ethical and political choices they have already made, and on which they have strong and widely divergent convictions.

Most high school students, for example, have probably thought about domestic policy issues such as the death penalty, or about international issues such as the intervention in Iraq. And they are likely to disagree substantively with each other about them. When students disagree, and care a great deal about the matters on which they disagree, they are often willing to present each other with the reasons, and even to invoke more general principles that appear to justify their views. They thereby begin to discover moral theory by engaging in it themselves, rather than being presented with seemingly esoteric doctrines developed by others.

Another problem with beginning the study of ethics with theory is that it tempts students to conjure up counterexamples, which may not be the best way to test a particular theory's strengths and weaknesses. Would, for example, a good utilitarian really permit the harvesting of organs, as the student in the exchange suggests? A classical utilitarian would endorse these practices only if it would increase the sum total of happiness minus the pain that it brings. Given the cost of organ redistribution, as well as the intensity of suffering of unwilling "donors," the fearfulness created amongst potential "donors," and the intrusive and potentially abusive practices by public "harvesting" officials that such a policy might engender, it is far from obvious that it would fit well in a utilitarian system of social arrangements.

Most well-developed ethical theories are fairly complex and difficult to understand. As a result, even the brightest students will tend to misunderstand the theories—often in ways that make them open to obvious objections and counterexamples. After dismissing what are really just a few crude caricatures of ethical theories, students may despair and become skeptical, as has happened in this case.

Journal editor Christian Barry, who was once a philosophy student himself, says that the gateway for studying ethics is through debating practical questions.



Frequently Asked Questions

What is the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs? What is its mission?

The Council was established by Andrew Carnegie in 1914 to work toward the ideal of world peace. Today it is a premier forum dedicated to research and education in the field of ethics and international affairs. With the help of educators, scholars, diplomats, journalists, activists, and concerned members of the public, we aim to:

- enhance the quality of study and debate on the ethical dilemmas raised by armed conflict, human rights violations, environmental degradation, global economic injustice, the politics of reconciliation, and related issues of international concern;
- develop new generations of thinkers and practitioners in the field of ethics and international affairs; and
- generate specific and workable ideas to aid policy makers in crafting ethical international policies.

Does the Council have a political agenda? How is it funded and governed?

The Carnegie Council is an independent, non-profit, nonpartisan educational institution with no formal ties to any religious group or government-affiliated organizations. We do not have a legislative or policy agenda. The Council's activities are funded through an endowment, with other funds derived from grants, gifts, and membership dues. The Council's affairs are guided by a board of trustees, and its annual budget is overseen by a finance committee consisting of members of the board. As a 501(c)3 public charity, the Council complies with all IRS-mandated guidelines for nonprofit educational entities.

What do people get from the Council?

There are very few institutions in the United States—perhaps even in the world—where one can gather together people from different backgrounds, and with different expertise, to study the moral aspects of specific policy issues. The Council is a special place that fosters this kind of learning opportunity. We serve educators, diplomats, government officials, journalists, NGO representatives, business executives, and concerned members of the general public. Whether they support us as

For answers to other frequently asked questions, visit the “About Us” area of www.carnegiecouncil.org.

members or participate in our programs, they benefit from being able to attend meetings with dedicated experts and from having access to the Council's rich educational resources, both in print and online.

How is the Council structured?

Four departments carry out the Carnegie Council's core mission:

MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAMS: Our public speaker series, known as Merrill House Programs, offers around fifty programs a year with acclaimed authors, world figures, and international affairs specialists. Merrill House Programs has a loyal New York constituency of diplomats, educators, students, journalists, and NGO representatives.

STUDIES: The Council generates and supports new work in the field of ethics and international affairs through programs encouraging open dialogue among scholars and other experts, with the aim of producing lasting educational resources. During the past year, we supported programs on Human Rights, Justice and the World Economy, History and the Politics of Reconciliation, Ethics and the Use of Force, Empire and Democracy, and Environmental Values and Policymaking. The Council's Fellows Program, launched in 2000, enhances the goals of these studies initiatives.

EDUCATION: The Council regularly convenes workshops for college and university faculty seeking to incorporate international ethical issues into their curricula. Other regular educational initiatives include the annual Morgenthau Memorial Lecture (this year's, the twenty-third in the series, featured Bernard Kouchner on “The Future of Humanitarianism”); and the Foreign Policy Roundtable, a series of monthly meetings with authors of recently published works, attended by international affairs journalists and other professionals.

COMMUNICATIONS: The Carnegie Council relies on its Web site, CarnegieCouncil.org, and companion newsletter, <MPPIMG>, to connect its New York-based activities with members and friends in other parts of the world. Our Web site features a databased resource library as well as theme pages highlighting the latest additions to that library in the core areas we cover: human rights, armed conflict, reconciliation, global justice, the environment, and international ethics.

Can you give me some examples of Council resources?

Our semi-annual journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, carries original scholarly and reference articles on the moral aspects of global issues, as well as an extensive book review section. It is mandatory reading for foreign policy scholars and practitioners alike. Also published twice a year is *Human Rights Dialogue*, a magazine highlighting the ethical challenges of adapting an international human rights framework to local realities. Both the journal and *Dialogue* are frequently used as a teaching tools in college classrooms worldwide. In addition, the Council maintains an online resource library stocked with edited transcripts of talks given at various Council programs, as well as special reports linking to Council resources on current events in world affairs.

Activities

S	M	T	W	T	F	S

SEPTEMBER
OCTOBER
NOVEMBER
DECEMBER

September 2003

- 9/11/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Cass Sunstein
Why Societies Need Dissent
- 9/16/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Niall Ferguson
Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and Its Lessons for Global Power
- 9/17/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Rajan Menon
The End of Alliances
- 9/18/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Julia Taft
The Challenges of Reconstructing Iraq
- 9/29/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Enrique Krauze
Mexicans and Americans: Cross-Border Perceptions and Misconceptions

October 2003

- 10/2/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Paul Krugman
The Great Unraveling: Losing Our Way in the New Century
- 10/15/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Lester Brown
Plan B: Rescuing a Planet Under Stress and a Civilization in Trouble
- 10/16/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Lance Morrow
Evil: An Investigation
- 10/21/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Benjamin Barber
Fear's Empire: War, Terrorism, and Democracy in an Age of Interdependence
- 10/23/03 | BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY SEMINAR
(Cosponsored with Columbia University)
Kai Erikson
The Uses of History: Reflections on the Fall of Yugoslavia
- 10/29/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Michael Elliott
The First Casualty of the War: Has the American Press Become the Administration's Poodle?
- 10/30/03 | ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ROUNDTABLE
Arthur Dewey, Antonio Donini, David Harland, Joanna Macrae, Christopher Stokes, and others
Humanitarian Action and the International Response to Crises: The Challenges of Integration

November 2003

- 11/05/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Joseph Stiglitz
The Roaring Nineties: A New History of the World's Most Prosperous Decade
- 11/06/03 | ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR
Thomas Pogge
The First UN Millennium Development Goal: A Critique
- 11/06/03 | STUDIES CONFERENCE—Oxford, UK
(Cosponsored with the Uehiro Foundation and the Centre for Applied Ethics, Oxford University)
Environmental Preservation in Comparative Perspective
- 11/07/03 | STUDIES SYMPOSIUM—Vancouver, Canada
(Cosponsored with the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, UBC)
History Education and Political Reconciliation
- 11/09/03
- 11/13/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Shashi Tharoor
Nehru: The Invention of India
- 11/13/03 | STUDIES WORKSHOP
Anthony Arend, Michael Byers, Michael Glennon, James Turner Johnson, John Langan, Albert Pierce, and Scott Silliman
Using Military Force: Duties and Restraints
- 11/14/03
- 11/18/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Philip Bobbitt
The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History
- 11/18/03 | BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY SEMINAR
(Cosponsored with Columbia University)
Ira Katznelson
Desolation and Enlightenment—History or Memory?
- 11/20/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
John Shattuck
Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars and America's Response

December 2003

- 12/03/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Williamson Murray and Robert Scales
The Iraq War: A Military History
- 12/04/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Deborah Amos
From a Reporter's Notebook: On the Ground in Iraq
- 12/05/03 | EMPIRE AND DEMOCRACY PANEL
Thomas Carothers, John Cavanagh, Michael Doyle, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Adam Przeworski, Mary Robinson, and Joseph Stiglitz
Multilateral Strategies to Promote Democracy

12/09/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Thomas Goltz
Chechnya Diary: A War Correspondent's Story of Surviving the War in Chechnya

12/12/03 | STUDIES WORKSHOP
12/14/03 | History Education and Reconciliation Project Researchers
Final Project Reports

12/16/03 | BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY SEMINAR (Cosponsored with Columbia University)
Tim Bennett, Kathleen Smith, and Michael Wise
Architecture, Politics, and Public Memory

12/17/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Steven Simon
The Moral Psychology of U.S. Support for Israel

January 2004

1/08/04 | FACULTY DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP—
1/14/04 | Shanghai, China
(Cosponsored with East China Normal University)
Global Justice and Multicultural Dialogue

1/14/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Ken Auletta
Backstory: Inside the Business of News

1/14/04 | STUDIES SEMINAR
John Scott
Indigenous Peoples and the Creation of an Inclusive International Legal System

1/14/04 | YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM
Joel Rosenthal
Introduction to Ethics and International Affairs

1/21/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
David Hoffman
The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia

1/23/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Michael Ignatieff
The Lesser Evil: Hard Choices in the War on Terror

1/28/04 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Kenneth Pollack
Spies, Lies, and Weapons: What Went Wrong

1/28/04 | MERRILL HOUSE/YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM
Alan Brinkley, Richard Leone, and Ruth Wedgwood
The War on Our Freedoms: Civil Liberties in the Age of Terror

1/29/04 | ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PANEL
Allen Buchanan and Robert Keohane
Governing the Preventive Use of Force: A Proposal

February 2004

2/03/04 | EMPIRE AND DEMOCRACY FORUM
(Cosponsored with the Foreign Policy Association)
Richard Goldstone and Aryeh Neier
Promoting Democracy Through International Law

2/04/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Robert Kagan
Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order (With a New Afterword)

2/10/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Margaret Catley-Carson, Inge Kaul, and Lyla Mehta
Political Struggles Over Water: Public and Private Challenges

2/17/04 | BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY SEMINAR (Cosponsored with Columbia University)
Eric Davis
Historical Memory and the Building of Democracy in Iraq: Theoretical and Conceptual Perspectives

2/19/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Kiernan Prendergast
Challenges to the UN

2/23/04 | ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR
Michael Goodhart
Promoting Global Democracy

2/24/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Reinhard Eroes
Afghanistan Between Hope and Abyss

2/26/04 | MERRILL HOUSE/YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM
Larry Diamond
Universal Democracy? Prospects for a World Transformed

2/27/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Lisa Anderson
Pursuing Truth, Exercising Power: Social Science in the Twenty-first Century

March 2004

3/01/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
Steve Coll
Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001

3/02/04 | TWENTY-THIRD MORGENTHAU MEMORIAL LECTURE
Bernard Kouchner
The Future of Humanitarianism

3/04/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM
David Malone, Kishore Mahbubani, and Ian Martin
The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the Twenty-first Century

3/10/04 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM

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DECEMBER
JANUARY
FEBRUARY
MARCH

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MARCH
APRIL
MAY

	Robert Perito Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him? America's Search for a Postconflict Stability Force		(Cosponsored with Columbia University) Alexander Stille Preserving the Past: The Impossible and Necessary Task
3/10/04	FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE Ladan Boroumand and Roya Boroumand Prospects for Democracy in Iran and American Foreign Policy	4/29/04 4/30/04	ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WRITERS' WORKSHOP Andrew Arato, Simon Chesterman, Noah Feldman, Joy Gordon, Brian Orend, David Rieff, and Kirsti Samuels Justice After War
3/18/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Julia Preston and Samuel Dillon Opening Mexico: The Making of a Democracy		
3/23/04	ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR Iris Marion Young Responsibility and Global Labor Justice	May 2004 5/04/04	BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY SEMINAR (Cosponsored with Columbia University) Jens Brockmeier and Elaine Savory Autobiographical Memory as a Cultural Form
3/23/04	YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM Jeffrey Olick The Politics of Regret	5/05/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Ann Cooper The Press and the War on Terrorism: New Dangers and New Restrictions
3/25/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Zbigniew Brzezinski The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership	5/06/04	ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR Pablo De Greiff The Role of Reparations in Transition to Democracy
April 2004			
4/08/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Ian Buruma Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies	5/07/04	EMPIRE AND DEMOCRACY WORKSHOP (Cosponsored with the Center on International Cooperation, NYU) Charles Kolb, Dara O'Rourke, and John Ruggie Corporate Power Versus Democratic Responsiveness? The Impact of Corporations on Global Governance
4/12/04	ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR/YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM Rony Brauman Politics and Humanitarianism	5/10/04 5/11/04	STUDIES CONFERENCE (Cosponsored with the Stanley Foundation) U.S. Human Rights Policy in Southeast Asia: New Issues for a New Era
4/13/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Joseph Nye Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics	5/12/04 5/14/04	STUDIES WORKSHOP (Cosponsored with the British Academy Network on Ethics, University of Wales) Chris Brown, Kateri Carmola, Toni Erskine, Nicholas Rengger, and others Responding to "Delinquent" Institutions: Blame, Punishment, and Rehabilitation
4/15/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Anne-Marie Slaughter A New World Order	5/14/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM António Vitorino The Challenges of Global Migration: An EU View
4/21/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Itamar Rabinovich Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs, 1948–2003		
4/21/04	FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE Glen Howard Russo-Chechen War: Recommendations for U.S. Foreign Policy	5/19/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Robert Reich Reason: Why Liberals Will Win the Battle for America
4/22/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM James Gustave Speth Red Sky at Morning: America and the Crisis of the Global Environment	5/19/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Francis Fukuyama State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century
4/28/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Niall Ferguson Colossus: The Price of America's Empire		
4/29/04	BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY SEMINAR		

5/24/04 5/27/04	FACULTY DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP (Cosponsored with New York University and the Center for Humans and Nature) Integrating Ethics Into Environmental Studies: Ethics, Science, and Civic Responsibility
5/27/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Walter Russell Mead Power, Terror, Peace, and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk
5/27/04	YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM Micah Garen Ethical Challenges Facing Journalists in Iraq
June 2004	
6/02/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Thomas Lippman Inside the Mirage: America's Fragile Partnership with Saudi Arabia
6/05/04 6/10/04	FACULTY DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP (Cosponsored with Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee) Contested Values and Moral Reasoning in International Affairs
6/08/04	FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE G. John Ikenberry The End of the Neo-conservative Moment
6/10/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge The Right Nation: How Conservatism Won
6/16/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM James Chace 1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft and Debs—The Election That Changed the Country
6/16/04 6/18/04	FELLOWS CONFERENCE 2003–2004 Carnegie Council Fellows Final Project Reports
6/17/04	STUDIES SEMINAR Deirdre Chetham The Three Gorges Project: One Year After the Deluge
6/22/04	YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM Madeleine Lynn Environmental Issues along China's Yangtze River
6/28/04	MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM Lewis Lapham Gag Rule: On the Stifling of Dissent and the Suppression of Democracy

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
MAY						
JUNE						

Program Highlights

EMPIRE AND DEMOCRACY: High-level panels on aspects of democracy promotion and corresponding event reports (see **PUBLICATIONS**).

ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES: Cosponsored international conference on environmental preservation in comparative perspective.

ETHICS AND THE USE OF FORCE: Workshop exploring duties and restraints on the use of military force.

FACULTY DEVELOPMENT: Workshop at East China Normal University on global justice; workshop at New York University on integrating ethics into environmental studies; workshop at Vanderbilt University on contested values and moral reasoning.

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLES: Ongoing monthly meeting series: This year's topics included media coverage of the Iraq war; the American neoconservative movement; and prospects for democracy in Iran.

HISTORY AND THE POLITICS OF RECONCILIATION: Ongoing joint seminar series with Columbia University examining a range of approaches to the study of history and memory; cosponsored symposium at the University of British Columbia on history education and political reconciliation; final meeting of the History Education and Reconciliation Project researchers, who presented chapters for a forthcoming book on the project's findings.

HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE: Continued publication of Human Rights Dialogue, with issues on violence against women (Fall 2004) and environmental rights (Spring 2003); cosponsored conference on U.S. human rights policy in Southeast Asia; seminar on indigenous peoples and international law.

JUSTICE AND THE WORLD ECONOMY: Ongoing seminar series on achieving global justice: This year's topics included the politics of humanitarianism; global labor justice; and a critical evaluation of the UN's poverty reduction targets.

MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAMS: Ongoing public speaker series: This year's highlights included talks on the "war on terror" and the Iraq war; American empire; challenges to the UN; and global environmental threats.

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM: Trial series of monthly meetings: Programs included Larry Diamond on universal democracy and Micah Garen on the ethical challenges faced by journalists covering Iraq.

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EACH YEAR THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL OFFERS UP TO SIX NONRESIDENTIAL FELLOWSHIPS TO mid-career scholars, practitioners, journalists, and other professionals, selected from a pool of hundreds of applicants. The successful candidates have research proposals that closely match the Carnegie Council's ongoing areas of study: Human Rights, Ethics and the Use of Force, Reconciliation, Environmental Values, and Justice and the World Economy.

Fellows deepen the resources of our core program areas, and in turn program staff provide access to the Carnegie Council's work and its network of experts. At the end of the fellowship year, fellows are encouraged to suggest ways in which their findings can contribute to the future research agenda of the Carnegie Council and to discuss possibilities for further collaborative research.

2003–2004

UCHÉ EWELUKWA

University of Arkansas School of Law, International Law
Africa in the WTO: From Marginality to Influence

MARCUS HALL

Research Fellow, Swiss Federal Research Institute,
Switzerland
The Rockefeller Foundation in Sardinia: Pesticide
Politics in the Struggle against Malaria

ELIZABETH OGLESBY

University of Arizona, Latin American Studies
Historical Memory and the Limits of Peace Education:
Examining Guatemala's "Memory of Silence" and the
Politics of Curriculum Design

HARI M. OSOFSKY

Whittier Law School, Environmental Law
Learning from Environmental Justice: A New Model for
International Environmental Rights

SCOTT A. SILVERSTONE

United States Military Academy at West Point,
International Relations
The Ethical Limits to Preventive War

Selected 2004–2005

ROBERT ALBRO

George Washington University, Anthropology and
International Affairs
Citizen Semantics: Intangible Cultural Heritage and
Human Rights among South American Indigenous
Activists

THOMAS NICHOLS

United States Naval War College, Strategy and Policy
The End of Deterrence? Conflict in the New Age of
Prevention

KIMBERLY THEIDON

Harvard University, Anthropology
Among Neighbors: Violence and Reconciliation in Peru

LEIF WENAR

University of Sheffield, Philosophy
Increasing Accountability in Development

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Lydia Tomitova, Associate Editor, Ethics & International
Affairs
Yesim Yemni, Program Assistant

Financial Summary

Statement of activities for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 2003, and ending June 30, 2004

REVENUE & SUPPORT

	Grants for Programs	188,073
	Trustee & Individual Contributions	49,855
	Program & Membership Fees	189,456
	Interest Income	1,409
	SUBTOTAL	428,793
	Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	2,176,995
	TOTAL REVENUE & SUPPORT	2,605,788

EXPENSES

	PROGRAMS	
	Studies	533,690
	Education	520,857
	Merrill House Programs	395,844
	Publications	698,728
	SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	2,149,119
	Management and General Support	456,669
	TOTAL EXPENSES	2,605,788

The Carnegie Council's audited financial statement and operational report has been filed with the state of New York (#48749), and copies are available upon request. Write to New York State Department of State Charities, Registration Section, 162 Washington Avenue, Albany, NY 12231.

Ethics & International Affairs

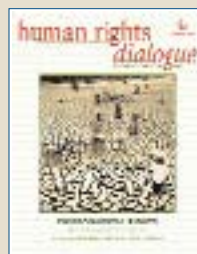


18.2 (Fall 2004)
Featuring a roundtable on the challenge of integrating humanitarian aid and intervention; an article on making international financial institutions accountable; and a review essay on the “ghosts of totalitarianism.”

18.1 (Spring 2004)
Featuring articles on the preventive use of force and the Kyoto Protocol, and a symposium on war and self-defense.

17.2 (Fall 2003)
Featuring a special five-article section on the revival of empire, and a roundtable on dealing justly with debt.

Human Rights Dialogue



ENVIRONMENTAL RIGHTS
(Spring 2004)
With articles on Iraq’s Marsh Arabs, Cambodia’s fishing communities, the working poor in Delhi, and other

groups with direct experience of environmental injustice.

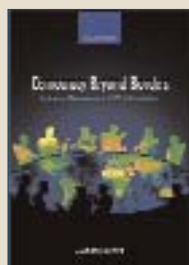
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
(Fall 2003)

With testimony from activists in various countries on the engagement of the human rights community in problems of violence against women.

Web Only

An electronic database of 318 issues of Worldview magazine (1958-1985), with articles by prominent thinkers of the Cold War period.

New Carnegie Council Books



DEMOCRACY BEYOND BORDERS: JUSTICE AND REPRESENTATION IN GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS
By Andrew Kuper (Oxford University Press, 2004)

Kuper proposes an innovative system of global governance for a more just world order.

ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: A NEW PERSPECTIVE
(Shanghai Foreign Languages Education Press, 2004)

A collection of Ethics & International Affairs articles, in Chinese.

ETHICS AND THE FUTURE OF CONFLICT: LESSONS FROM THE 1990s
Eds. Anthony F. Lang, Jr., Albert C. Pierce, and Joel H. Rosenthal (Prentice Hall, 2003)
Essays on the moral norms, procedures, and outcomes of military action.

JUST INTERVENTION
Ed. Anthony F. Lang, Jr. (Georgetown University Press, 2003)
Essays on the ethical issues raised by the use of force for humanitarian ends.

Coming Soon

HANS J. MORGENTHAU ON ARISTOTLE’S “THE POLITICS”
Ed. Anthony F. Lang (Greenwood Praeger, 2004)

FORGING ENVIRONMENTALISM: EXPLORATIONS OF JUSTICE, LIVELIHOOD, AND CONTESTED ENVIRONMENTS IN FOUR COUNTRIES
Ed. Joanne Bauer (M.E. Sharpe, 2005)

GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES: SECURING RIGHTS BY DEFINING OBLIGATIONS
Ed. Andrew Kuper (Routledge, 2005)

<INPPING> Newsletter



“Humanitarianism in Jeopardy”
May/June 2004
“Fighting for the Environment—and Getting Democracy”
March/April 2004
“Promoting Democracy in a Divided World”

January/February 2004

“Searching for a New Iraqi Identity”
November/December 2003

“Shall We Call It an Empire?”
September/October 2003

<INPPING> SUPPLEMENTS

Carnegie Council Covers Aftermath of the Iraq War
Summer 2004

Carnegie Council Covers the New War
Summer 2003

Morgenthau Memorial Lectures

THE CHANGING ROLE OF HUMANITARIANISM (2004)
A study guide to the work of Bernard Kouchner, including an excerpt from his latest book.

WAGING MODERN WAR (2003)
Reflections by former NATO commander Wesley Clark on today’s new security reality.

Empire & Democracy Project Reports

MULTILATERAL STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY
Remarks by Adam Przeworski, Mary Robinson, Joseph Stiglitz, and others.

THE IMPACT OF CORPORATIONS ON GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
Remarks by John Ruggie, Charles Kolb, and Dara O’Rourke.

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL LAW
Remarks by Richard Goldstone and Aryeh Neier.

Membership

NINETY YEARS AFTER OUR FOUNDING, THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL'S MISSION REMAINS THE SAME. We create opportunities and resources for people who ask two basic questions:

- What do moral and ethical traditions teach us about world politics?
- How can we apply these lessons to the most pressing problems of our time?

If these questions interest you, there is both a physical and virtual home for you in the Carnegie Council community. By signing up for membership, you become part of our work and can help to shape our future agenda.

Carnegie Council members receive invitations to our Merrill House Programs, featuring government leaders, academics, and acclaimed authors in the field of ethics and international affairs. Other membership benefits include free publications (see list on page 39); an invitation to the Council's annual Morgenthau Memorial Lecture; and regular e-mail updates on upcoming Council events and new resource materials.

In addition, Carnegie Council members experience the intangible benefit of contributing to our mission of supporting educators and students in the field of ethics and international affairs. We hold annual faculty development programs and support fellows pursuing original research projects on human rights, armed conflict, and related topics.

MEMBERSHIP LEVELS:

\$25	Student
\$60	Affiliate
\$200	Associate
\$300	Friend
\$500	Supporter/Individual
\$700	Supporter/Institutional
\$1,000+	Contributing Fellow & Benefactor

For an online special commemorating the Council's ninetieth anniversary, staff contacted long-time Council member WYNDHAM ANDERSON for an interview:

HOW DID YOU FIND OUT ABOUT US?

Through a colleague of mine at Pfizer in New York City. He thought well of the organization, as did some of the other Pfizer executives, particularly those who worked for the international division.

COUNCIL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION?

The Council provides an incredible resource, not matched by any other New York-based organization.

STILL A MEMBER?

Nowadays I live in Richmond, Virginia. I wish we had a Carnegie Council there! For me, it remains one of the crown jewels of New York City.

To order publications, become a member, or make a secure donation, go to www.carnegiecouncil.org.

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COVER IMAGES:

Row one: LEFT: FDR, Stalin, and Churchill in Iran, November 1943/Courtesy FDR Library. RIGHT: U.S. President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell, March 2002/Getty Images.

Row two: LEFT: Questioning Japanese about POW camps, August 1945/Naval Historical Center. RIGHT: Paul Bremer conferring with local Iraqi leader, June 2003/Getty Images.

Row three: LEFT: Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, December 1943/Courtesy of FDR Library. RIGHT: World Trade Center terrorist attack, September 2001. Photo by Claus Guglberger/cgpix.com.

Row four: LEFT: Three suffragists casting votes at Fifty-sixth and Lexington, New York City, c. 1917/Library of Congress. RIGHT: Voting at an Iraqi provincial election, July 2003/Getty Images.

Row five: LEFT: Women suffragists picketing in front of the White House, February 1917/Library of Congress. RIGHT: Afghani women after the fall of the Taliban, December 2001/Getty Images.

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