



# 2003 YEARBOOK AND ANNUAL REPORT

SPECIAL SECTION WITH ESSAYS, BOOK REVIEW SUMMARIES, CLASSROOM TOOLS, & MORE

# Contents

## YEARBOOK

1	<u>Letter from the President</u>
2	<u>The Carnegie Council Covers the New War</u>
6	<u>The Carnegie Council Reviews Core Themes</u>
10	<u>The Carnegie Council is thinking about . . . BOOKS</u>
14	<u>The Carnegie Council is thinking about . . . FILMS</u>
16	<u>The Carnegie Council is thinking about . . . CLASSROOM TOOLS</u>
18	<u>The Carnegie Council is thinking about . . . PEOPLE</u>

## ANNUAL REPORT

21	<u>Frequently Asked Questions</u>
22	<u>Activities</u>
26	<u>Contributors</u>
28	<u>Fellows</u>
29	<u>Officers, Trustees, &amp; Staff</u>
30	<u>Financial Summary</u>
31	<u>Publications</u>
32	<u>Membership</u>

# Letter from the President

The Carnegie Council is a place of learning – a home for study and reflection on issues of war, peace, and social justice. Part think tank, part classroom, and part publisher, the Council generates resources for opinion makers, policy makers, community leaders, educators, students, and concerned citizens.

How do we accomplish this mission? Our tools are varied. They include Merrill House public affairs programs, scholarly and reference publications, a mid-career fellows program, a resource-rich Web site, and faculty development programs at colleges and universities worldwide.

To capture the essence of the past program year, we have created a “yearbook” featuring essays on the main ideas raised at recent Council meetings and in our print and online publications. The lead essay, which was previously published as a supplement to our [Merrill House](#) newsletter, focuses on the three main ethical questions raised by the war on terror. The essay that follows highlights other core issues of Council concern: global justice, social reconciliation, human rights, and environmental politics.

In addition to communicating the year’s main ideas, the yearbook aims to convey a sense of what it has been like at Merrill House during the past year – the almost daily discussions of new and influential works in the field of ethics and international affairs as well as interactions with people who care about the same issues we do. Thus you will also find sections summarizing the books, lectures, and even films that captured our attention, along with the main points that arose in a series of conversations between Council staff and leading educators.

Finally, the yearbook profiles a number of the people who imparted their creative energy to Council projects, permitting us to produce some of the year’s best work. They, too, richly deserve a place in a yearbook showcasing the latest thinking in the field of ethics and international affairs.

The latter half of this publication contains organizational and financial information, including the list of those who gave generously during the past year to support our operations. I look forward to hearing your comments on the new yearbook-cum-annual report format.

The Carnegie Council will be ninety years old in 2004. There is nothing like a major anniversary to lend a sense of perspective to an organization. Given that we were founded with a mission to pursue world peace – only to be plunged into the bloodiest century in human history, marked by two world wars – our educational mission is today more important than ever. Conflict, the use of force, the pursuit of human rights, the problem of global inequality – these issues define our times and are at the heart of the Carnegie Council’s work.

We urge you to join us in commemorating the occasion. In particular, we would appreciate your input as we look forward to the next ten years and envision the direction the Council will take as it approaches its centennial.

**Joel H. Rosenthal**  
President, Carnegie Council



## Covers the New War



**T**HE MOST DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF the “new war” on terrorism is the moral framework in which it has been cast. Following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the Bush administration abandoned its rhetoric of arch-realism – emphasizing core national interests over humanitarian concerns – for one of robust moralism. Confronting terrorism and its supporting “axis of evil” is now the central organizing principle of American foreign policy, setting the stage for military campaigns first in Afghanistan and then in Iraq. Yet the approach raises inevitable questions.

This essay presents the three main questions that have emerged from the pages of the Carnegie Council’s *IMPRIMO* newsletter since its launch in September of 2001 – on the very eve of the new war – and also summarizes the range of opinions voiced at the Council’s public forums during that time.

### Does a new war necessarily mean new rules?

Last September the Bush administration presented a National Security Strategy document declaring a doctrine of pre-emptive, or “preventive,” military action. The doctrine is based on the premise that the old approach to security is no longer acceptable – in the age of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, the risk of inaction is greater than the risk of action.

*IMPRIMO* carried this story in one of its first issues, excerpting a speech by former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Henry Shelton to an audience convened by the Council at Georgetown University a few weeks after September 11. General Shelton

argued that the “rules have changed since the attacks of September 11th, as the circumstances under which we defined the lawful use of force no longer exist.” Given its overwhelming military might, the United States is unlikely to be engaged in conventional warfare with another nation state. Rather, it must face a new class of enemy consisting of non-state actors who flout the traditional conventions of war by targeting civilians – and who are threatening to use nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.

And if asymmetrical warfare is one rationale driving the argument for new rules, another is the nature of modern weaponry. The new generation of high-tech weapons – as exemplified by the drone, an unmanned aircraft with a remarkably precise camera and data transmission capability, now outfitted with guided missiles – makes possible precision attacks at low cost in terms of lives lost and collateral damage. From this perspective, some argued that a military campaign on Iraq would be more humane than another ten years of economic sanctions.

For all of the discussion of evolving legal norms and rules, attention inevitably circled back to the primary question on everyone’s mind in the spring of 2003: has the taboo truly been lifted on preventive war? As Carnegie Council fellow Scott Silverstone pointed out at a recent Council meeting, it remains unclear the extent to which “the logic of preventive war has trumped the ethical limits that seem to have prevented the United States from engaging in this particular form of war in the past.” The tragic events of September 11, along with new technological capabilities, may have precipitated a

Conservative commentator William Kristol discussed his new book, *The War over Iraq*, at a 3/5/03 Merrill House Program.



“The logic of preventive war has trumped the ethical limits that seem to have prevented the United States from engaging in this particular form of war in the past.”

CARNEGIE COUNCIL FELLOW  
SCOTT SILVERSTONE

shift in the moral climate for the use of force; but we cannot yet be sure whether that climate change is permanent.

### Is the strategy of forging a “coalition of the willing” morally sound?

Appearing at the Council several months before September 11, former national security advisor Tony Lake described a nightmare scenario whereby a government or group of non-state actors attacks the United States without even claiming responsibility. “This would put the president of the United States in an extremely difficult position, because if he were to respond without proof, the United States would rightly be blasted at the UN Security Council, General Assembly, and in our own newspapers. On the other hand, if you’re pretty sure they did it and everybody knows it but because you can’t prove it, and you don’t respond, then you have lost.”

President Bush faced a variation on this nightmare immediately after September 11. He wanted to deliver an unambiguous message: nothing justifies terrorism, period. At the same time, however, it was unclear to whom and by what means America should deliver this message as it had not been attacked by another nation-state, and it was for some time unclear who its attackers had been. Even when it became known that al-Qaeda had been responsible, military strategists faced the challenge of distinguishing among terrorist organizations, the states from which they operate, and the societies that produce them.

To its credit, the Bush administration succeeded in producing a widely accepted plan for immediate action. There was strong international consensus on three issues: global condemnation of terrorist tactics, relentless pursuit of the al-Qaeda network, and the need for regime change in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan.

But as Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal wrote in the May/June 2003 *IMPRIMU*, all of this changed on March 19, 2003, with the launching of Operation Iraqi Freedom – a dramatic new turn in the war on terrorism. In launching a cam-

paign to disarm and liberate Iraq, the Bush administration crossed two thresholds, one strategic and the other diplomatic. Strategically, the administration delivered on its promise to act in self-defense absent an actual – or even imminent – armed attack, against threats from weapons of mass destruction. Diplomatically, the United States demonstrated its willingness to act outside of the UN Security Council and in the face of considerable opposition. Some saw this as courageous leadership, others as short sighted.

We heard both sides of the debate at the Council’s Merrill House Programs. Leading conservative thinkers William Kristol and Robert Kagan argued that the time had come for the United States to embrace its unipolar status, whether or not its allies agreed. European countries are in any event unlikely to support U.S. military actions given that they are now in a “post-militaristic” phase, mistakenly believing that diplomacy alone can solve the problems posed by dictators like Saddam Hussein.

But support for a unilateral-if-necessary approach to waging war also came from the liberal corner, with Michael Walzer and Peter Maass pointing out that calling on the UN has become an excuse for inaction: “As the Afghan campaign showed, the United States doesn’t need other countries if there is a job to do.” Walzer’s assertion “Whoever can act, should” could be taken as a general endorsement of coalitions of the willing for the sake of humanitarian aims, though not necessarily applying to Iraq in the spring of 2003.

There was no shortage of dissenting voices, however – again on both sides of the political spectrum. Charles Kupchan, an expert on geopolitics, upheld the classic liberal view when urging the United States to recommit to international institutions because they “are the lifeblood of a world that doesn’t operate by the savage rules of the balance of power.” Kupchan’s warning that the Bush administration was “scuttling the



Former NATO commander Wesley Clark critiqued the strategy behind the war on terror, at this year’s Morgenthau Memorial Lecture.



## FROM THE ARCHIVES

Hans Morgenthau (1904-1980), author of *Politics Among Nations*, had a long association with the Carnegie Council. In an article for *Worldview*, a long-running Council publication (1958-1985), he wrote:

Three historic patterns can be discerned in the relations America has established with the outside world. America has offered itself as a model to the world, it has entered the world as a missionary, and it has confronted the world as a crusader. In recent years, a fourth pattern has been added: America bestrides the world as an imperial power with global responsibilities. In spring of 1965, when I endeavored to define this new pattern of American foreign policy under the heading of “globalism,” a national newspaper refused to print my article with the explanation that there was no such thing. In the meantime, the ideologues of the Johnson administration, such as Professors Brzezinski and Rostow, have confirmed my view. They have proclaimed the American decade “a decade of opportunity and responsibility for the United States.”

(January 1968)



Leading political philosopher Michael Walzer considered the changing norms of humanitarian warfare at a 0/16/02 Merrill House program.

UN at its own peril" resonated with the stinging indictment of American unilateralism delivered by conservative critic Clyde Prestowitz at another recent Council program. Prestowitz criticized the Bush administration for jettisoning traditional alliances in favor of coalitions of the willing – thereby squandering the stock of goodwill other countries had toward the United States in the aftermath of September 11.

So was the United States right to go into Iraq with its ad hoc, limited coalition? The verdict is still out on this, though most commentators agreed that ideally, the task of reconstructing Iraq could serve to rebuild the strong international consensus that launched the war on terrorism in the first place. After all, much of the work to combat terrorism involves pursuing terrorists across borders, which requires cooperation among countries. As Wesley Clark put it when delivering the Council's Morgenthau Lecture in May: “It's not about military force if you want to win the war on terror. That's the easy part. It's about working together with other nations in police and law enforcement activities.”

### Does regime change carry the responsibility of nation-building?

Another idea raised in [Worldview](#) and at other Council forums was that to be morally acceptable, regime change has to be coupled with nation-building. As the journalist Tom Friedman puts it, “If you break

it, you own it.” Likewise, Brian Orend, in an article for *Ethics & International Affairs*, suggested that because war so radically alters the victim state's political system and society, a just war must seek to restore more than simply the status quo; it must also create conditions for a “more secure possession of rights.”

There are no clear guidelines to achieve justice after war – this despite recent attempts following interventions in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, and Afghanistan. Prior to the war on Iraq, there was some talk in the Bush administration of studying successful historical models – such as the Marshall Plan for Europe and the occupation of Japan – for inspiration.

But as Tony Lang and Mary-Lea Cox wrote in [Worldview](#) at the end of last year, the German and Japanese examples may not be adaptable to Iraq – or anywhere else. What might prove more helpful, they suggested, would be to look at recent advances in the justice-related areas of war crimes trials, truth commissions, and governmental restructuring. At a minimum, that would prompt the United States to ask the right questions in developing a plan for reconstruction.

A separate but related question is whether a war that aims to bring about regime change can also deliver on humanitarian goals. The moving sight of Afghan women celebrating openly in public – a picture of which appeared on one of our most popular [Worldview](#) covers – suggested that the military campaign had brought a victory for human rights.

However, as Joe Saunders pointed out in the story that accompanied that photo, liberating the Afghan people from the brutalities of Taliban rule was a secondary motive of the U.S.-led offensive. The United States had been primarily interested in destroying al-Qaeda – which may explain why it has yet to provide a secure environment for Afghan citizens.

In the months leading up to the war on Iraq, humanitarian goals were made explicit, and were given almost equal status to the security goals of that offensive. As President Bush put it in his mid-March war ultimatum, “[W]e believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty. And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation.”

Merrill House speakers have expressed widely divergent opinions as to the appropriateness of packaging American ideals together with a strategy for regime change. On the conservative side, William Kristol said he believed that President Bush had sincerely embraced a quasi-Wilsonian vision of rebuilding Iraq as a democratic and free nation. Two leading conservative scholars disagreed with this, however. Andrew Bacevich told a Council audience he was under no illusions as to why the United States was going into Iraq for a second time: because of its imperial ambitions, to secure hegemony in the Persian Gulf. John Mearsheimer was even more skeptical, claiming there was no way preventive war advocates could truly believe in the possibility of bringing democracy to a region with no tradition and experience of democratic rule.

On the liberal side, Peter Maass and Michael Walzer hailed the war on terrorism as “good news for the war to prevent or stop genocide militarily if need be. The American military has shown, particularly in Afghanistan, and probably will show in Iraq, that it is quite adept at fighting irregular warfare, and irregular warfare is required to stop genocide. That’s the kind of warfare that was required in Bosnia and also would have been required in Rwanda had we chosen to fight the genocide there.”

Former UN peacekeeping commander Roméo Dallaire, by contrast, felt that the focus on Iraq had stolen attention away from truly deserving – yet strategically unimportant – countries such as the DR Congo, where atrocities are taking place daily. Addressing a Council audience this past January, Dallaire upheld the view taken by other leading liberals that an imperial war masquerading as humanitarian intervention undermines international law and UN peacekeeping missions.

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As we approached the second anniversary of September 11, 2001, terrorism was only one of several issues casting a shadow on the global horizon. Other morally troubling issues include the spread of HIV/AIDS (a disease that has already taken 26 million lives worldwide); increased criminal trafficking in human beings; questions of population, environment, and sustainability; and the possibility of new arms races, including outer space. That said, it is also true that many Americans continue to fear for their security: in particular, they fear the possibility of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons falling into the wrong hands and being used against civilian targets.

While these fears are understandable, there is a danger in becoming so focused on a single threat: it squeezes the space to prepare for the full range of threats to mankind’s survival and well-being. We risk being blindsided by events for which we might otherwise have taken steps to handle or prevent.

As our newsletter entered its third year of publication – two years after that momentous September – we have begun exploring a full range of topics, in addition to continuing our coverage of the moral issues at the core of the still-evolving war on terror.

—<INPPIN> Editors

@ON THE WEB: RESOURCE LINKS



At a 1/29/03 Merrill House Program, General Roméo Dallaire recounted his harrowing mission as UN peacekeeping commander during the Rwandan genocide.

# THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL Reviews Core Themes



**A** NEW FOREIGN POLICY ERA HAS BEGUN. Nowadays, talk of globalization is punctuated by the war to defeat terrorism. Political actions – and their costs – tend to be measured according to the demands of this new war.

This essay appraises the campaigns for global economic justice, post-conflict reconciliation, and human rights – all of which continue to be closely studied by the Carnegie Council – along with the recent debate over American empire, one of the Council’s new theme areas, in light of this tectonic shift. It offers a cross-sampling of ideas raised at our Studies meetings and in our publications during the 2002–2003 program year.

## Global Economic Justice

While the war on terrorism dominates the headlines, the world’s poverty crisis continues unabated. Thirty-four thousand children under age five die each day from hunger and preventable diseases. Surely *someone* is morally responsible for this tragedy, particularly as it could easily be addressed by making available better nutrition, safe drinking water, vaccines, cheap re-hydration packs, and antibiotics. The problem is, few seem willing to make the requisite sacrifices for shifting policies and social arrangements in favor of helping the poor.

But if poverty is increasing, so are the demands of people throughout the developing world for a say in political decision-making. They do not want to see their governments relinquish control to outside forces, such as multinational corporations and international financial institutions, that remain largely unaccountable to the populations most

affected by their policies and demands. As evidenced by the breakdown of the recent world trade talks in Cancún, poor governments often feel powerless to negotiate fair trade deals, concluding that no deal is better than a bad one.

A case in point was the recent Bolivian “water war,” where a local protest movement succeeded in overturning the Bolivian government’s decision to privatize the water system in response to World Bank demands. Writing for the spring 2003 issue of *Human Rights Dialogue*, two Bolivian activists advocated the right of local people everywhere to take their government to task for bowing to international rules and institutions at the expense of ensuring basic rights – in the Bolivian case, the right to affordable water.

But something more than political will is needed to address these problems. There is widespread agreement that a viable strategy for poverty alleviation depends on measures such as reforming international financial institutions, relieving sovereign debt, and providing basic services to the poor. Strong disagreements remain, however, about the reforms that should take place, and about the means and the pace for implementing such reforms. As development economist Sanjay Reddy (see **PEOPLE**) put it in a recent article for *Ethics & International Affairs*, there are strong moral reasons to question existing international monetary arrangements. But for practical progress to be

recent *Ethics & International Affairs* roundtable explored specific proposals for dealing justly with debt.





“The gains in productivity and quality that privatization brings are usually more than offset by losses in equity and poverty reduction.”

made, policymakers will need to weigh the “constraints of feasibility” while remaining “imaginative in identifying what is feasible.”

Christian Barry advocated this “realistic utopian” approach in an [INPPINB](#) cover story discussing the economic collapse of Argentina and financial crises in Brazil and Turkey during the past year. Severe indebtedness, he wrote, can limit the capabilities of governments to provide basic social services to their citizens. And, by becoming dependent on foreign creditors and international institutions, governments undermine their citizens’ ability to have a say in decisions that affect their livelihoods. Barry endorsed a recent proposal for an independent debt arbitration panel as the first step toward reducing the debt burden. In a letter of response, Lex Reiffel, author of a new book on restructuring sovereign debt, took issue with this point, arguing that such a panel would “intrude on the sovereignty of countries.”

Concern for the provision of basic services highlights another important area of debate. The IMF and World Bank have for some time championed the private sector as the key to providing basic social services, but many are uncomfortable with this prescription, pointing out that private initiative is unlikely to stress comprehensive access. As stated in a report of a recent Council-sponsored conference, the gains in productivity and quality that privatization can bring are usually “more than offset by losses in equity and poverty reduction, while corruption and the creation of an economic oligarchy have been the rule.”

The majority poor are also ignored in countries that are rich in natural resources, such as oil, natural gas, gold, copper, and tin. Indeed, since the 1960s, the per capita income of resource-poor countries has grown significantly faster than that of resource-rich countries. In recent months, several development experts have emphasized the relevance of this particular facet of global economic injustice to the reconstruction of postwar Iraq. Secretary of State Colin Powell has stated, “We’re going to use the assets of the people of Iraq, especially their oil assets, to benefit the people.” But as Carnegie Council Fellow and Oxfam America advisor Keith Slack (see [PEOPLE](#)) remarked

For a comprehensive list of Council-generated resources on these topics, visit our Web site: [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).

in a recent [INPPINB](#) interview, oil could actually hinder the process of democratic development and economic reconstruction in Iraq, “leading to corruption, human rights abuses, authoritarianism, environmental damage, and increased poverty.”

## History and Reconciliation

The past ten years have seen advances in the area of war crimes trials, with the creation of ad hoc international criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the burgeoning movement to establish a permanent international criminal court. This trend has generated considerable controversy and debate. One such debate took place on the Council’s Web site in response to the assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in March. Mary-Lea Cox, author of an [INPPINB](#) story on Milosevic’s trial at The Hague, questioned whether the West had exacted too high a price by tying foreign aid for Serbia to the extradition of Milosevic and other war criminals. She pointed out that many in the Balkans perceive Western notions of guilt and innocence as a “victor’s justice,” not lasting in any real way.

Senior program officer Lili Cole responded that Serbia did not have the option of holding its own trials as its legal institutions were “in a shambles after communist rule and the dictatorship of Milosevic.” In other words, the West had taken the “less bad” course. However, Cole agreed that for those who care about historical justice, the assassination of Djindjic was an important moment for “examining whether what we believe is right is realistically achievable.”

In addition to trials, interest has grown in the last decade in non-legal means of fostering political and societal reconciliation. Post-war reconstruction in Iraq raises these issues afresh. How will a new, democratic Iraq face the atrocities of the past? What will promote reconciliation among





## Environmental Politics

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, entrenched value conflicts haunt global environmental affairs. The failure of the Kyoto Protocol is an apt symbol of ongoing discord. The Carnegie Council will soon publish the findings of a major environmental study that suggests ways to move forward toward greater international cooperation. The study focuses on the framing of environmental values and policy by communities in the United States, Japan, China, and India. It concludes that international environmental cooperation needs to be understood “in terms of not so much harmonization and standardization of technical standards and frameworks as mutual learning and accommodation among sometimes highly divergent approaches to defining, analyzing, and managing risk – i.e., in terms of learning how to *reason together* about environmental risks.”

Iraqis? Apart from allocating seed money to build a museum chronicling the crimes of Saddam Hussein’s Baathist regime, postwar planners have yet to address the need for Iraqis to create a “usable past” in their quest to forge a new national identity based on political compromise and cooperation among the nation’s various ethnic, religious, and political groups.

The Bush administration has voiced the hope that the United States will be able to repeat for Iraq the economic and political successes of the occupations of Germany and Japan. As Cole has learned from her research on long-term reconciliation, even in societies that delay the process of reckoning, the burden passes down to subsequent generations, who have little choice but to uncover and address past abuses. Cole recently participated in meetings on Spain and Japan, both of which long avoided public discussions of the negative past in favor of strengthening their economies and developing democracy. For many years, fearing renewed civil conflict, Spain repressed attempts to come to terms with the Franco era. However, Spaniards today are investigating and commemorating the suffering of all Spaniards during the Civil War.

Contemporary Spain’s attempts to reconcile with a difficult past have been helped along by the efforts of Spanish historians of the Civil War, whose work began during the period of willful amnesia, as well as by recent government attempts to reform history education. In Japan, too, historians

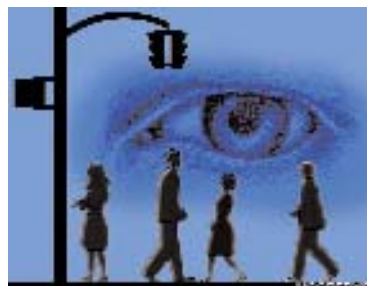
have made progress in confronting Japan’s World War II-era war crimes, and history textbooks have undergone important changes over the decades. However, the Japanese government’s attempts to acknowledge the nation’s atrocities as a colonial power and wartime aggressor and to educate the public on what really happened have been limited – particularly compared to what the German government has accomplished, this despite war crimes trials having taken place in both countries. As Cole pointed out in an [article](#) story, the Japanese government’s failure to act continues to undermine the nation’s prospects for reconciling with its neighbors, even after fifty-five years – demonstrating that progress toward peaceful coexistence depends on official acknowledgement of, and unconditional apology for, past abuses.

## Human Rights

In the immediate wake of 9/11/01, some predicted a deepening clash between the goals of human rights protection and national security. Michael Ignatieff – who has called human rights the “dominant moral vocabulary in foreign affairs in the post-Cold War era” – warned that after September 11, we could be

witnessing a “sea change in attitudes” as people become more willing to forego civil liberties for assurances of personal safety.

The Carnegie Council covered this story in its Fall 2002 *Human Rights Dialogue*. Observing that in the wake of 9/11, citizens in coun-



tries as diverse as France, South Africa, Colombia, and the United States have indicated a similar willingness to trade rights for enhanced security, *Dialogue* asked: how should human rights organizations weigh their advocacy on behalf of political prisoners and in defense of political openness in light of the need for measures that will make ordinary people feel more secure?

This is not a new debate; civil rights have never been understood as fixed. At times of heightened security, most people – rights activists included – would draw lines in different places. As Jamie Fellner of Human Rights Watch said in *Dialogue*'s roundtable on this topic, “Being a human rights activist does not mean wanting to be insecure. When it comes to trading civil liberties for more security, human rights activists are not absolutists.”

But even if the human rights movement is not suffering an identity crisis, this hardly decreases the need for vigilance. As the United States commemorated the second anniversary of September 11, 2001, President Bush called for further expansion of his law enforcement powers under the USA Patriot Act, saying that “unreasonable obstacles” in the law impede the pursuit of terrorist suspects. Critics resisted his proposal on the grounds that there is no guarantee these rights will be restored eventually or that expanding the law’s power will in fact bring greater security.

*Dialogue* also reported on how governments the world over have been taking their cue from the American government, threatening to reinstate draconian laws in response to alleged threats of terrorism. Carnegie Council Fellow and Malaysian human rights activist Elizabeth Wong told *Dialogue* that the USA Patriot Act had buttressed Prime Minister Mahatir’s long-standing support for the nation’s Internal Security Act, which among other things allows for indefinite detention without trial. In this respect, the situation in Malaysia mirrors that seen in the Guantánamo Bay prison camp, where a number of prisoners have been waiting for two years without the prospect of a fair trial or release (despite recent protests by the European Parliament and other concerned parties).

## An American Empire?

As the United States attempts to create law and order and build a civil administration in Iraq, questions of “American empire” inevitably arise; but many resist that label. Why? Joel Rosenthal wrote in an *INPPIN* article that “in avoiding the ‘empire’ question, the United States avoids pondering the moral responsibilities such far-reaching power entails.” Andrew Bacevich, addressing a Council audience about his book on American empire, was

even more emphatic, urging the American policy elite to abandon the “veiled language” of the 1990s used to conceal the nation’s imperial ambitions and “call a spade a spade.”

But for some commentators the question of how one frames America’s role in the world – whether in terms of empire or something else – is less important than the question of how the United States can use its overwhelming power to do good in the world. Several Council speakers and writers have observed that while U.S. military prowess can be a force for world order, the United States has yet to become a force for enhancing global economic development. As economist Robert Wade put it in an *Ethics & International Affairs* article, while U.S.-directed globalization may have worked for Europe and East Asia, “average living standards have risen hardly at all in Latin America, Africa, the non-oil-producing Middle East, and much of South Asia since 1980.”

Against this background, the Council recently launched a new project focusing on positive and multilateral alternatives to empire. We look forward to reporting on the project’s findings throughout the coming year.

—*INPPIN* Editors,  
in consultation with Studies staff



Andrew Kuper of Trinity College, Cambridge University, joined the Carnegie Council in October to organize an event series on “positive alternatives to empire.”

The Carnegie Council tracks new publications through book reviews and review essays in *Ethics & International Affairs*; presentations by recent authors at Merrill House Programs; and online roundtables, essays, and book review columns.

### Brave New World

*Ethics & International Affairs* reviewed two of the documents that have been instrumental in shaping post-9/11 military strategy.

#### ***The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (September 2002)**

According to reviewer David Hendrickson, a political scientist, “the most transparent prevarication in the Bush strategy lies in the assumption that America is in favor of a balance of power. In fact, the world order that Bush wishes to build looks not toward equilibrium but toward a massive imbalance of power in favor of the United States” (*E&IA*, Spring 2003).

#### ***The Responsibility to Protect, by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (December 2001)**

In this report to the UN Secretary-General, the Canadian government-sponsored ICISS argues that the international community bears the “responsibility to protect” populations that are suffering serious harm in cases where sovereign states have failed to assume that responsibility. Joelle Tanguy, a former director of the U.S. branch of Doctors without Borders, says that the report provides “helpful benchmarks” by which to judge interventions in the post-9/11 era (*E&IA*, Spring 2003).

### The Thorny Side of Humanitarian Intervention

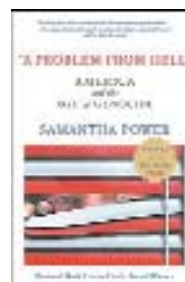
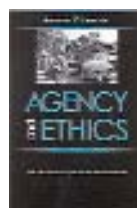
Scholars of international affairs continue to analyze the 1990s phenomenon of humanitarian intervention. Reviews of several new additions to the canon – including Samantha Power’s path-breaking book on the U.S. response to genocide – appeared in the Fall 2002 *Ethics & International Affairs*.

#### ***Agency and Ethics: The Policy of Military Intervention*, by Anthony F. Lang, Jr. (2002)**

International relations scholar Daniel Warner finds it an “interesting shift” to see Anthony Lang argue that military interventions fail when there is a “clash of normative agendas” rather than, as conventionally thought, power politics (*E&IA*, Fall 2002).

#### ***Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention: A Fresh Legal Approach Based on Fundamental Ethical Principles in International Law and World Religions*, by Brian D. Lepard (2002)**

Peter Hoffman of the City University of New York says that Lepard provides a “wonderful bird’s-eye view of the ethical and legal landscape” behind humanitarian intervention since the end of the Cold War (*E&IA*, Fall 2002).



#### ***“A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide*, by Samantha Power (2002)**

Peter Ronayne, a specialist in genocide studies, says that one of the most significant contributions of Power’s book is her documentation of cases beyond Rwanda and Bosnia

that the United States ignored, such as that of the Turks against the Armenians in 1915 and Saddam Hussein’s genocidal campaign against the Kurds in 1988 (*E&IA*, Fall 2002).

@ON THE WEB: POWER TRANSCRIPT

### Humanitarian and Development Aid Practices under Scrutiny

Aid workers are often frustrated in the effort to help people in need, whether they are providing emergency assistance to populations in crisis or managing economic development projects on behalf of poor countries. Why? Books posing possible answers were reviewed in *Ethics & International Affairs* and on [carnegiecouncil.org](http://carnegiecouncil.org).

#### ***A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*, by David Rieff (2002)**

T.K. Vogel of the New School applauds Rieff for the feat of making the debate on “best humanitarian aid practices” available to a broader public. The book is “important for asking all the right questions – not simply about the

“During the past year, books analyzing the growth of U.S. power have become a growth industry of their own.”

PAIGE ARTHUR, ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## On Paige Arthur's Desk

As the reviews editor of *Ethics & International Affairs*, Paige Arthur commissioned many of the book reviews featured on these pages. Here she lists a few of the books that have been on her desk during the past year, with brief annotations.

- ***Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order***, by Robert Kagan. A much-anticipated work on U.S.-European relations advancing a “Mars vs. Venus” analysis that found a ready-made audience as France attempted to face down the United States during the UN Security Council debate on Iraq.
- ***Taking Liberties: Four Decades in the Struggle for Human Rights***, by Aryeh Neier. A vivid memoir that can be added to the stack of recent books by prominent activists (Jeri Laber, Robert Drinan, William Schulz) providing firsthand insight into the accomplishments of the human rights movement.
- ***Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World***, by Akira Iriye. A work by a prominent cultural historian highlighting the positive contributions to globalization by new forms of international association.
- ***Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor***, by Paul Farmer. A prominent scholar-activist's thoughts on the links between health and poverty. (See also the new biography of Farmer by Pulitzer Prize-winner Tracy Kidder.)
- ***Morality's Progress: Essays on Humans, Other Animals, and the Rest of Nature***, by Dale Jamieson. A bird's-eye view of environmental issues taken as the Kyoto treaty moved forward without the support of the United States.
- ***On the Natural History of Destruction***, by W. G. Sebald. The German writer's lyrical and controversial final work on the taboo against discussing the fire-bombings of Germany during World War II, forcing us to rethink our conceptions of victimhood.
- ***Regarding the Pain of Others***, by Susan Sontag. A fresh appraisal of the views Sontag expressed in her classic work, *On Photography* (1978), on the politics and aesthetics of representing suffering.

@ON THE WEB: PAIGE ARTHUR'S "THE YEAR IN BOOKS"

focus on injustices,” including a diagnosis of why citizens in affluent countries fail to take responsibility for human rights violations resulting from unrelieved poverty, as well as the need for political imagination in figuring out how to rectify the situation (*E&IA*, Fall 2002).



***Dead Heat: Global Justice and Global Warming***, by Tom Athanasiou and Paul Baer (2002)

Paul Harris, an expert on environmental change and foreign policy, commends Athanasiou and Baer for making “a cogent, readable, and informative case for moving toward equal per capita rights to the atmosphere, that is, equal entitlements to greenhouse gas emissions.” This will require “major cuts in the emissions of rich countries while allowing most poor countries to increase their emissions,” Harris explains (*E&IA*, Spring 2003).

## Exporting Democracy

The United States has committed to remaking both Afghanistan and Iraq into democratic societies. The outcomes of other democratic makeovers, however, invite skepticism about the prospects for success. Works expressing such misgivings were recently reviewed on [carnegiecouncil.org](http://carnegiecouncil.org).

***The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad***, by Fareed Zakaria (2003)

Sean Yom, formerly a research intern with the Carnegie Council and now a doctoral candidate at Harvard University, finds thought-provoking Zakaria's thesis that “democratic institutions alone do not guarantee free-

## The Moral Challenge of the Global Village

Recent issues of *Ethics & International Affairs* have highlighted works that pose philosophical arguments for reforming international policy on health, trade, and the environment on the grounds that current practices perpetuate inequality and injustice.

***Global Justice and Transnational Politics: Essays on the Moral and Political Challenges of Globalization***, edited by Pablo De Greiff and Ciaran P. Cronin (2002)

Jeffrey Lomonaco of the University of Minnesota says that this volume makes a convincing case for a “determined

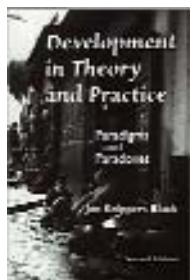
humanitarian endeavor, but also about the meaning with which we have infused it, inevitably setting it up to fall short of our hopes” (*E&IA*, Spring 2003).

@ON THE WEB: RIEFF TRANSCRIPT



***Development in Theory and Practice: Paradigms and Paradoxes***, by Jan Knipppers Black (2nd ed., 1999)

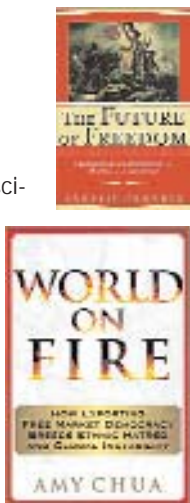
Research intern Lisa Ainbinder insists that all of the players in the development aid field – from policy makers to field workers to aid recipients themselves – would benefit from Black's account of “the way development ideals can be undermined by concerns for power and profit” ([CarnegieCouncil.org](http://CarnegieCouncil.org), July 2003).



dom and choice” and is furthermore impressed by Zakaria’s feat of producing “one of those rare political science/international relations books that appeals to a diverse audience” (CarnegieCouncil.org, July 2003).

***World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability, by Amy Chua (2002)***

Jack Becker\* of Fairleigh Dickinson University says that Chua sheds light on the “broad phenomenon of violence” that occurs when impoverished majorities find a way to get back at the rich ethnic minorities with “exclusive control of a nation’s economic opportunities” – as has occurred in Indonesia, Russia, Sierra Leone, and certain countries in the Middle East. In so doing she casts serious doubt on the viability of the American policy of promoting both free markets and democracy, Becker says (CarnegieCouncil.org, March 2003).



***Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention, by Neta C. Crawford (2002)***

Daniel Philpott of the University of Notre Dame says that Crawford delivers “one of the richest and most developed arguments for the importance of ideas in the last decade” through her use of ethical theory to explain the end to colonialism and the accession to statehood of former colonies in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia (E&IA, Spring 2003).



***The Ethics of Destruction: Norms and Force in International Relations, by Ward Thomas (2001)***

Stephen Watts of Cornell University says that Thomas’s book “provides powerful testimony to the importance of norms in international relations,” in particular through its discussion of the “normative constraints on interstate assassination and the aerial bombardment of civilians” (E&IA, Fall 2002).

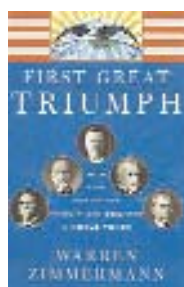
**New Classics**

Ethics and international affairs is a relatively new area of scholarship, premised on the belief that international norms matter – in contrast to the prevailing notions that international politics is a matter of rational choice (“the strong do what they will, the weak do what they must”), or else that differences in values primarily have to do with differences in culture. *Ethics & International Affairs* recently reviewed two noteworthy works by up-and-coming scholars in the field.

\*Jack Becker, the former literary editor of the Council’s *Worldview* magazine, submits a regular “To Be Read” column to [CarnegieCouncil.org](http://CarnegieCouncil.org).

**An American Empire?**

Since September 11, Americans have been coming to terms with their nation’s status as the first singular leader in all of history. “Shall we call it an empire?” wrote Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal in his cover story for a recent issue of the Council’s newsletter. In the journal and on [CarnegieCouncil.org](http://CarnegieCouncil.org) can be found reviews of works that shed new light on that question.



***First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power, by Warren Zimmermann (2002)***

R.A. Hamilton of Mansfield University appreciates Zimmermann’s “timely” account of America’s imperial leanings of more than a century ago – especially his point that even then, the nation’s “investment in human rights conveniently dovetailed with its security concerns” (E&IA, Spring 2003). @ON THE WEB: [ZIMMERMANN TRANSCRIPT](#)

***American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy, by Andrew Bacevich (2002)***

Jack Becker is swayed by Bacevich’s “clear and forceful” argument that the “basic purpose of America’s foreign policy is to break down barriers, to level the mountains and lift up the valleys, to open up the world to the advance of American economic and cultural hegemony” (CarnegieCouncil.org, May 2003). Gregory Reichberg of the International Peace Institute in Oslo feels, however, that Bacevich has taken the case too far in claiming that “humanitarian reasons for military intervention” are “merely public relations packaging” (E&IA, Fall 2003). @ON THE WEB: [BACEVICH TRANSCRIPT](#)

**Fresh Takes on Political Islam**

Grappling with Islam, in particular its political face, has become an American preoccupation since September 11. Scholars were active participants in the debate. Several of their contributions have been appraised in the Council’s journal and on its Web site.

***Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam, by Gilles Kepel (2002)***

Shenaz Bunglawala of the London School of Economics says that Kepel’s book goes a long way toward clarify-



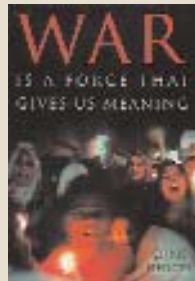
ing why Islamism has failed “to contain the aspirations of its differing constituencies within a unified project without succumbing to the lure of violence” (*E&IA*, Fall 2002). According to Tony Lang, formerly of the Carnegie Council, Kepel “provides a useful corrective to the apocalyptic descriptions of Islamic fundamentalism so often found in the popular press” (*Carnegiecouncil.org*, April 2003\*\*).

@ON THE WEB: KEPEL TRANSCRIPT

***Islam in a Globalizing World*, by Thomas W. Simons, Jr. (2003)**  
Research intern Sean Yom appreciates this work for its thought-provoking premise that Islam, far from being antagonistic to globalization as is commonly assumed, has operated as a “powerful agent” on its behalf (*Carnegiecouncil.org*, July 2003).

***The West and the Rest: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat*, by Roger Scruton (2002)**  
Jack Becker is drawn to Scruton’s philosophical argument that the defining achievement of the West is the separation of church and state, permitting strangers to live together peacefully under the rule of law based on a common loyalty to place, rather than on an appeal to kinship or religious creed. To belong to al-Qaeda is

\*\*From an online review essay, “Scholars Renew Attempts to Explain Islamic Fundamentalism.”



## Books for Lifting the Fog of War

In a year where the decision to wage war on Iraq dominated the foreign policy agenda, a number of Council staff were reading new works, as well as re-reading classics, on the trials and tribulations of warfare. Chris Hedges, author of the best-selling *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* (2002), addressed a Merrill House audience in February about the American tendency to idealize warfare. His book has been reviewed by Tony Lang in the Fall 2003 *Ethics & International Affairs*.

War books recommended by Council staff include Pat Barker’s trilogy on World War I for its “extraordinary portraits of life at the front, of men on leave, and of men institutionalized for shock”; *The Warriors: Reflections of Men in Battle*, by J. Glenn Gray (1959), a “profound philosophical reflection on what humanity gains and loses in war”; and *The Things They Carried*, by Tim O’Brien (1998), because it raises one’s “awareness of the unimaginable struggles of combat officers that we, as civilians, take for granted” (*Carnegiecouncil.org*, July 2003).

to “accept no territory as home and no human law as authoritative,” Becker quotes Scruton as saying (*Carnegiecouncil.org*, February 2003).

## American Icons Revisited

The Carnegie Council has been discussing two new biographies of American leaders who continue to be revered for their show of moral courage.

***Lincoln’s Virtues: An Ethical Biography*, by William Lee Miller (2002)**

Cathal Nolan of Boston University calls this “a book for those who wish a deeper insight than is afforded by standard biographies” of President Lincoln, showing him to have been not merely a great statesman but also “the master moral thinker of the American political tradition” (*E&IA*, Fall 2002).



***A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, by Mary Ann Glendon (2002)**  
Kusumita Pedersen of St. Francis College appreciates Glendon’s retelling of the story of Eleanor Roosevelt’s involvement in the founding of the United Nations, in the course of which Glendon “clarifies what human rights actually are and deals *inter alia* with the issues of universality versus relativism” (*Carnegiecouncil.org*, July 2003).

## FILMS

### Exploring the Legacy of Historical Atrocity through Film



Atom Egoyan

WHEN MAKING A FILM ON A LITTLE-known period of history, the most obvious approach – to tell the story of what happened – does not always work best, according to Canadian filmmaker Atom Egoyan. For his film *Ararat*, about the 1915 massacre of the Armenians by the Turks, he first considered a straightforward retelling of the facts from an Armenian perspective but then decided that the more interesting story lay in the widespread ignorance of the massacre that has persisted for eighty-five years – and the toll this has taken on several generations of Armenians who are desperate to see their tragedy acknowledged.

Egoyan delivered these remarks to a group of college faculty who had assembled for a seminar on concepts of evil and international affairs, jointly sponsored by the Carnegie Council and McGill University. After watching a special screening of the film, the group quizzed the famous Canadian director on his intentions: was he trying to make another *Schindler's List* given that he is of Armenian descent?

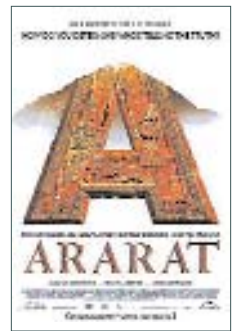
According to Egoyan, he could not have made the equivalent of *Schindler's List* or *The Pianist* because, whereas the Holocaust is widely believed to have taken place and its horrors are well known, the facts of the Armenian genocide are still in dispute; and many still deny that it happened at all. "As a Canadian Armenian, I often meet Turkish people who never heard of this atrocity, or simply do not believe that it took place in the way Armenians say it did." This denial, too, has become part of the historical legacy. How well have Armenians coped with it?

To this day, Armenians suffer from an inferiority complex about not being important enough to be

included in history books, Egoyan observed. One indicator of this is the "more and more extreme" accounts of the atrocity handed down by older Armenians, as if the only way to attract an audience is through exaggeration. Another indicator is the craving for acknowledgement that possesses some Armenians almost like a fetish; indeed, many have turned to art as an outlet. In *Ararat*, one of the characters is making a film about the atrocity (much like Egoyan himself); another, an art historian, lectures on the Armenian artist Arshile Gorky, whose mother was one of the victims; and Gorky himself is shown through flashbacks in exile in New York in the mid-1930s, painting the famous portrait of himself with his mother.

Ironically, some of Egoyan's critics have felt that he could have made a better film had he chosen to take a more traditional, historical approach to his material. The film has been faulted for confusing viewers with too many plotlines. "[My critics] thought the story should have been told more simply, that I had a responsibility to show what happened before I could analyze it," Egoyan confessed. Still, judging by the positive response to the film within the Armenian community, Egoyan feels at least partially vindicated. "Some of the Armenians are so grateful that the issue is being raised at all; it gives them a sense of worth."

—Mary-Lea Cox with Vivek Nayar,  
Communications





## Films to Watch



In a [carnegiecouncil.org](http://carnegiecouncil.org) discussion, Yesim Yemni of the Carnegie Council recommended Milcho Manchevski's *Before the Rain* (1994), for its moving portrayal of violence in the Balkans. She said that the film helped her to understand the “vicious cycle of bloodshed” at the heart of this seemingly intractable conflict as well as the “futility of individual efforts to circumvent the legacy of violence.”

In a Council-sponsored history education seminar dedicated to putting Spain's attempts to come to terms with its difficult past into a cross-cultural framework, political philosopher David Crocker mentioned that he always uses alternative media in classes where reckoning with the past is being discussed. “I find [Chilean writer] Ariel Dorfman's play *Death and the Maiden* – and the film that was made from his play – among the best statements about victims' memories and the struggle to account for the past.”



## Erin Brockovich Revisited

Anna Davies, a 2000-2001 Carnegie Council Fellow, contributed the following to a [carnegiecouncil.org](http://carnegiecouncil.org) roundtable on the film *Erin Brockovich*. Davies teaches classes on environmental justice at Trinity College Dublin.

I would classify *Erin Brockovich* as good entertainment, telling a moving and uplifting story. That said, I wasn't at all satisfied with the film's treatment of environmental issues. I have often longed for an equivalent of *Blade Runner* that could be used to stimulate discussion among my students. But the plot of *Erin Brockovich* is just a bit too easy – obscuring the extent of the costs faced by putting yourself on the front line of industrial neglect, not to mention the monumental scale of the task involved in redressing environmental injustice.

The film's main plot – the pollution incident and the success of Erin in pursuing this as a legal battle – is based on real-life events. Moreover, the real Erin's David-versus-Goliath struggle has doubtless been replicated around the world many times over.

But can the triumphant outcome to Erin's crusade really be taken as representative? Whistleblowing – certainly in the United Kingdom – is still a dangerous occupation, with no guarantee of success, this despite stronger legal protections. Victims of pollution incidents may take heart from stories of successful claims; but the stark reality is that most claims are unsuccessful. Although audiences may be psy-

chologically attracted to stories of triumph, the many stories of failure would have made a truer, much more stimulating thesis for a film.

Eastern Europe, for instance, has experienced even greater tragedies than the one depicted in *Erin Brockovich*. There whole villages have been decimated by environmental contamination. The Romanian village of Bozinta Mare is a particularly bleak example. In late January of 2000, a dam operated by a gold-mining company called Arul burst in the middle of the night, creating a cyanide spill. But no government agency has been willing to take responsibility let alone compensate village residents for what has been described as the worst environmental accident in Europe since Chernobyl.

Another question the film raises but does not answer: who should take responsibility in situations of environmental risk? The forces of good – Erin and the victims of pollution – and the forces of evil (big business) are clear; but in reality there are multiple layers of responsibility when incidents like this occur. Most of us, for instance, are tied into investment funds for our pensions and future security – does this mean we are unwittingly funding dangerous and polluting processes so should be held responsible? Regulators, too, are often negligent. You can have the toughest environmental regulations in the world, but it does you no good if these rules aren't enforced.

@ON THE WEB: "VIEWING FILM THROUGH THE LENS OF INTERNATIONAL ETHICS" ROUNDTABLE

## Notice to Educators

Have you had a good experience using film to teach ethics and international affairs? Please send your recommended film, along with a short explanation of how you used it in the classroom, to [film@cceia.org](mailto:film@cceia.org). We will be publishing contributions on our Web site throughout the coming program year.



CLASSROOM  
TOOLS

## Teaching Ethics and International Affairs Post-9/11

CARNEGIE COUNCIL STAFF RECENTLY spoke to David Clinton of Tulane University, Chris Brown of the London School of Economics, and Al Pierce of the U.S. Naval Academy, all of whom are seasoned teachers of ethics and international affairs. We asked them whether they had noticed any kinds of

changes in their students, or made any changes to their teaching methods and materials, in the wake of 9/11.

All three noted that priorities in the field of international affairs had shifted in response to that event. As Clinton put it, “there’s been an element of redistribution within the field of international ethics. Perennial questions like human rights or distributive justice, at least for the immediate term, have been less emphasized than questions having to do with security and the role and justifiability of force.” Brown concurred, adding that recent world events had raised some really interesting questions, such as: when is violence justified, can we adjust “just war” criteria to fit anti-terrorist campaigns, how do we handle non-state violence, how do we handle situations where non-state actors are operating out of states (as in the Afghan case)?

Pierce mentioned that recent events had given a fillip to some of his own research interests, such as the ethics of assassination. “It’s one thing if you go after bad guys with a wink from the Yemeni government; but what if you go after them in a country that doesn’t give you a wink. Then you’re violating a traditional notion of sovereignty. What are the ethical implications of that?”

Pierce added that the military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq had revived his longstanding belief in the need for “ethical interoperability” among the various government agencies as well as nationalities that participate in such efforts. More attention should be given, he asserted, to whether U.S. special operations troops and members of the CIA are “on the same page ethically” and to whether

## Carnegie Council Publications Are Popular Classroom Tools



The Council’s *Human Rights Dialogue* magazine is frequently used as a teaching tool in college and university classrooms worldwide. One of the most popular issues for this purpose addresses the “workplace codes of conduct” debate. Andrew Nathan of Columbia University assigns the “workplace codes” issue for a course introducing concepts of economic and environmental justice. Henry Carey of the Georgia State University assigns this issue, along with several other issues of

*Dialogue*, to help students evaluate the relationship between human rights and foreign policy. And Professor Suns of Nanhua University in Taiwan uses “workplace codes” to teach his students about the enforcement of international law.

Likewise, *Ethics & International Affairs* has a reputation for being a very “teachable” journal. Former Council program officer Tony Lang, who recently began a new job as an assistant professor of political science at Albright College in Pennsylvania, reported that in his course on ethics and international affairs this fall, he used two journal roundtables – one on preemptive war, the other on Kosovo – to expose his students to a “diverse range of moral positions on the issues surrounding humanitarian intervention.”

In addition, Lang assigned the journal’s debate on the Israeli practice of targeted killings as well as a recent article by Ngairé Woods on “Holding Intergovernmental Institutions to Account” – the latter to stimulate discussion on supranationalism and global justice.



## Mine the Council's Merrill House Transcripts for a Wealth of Classroom Ideas

In 2002-2003, around fifty programs were held as part of the Council's Merrill House Program series, of which nearly half have been posted online in the form of edited transcripts. To provide an idea of the richness of these materials and their suitability for use as classroom tools, we asked several Carnegie Council staff to tell us which of this year's talks they found most memorable and why.

**MARK PEDERSEN:** Ahmed Rashid, who gave us an update on Afghanistan one year later, was a great speaker with unique insights and impressive on-the-ground knowledge of what has become a very important part of the world. He was writing about the Taliban when no one was listening – and now, we are. I also enjoyed hearing Warren Zimmermann discuss his book about the birth of American imperial might (see **BOOKS**). His focus on individuals such as Theodore Roosevelt livened up what could have been a dry subject. In another vein, I found it extremely heart wrenching to hear Roméo Dallaire recount his experience in Rwanda of being abandoned by the international community to watch 800,000 people slaughtered – a story it has taken him some time to tell as he was so traumatized by what happened. Finally, I enjoyed listening to Robert Kagan argue that Europeans now see the world very differently from the way Americans do, whether the issue is the environment, the International Criminal Court, the United Nations, or how to handle Saddam Hussein. He was extraordinarily persuasive.

**STEPHAN KREISCHER:** Of the five or so talks I attended during the summer I spent with the Council, I liked Clyde Prestowitz's presentation best. He took the approach that the United States has been behaving as a rogue nation – this was interesting and provocative, yielding a number of helpful insights about the current rift between the United States and some of its European allies, as well as suggestions about how this rift could be mended. Listening to Prestowitz also made me realize how quickly the Bush administration had spent the reserves of international support for the U.S. collected in the wake of 9/11.

**MARY-LEA COX:** I was extremely moved by Yossi Klein Halevi's talk about his travels through the Holy Land in search of interfaith reconciliation. How many of us are capable of this level of open-mindedness, especially in times like these? I second Mark in picking Roméo Dallaire: apart from what he said, I'll never forget the expression in his eyes. Clearly, he has seen and been through a lot. The two Merrill House speakers with greatest appeal for me intellectually were John Mearsheimer and Andrew Bacevich. They are both conservatives but also realists, a stance that has made them very critical of the current administration. Both were also effective public speakers, something not always true of academic authors.

**YESIM YEMNI:** Marshall Goldman's Merrill House lecture was a fascinating account of the free-for-all that occurred with the collapse of the Soviet Union. He told an amazing story about a small group of men who had nothing and then suddenly were on the *Forbes* billionaire list. I also really enjoyed listening to Ashutosh Varshney discuss his new book about the roots of ethnic and religious conflict in India. He asked an interesting question – why do some Indian cities explode into violence while others do not? – and then posed a thought-provoking answer: cities with active civil society organizations are more peaceable because these organizations help to create cross-cutting ties among disparate communities.



Joanne Myers, who has directed Merrill House Programs for nearly a decade, has hosted hundreds of leading figures in ethics and international affairs, inviting them to share their views with Council audiences.

troops from various nations have any “common basis for building an ethical understanding.”

The three agreed that the new emphasis on terrorism had rekindled their passion for teaching the ethical dimensions of international affairs – in contradistinction to the political scientists and theorists who argue that international relations is based

solely on power and national interests. Perhaps Brown put it best: “We now know that for many people in the world today, politics is about religion; it's about value systems. And I think international ethics is the best framework for handling that – better than the theory you will find in mainstream IR courses.” [@ON THE WEB: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS](#)

# THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL is thinking about ...

## PEOPLE

Program officers at the Carnegie Council cultivate a network of contacts in the fields they study – from established scholars and practitioners, to participants in our Fellows Program, to talented students.

Jeffrey Olick, an associate professor of sociology at Columbia University, has partnered with Lili Cole in convening a successful Columbia University Seminar series on history and memory. He recently contributed a review essay on collective guilt to *Ethics & International Affairs*.

**JEFF OLICK:** The Carnegie Council is a unique organization, and my collaboration with Lili Cole has been a source of intellectual sustenance for me as we have developed the Columbia University Seminar on History and Memory together over the past two years. Lili and the Council have been the perfect partner, helping to create a working community of scholars and practitioners on this compelling and important topic.



**LILI COLE:** The aim of the Columbia University Seminar on history and memory is to bring together some of the many disciplinary approaches to this subject. Jeff is a very creative sociologist who thinks beyond his discipline. His intellectual breadth and flexibility have enhanced my own knowledge of this emerging, exciting, but intellectually still messy area of inquiry. We have been able to hold a true forum, where ideas and findings are the subject of genuine, lively debate.

Elazar Barkan is chairman of the cultural studies department at Claremont Graduate University in California and author of *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. Lili Cole has collaborated closely with him on an international historical commissions project, which held a meeting this past spring on its first case study, Polish-Jewish history, in Leipzig, Germany.



**ELAZAR BARKAN:** The Carnegie Council has provided a great home and venture space for the launching of the international historians' initiative. Lili Cole has been magnificent in sharing the vision and organizing the project for the past two years. The exciting combination of academic and creative approaches with the far-reaching network of the Council and its international prominence has lent credence to the initiative and enabled us to bring together top scholars and involve them in a new type of research. The Council's sponsorship facilitated the expansion of the project in goal-oriented and practical directions. I am delighted to have the opportunity to work with Lili and grateful to the Council for embracing the project.

**LILI COLE:** Elazar Barkan is a leader in the field of historical justice. His writing on reparations and the role of history in the formation of group identities have helped to define the field, and his ability to bring together great thinkers for ambitious but clearly defined projects helps to bridge the gap between scholarship and practice. It's been a privilege to partner with him in the historical commissions project, which explores how historians can play a public role in the search for historical justice without compromising their scholarship.

Sanjay Reddy, a development economist based at Columbia University, has been an advisor to the Carnegie Council's Justice and the World Economy program and is a member of the editorial advisory board to *Ethics & International Affairs*. In the past year he contributed to the journal and spoke at a Council seminar.



“The people on these pages have imparted their creative energy to Council projects, helping us produce the year’s best work.”

JOEL ROSENTHAL,  
CARNEGIE COUNCIL

**SANJAY REDDY:** Christian Barry’s program on justice and the world economy is a leading arena for fresh thinking about international economic justice. The program has helped me and others like me to focus our work. It has also brought our findings to a larger audience of practitioners, who can begin to apply its lessons in a practical sense.

**CHRISTIAN BARRY:** Sanjay Reddy is an unusually gifted young scholar. His remarkable ability to identify the relevance of specialized, and seemingly arcane, economic principles and facts to the ethical assessment of global institutional arrangements and his inventiveness in developing proposals for institutional reform have made him an invaluable asset to the Justice and the World Economy program. Indeed, through his clear and informative presentations, seminar contributions, journal essays, and informal advice, Sanjay has substantially shaped the Council’s work in this area during the past two years.

**Keith Slack, a 2002-2003 Carnegie Council Fellow, organized a major conference on resource extraction policy last May, in collaboration with the Justice and the World Economy program.**



**KEITH SLACK:** Working with the Council has been a valuable experience. The organization is a rare bridge between the theoretical/academic and the activist/practitioner worlds in international affairs. Support from the Council helped me deepen my thinking on the linkages between poverty and natural resource extraction. The Council has become an important source of support to research and analysis on this key issue facing those of us who are engaged as practitioners in international development and poverty reduction.

**CHRISTIAN BARRY:** During his fellowship year, Keith Slack produced an unusually clear and creative study of the problems posed by models of economic development that encourage natural resource extraction. But his contributions to the Justice and

World Economy Program went well beyond his written work. Keith conceived and organized a joint Carnegie Council/Oxfam America/Catholic Relief Services conference “The Earth’s Riches and the World’s Poor: Finding Solutions to Problems of Natural Resource Extraction and Economic Justice,” which received attention in the *New York Times* and other media. I look forward to the release of our jointly authored report on economic justice and resource extraction early next year.

**Kavita Philip, who is an associate professor of women’s studies at the University of California, Irvine, is the researcher and co-author (with Amita Baviskar) of the India chapter of the Council’s four-country study of environmental values and policymaking, run by Studies director Joanne Bauer.**



**KAVITA PHILIP:** As an academic with cross-disciplinary theoretical and practical interests, I chose to spend a part of my sabbatical year working on the India piece of the environmental values project. The scope of the project is impressive, and its conceptualization, ambitious. Joanne has asked a series of stimulating questions, and her editorial vision is both intellectually curious and methodologically inclusive. This made for a richly rewarding educational experience as well as collaboration. During my tenure at the Council, I also had the opportunity to meet others who, like Joanne, are public intellectuals in the best sense, in that they combine a concern for building a just and ethical society with a commitment to academic rigor.

**JOANNE BAUER:** I appreciated Kavita’s deep knowledge and nuanced approach to the impact of the global economic order on the Indian economy, particularly the conflicts that take place between individuals and grassroots groups and the multinational corporations that the Indian government welcomes to its shores. As an accomplished academic already working in the field of cross-cultural environmental values, she was able to bring her expertise to bear on the India chapter of the forthcoming book. She and I had many productive conversations about the book’s methodology and the challenges of comparing and presenting data across different cultural contexts.



**Maria Rodrigues**, an assistant professor of political science at the College of Holy Cross and a 2002-2003 Carnegie Council Fellow, hosted a faculty development seminar on environmental education last May, in partnership with Tony Lang.

**MARIA RODRIGUES:** The environmental ethics workshop held at the College of the Holy Cross last May provided me with some very exciting networking opportunities. I made several new contacts whose input has enhanced my research on the role of transnational environmental groups in preserving the Brazilian rainforests.

**TONY LANG:** Given my interest in global governance and its ethical implications, I relished the opportunity to put together a summer course for college faculty on environmental values. Because Maria's work explores the moral dilemmas that arise from interactions between local groups and global environmental activists, she was able to point out the most important areas of overlap between my interests and those of environmental researchers. Working with her and the other professors at Holy Cross to organize the seminar was an intellectually enriching experience.



**Catherine Lu**, an assistant professor of political science at McGill University, collaborated with Tony Lang in setting up a faculty development workshop on "evil" and international affairs. She recently contributed to a debate on politics and victimhood in *Ethics & International Affairs*.

**CATHERINE LU:** I was immediately captivated by Tony's workshop agenda: I liked the way it encouraged a discussion of evil from various sources, including religious texts, classic philosophy texts, international legal judgments, as well as contemporary novels and films. I also appreciated the way Tony chaired the workshop panels, fostering an open environment where participants felt free to engage in constructive debate, with an unusually high level of honesty and mutual respect. Such frankness can be rare in academic circles, particularly in these politically divisive times. Tony and I were interviewed twice on Canadian TV: quite a feat for the organizers of an academic workshop!

**TONY LANG:** As a political theorist, Catherine was able to focus the workshop discussions on the texts we read, while I did the job of an international relations person, trying to keep our discussions focused on current events. The combination was very fruitful. In addition, Catherine's interest in questions of forgiveness and political conflict complemented the seminar topic [concepts of evil and international affairs] very well.

**Stephan Kreisher** is a graduate/magister student at Free University Berlin, pursuing a degree in U.S. politics and history, international relations, and international law. He worked as a consultant to the Council's Ethics and the Use of Force program from June to August 2003, collaborating closely with Joel Rosenthal on setting up a new project on ethics and the use of military force.



**STEPHAN KREISCHER:** I learned a lot while working for Joel in the Ethics and the Use of Force program and by working at the Council in general. The staff come from diverse backgrounds, which guarantees a variety of perspectives – and a lively debate – on any given topic. My colleagues at the Council were genuinely curious about my thoughts as a young European, and although there were times when we had our differences, they respected my opinions. The atmosphere of the Council is quite conducive to a democratic exchange of ideas.

**JOEL ROSENTHAL:** Stephan was instrumental in preparing the agenda for our project on "Using Military Force: Duties and Restraints." His expertise in international law and international relations theory made him ideally suited to help us develop our thinking on evolving legal and ethical norms governing the use of force. His perspective as a young European scholar with deep interests in American foreign policy added an important dimension to the Council's work.

# 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.

## 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, and Environmental Values and Policymaking. The Council's Fellows

For further information along with answers to other frequently asked questions, explore the "About Us" area of [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).

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 our annual Morgenthau Memorial Lecture (this year's, the twenty-second in the series, featured Wesley Clark speaking on "Waging Modern War"); 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 Council relies on its Web site, [carnegiecouncil.org](http://carnegiecouncil.org), and companion newsletter, *ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ*, to connect its New York-based activities with members and friends in other parts of the world. This past year, we launched a newly designed Web site with 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.

## 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 where this kind of learning takes place on a regular basis. We serve educators, diplomats, government officials, journalists, NGO representatives, business executives, and concerned members of the general pub-

lic. Whether they support us as 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.

## Can you give me some examples of Council resources?

The Council's 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. 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 teaching tools in college classrooms worldwide. In addition, the Council has 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 international affairs issues.

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

The Carnegie Council is an independent, nonprofit, 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 member 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.

S	M	T	W	T	F	S

SEPTEMBER  
OCTOBER  
NOVEMBER

## September 2002

- 9/5/02 | STUDIES SEMINAR  
Francisco Rodriguez  
*Economic Crisis and Political Upheaval: Venezuela in the Global Economy*
- 9/18/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Daniel Brumberg, Adrian Karatnycky, and Walter Russell Mead  
*Democracy in the Age of Terror: Global Trends and Islamic Challenges*
- 9/19/02 | CARNEGIE-GEORGETOWN FORUM  
(Washington, D.C.)  
Reuven Kimelman, Arnold Resnicoff, and Regina Schwartz  
*In the Name of God: Understanding Religious Violence*
- 9/24/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Ashutosh Varshney  
*Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*
- 9/25/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Ahmed Rashid  
*From a Reporter's Notebook: Afghanistan One Year Later: The Struggle for the Soul of a Nation*
- 9/25/02 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
Michael Hirsh  
*Bush and the World*
- 9/30/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Barry Rubin  
*The Tragedy of the Middle East*

## October 2002

- 10/2/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
David Rieff  
*A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*
- 10/3/02 | "BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY" SEMINAR  
Eric Foner and Judith Stein  
*U.S. Memory of Slavery and the Legacy of Reconstruction* – Cosponsored with Columbia University
- 10/9/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Warren Zimmermann  
*First Great Triumph: How Five Americans Made Their Country a World Power*
- 10/10/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Mary Anne Weaver  
*Pakistan: In The Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan*

- 10/16/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Peter Maass and Michael Walzer  
*The New Killing Fields: Massacre and the Politics of Intervention*
- 10/21/02 | STUDIES SEMINAR  
*Crime, Public Order, and Human Rights* – Co-organized with the International Council on Human Rights Policy
- 10/23/02 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
Thomas Nichols  
*Putin's First Two Years: Democratic Partner or Future U.S. Competitor?*
- 10/24/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Peter Berger  
*Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World*
- 10/24/02 | STUDIES CONFERENCE  
10/25/02 | *Religious Traditions of Peace in Times of War* – Cosponsored with the Uehiro Foundation
- 10/28/02 | "ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE" SEMINAR  
Ngairé Woods  
*Held to Account: Governance in the World Economy*
- 10/29/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Peter Singer  
*One World: The Ethics of Globalization*
- 10/31/02 | STUDIES SEMINAR  
Yossi Klein Halevi  
*Religion, Reconciliation, and Conflict in the Holy Land* – Cosponsored with the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee

## November 2002

- 11/1/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Mark Hertsgaard  
*The Eagle's Shadow: Why America Fascinates and Infuriates the World*
- 11/6/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Jeffrey Sachs  
*Global Poverty and U.S. Foreign Policy*
- 11/6/02 | STUDIES BOOK TALK & PANEL  
Peter Danchin, David Little, Saeed Shafqat, and Donald Shriver  
*Religion and Human Rights in the Year since September 11*
- 11/7/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
John Mearsheimer  
*The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*



- 11/12/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Nitin Desai  
*Johannesburg: Achievements and Challenges*
- 11/14/02 | ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
ROUNDTABLE  
Richard Betts, Chris Brown, Michael Byers,  
and Nicholas Rostow  
*The Preemptive Use of Force*
- 11/18/02 | "ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE" SEMINAR  
Sanjay Reddy  
*Monitoring Global Poverty: Better Options for  
the Future*
- 11/19/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Onora O'Neill  
*A Question of a Trust: 2002 BBC Reith Lectures*
- 11/20/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Robert F. Drinan  
*The Mobilization of Shame: A World View of  
Human Rights*
- 11/21/02 | CARNEGIE-GEORGETOWN FORUM  
(Washington, D.C.)  
Martin Cook, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and John  
Langan  
*In the Name of God: Understanding Religious  
Violence*

## December 2002

- 12/4/02 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
Andrew Bacevich  
*American Empire: The Realities and  
Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*
- 12/4/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Rima Khalaf Hunaidi  
*UNDP: Arab Human Development Report*
- 12/12/02 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Maude Barlow  
*Blue Gold: The Fight to Stop the Corporate  
Theft of the World's Water*
- 12/18/02 | STUDIES PANEL (London, England)  
Christian Barry, Chris Brown, Tom Erskine,  
David Miller, and Onora O'Neill  
*Determining Remedial Responsibility for  
Global Problems* – Cosponsored with the  
London School of Economics

## January 2003

- 1/16/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Chris Hedges  
*War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*

- 1/22/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Yonah Alexander  
*Terrorism: Will Civilization Survive?*

- 1/27/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Shibley Telhami  
*The Stakes – America and the Middle East:  
The Consequences of Power and the Choice  
for Peace*

- 1/29/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
Michael Doran  
*Palestine, Iraq, and American Strategy*

- 1/29/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Roméo Dallaire  
*Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of  
Humanity in Rwanda*

## February 2003

- 2/4/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Robert Kagan  
*Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe  
in the New World Order*

- 2/6/03 | "ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE" SEMINAR  
Terry Collingsworth  
*Beyond Reports and Promises: Enforcing  
Universally Accepted Human Rights Standards  
in the Global Economy*

- 2/10/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Bill Emmott  
*20:21 Vision: Twentieth Century Lessons for  
the Twenty-first Century*

- 2/11/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
John Richardson  
*The Dynamics of EU-U.S. Relations: Where  
Next?*

- 2/20/03 | CARNEGIE-GEORGETOWN FORUM  
(Washington, D.C.)  
Hillel Fradkin, John Kelsay, and Qamar ul-Huda  
*In the Name of God: Islamic Perspectives on  
War and Peace*

- 2/24/03 | STUDIES SEMINAR  
Amita Baviskar  
*Environmental Politics and the Making of  
Metropolitan Delhi*

- 2/26/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
David Calleo  
*Rethinking Europe's Future*

- 2/27/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Charles Kupchan  
*The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign  
Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first  
Century*

S	M	T	W	T	F	S

NOVEMBER  
DECEMBER  
JANUARY  
FEBRUARY

S	M	T	W	T	F	S

FEBRUARY  
MARCH  
APRIL  
MAY

2/27/03 | "BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY"  
SEMINAR  
George Fletcher  
*Romanticism and Collective Guilt in the Age of Terrorism* – Cosponsored with Columbia University

### March 2003

3/4/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Carol Bellamy  
*Changing the World with Children: A Twenty-first Century Agenda for Human Security*

3/5/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Lawrence Kaplan and William Kristol  
*The War over Iraq: Why Saddam Must Go...And Why America Must Lead*

3/6/03 | STUDIES WORKSHOP  
3/7/03 | *Faith and Foreign Policy: The Jewish Tradition and American Foreign Policy* – Cosponsored with the American Jewish Committee

3/12/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Philip Taubman  
*Secret Empire: The Spy Satellites, the CIA, and American Intelligence*

3/13/03 | "BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY"  
SEMINAR  
John Torpey  
*Reparations, Past and Future* – Cosponsored with Columbia University

3/18/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Geneive Abdo and Jonathan Lyons  
*Answering Only to God: Faith and Freedom in Twenty-first Century Iran*

3/26/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
Dana Allin  
*The Democratic Party and Foreign Policy*

3/27/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Talat Halman  
*Turkey at the Crossroads: Keyhole for Iraq, Key to Secular Islam, Yet Murky for the EU*

### April 2003

4/1/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Donald Gregg  
*Challenges for the U.S. – Threats and Opportunities on the Korean Peninsula*

4/3/03 | "ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE" SEMINAR  
Prakash Sethi  
*International Codes of Conduct for Multinational Corporations: Are They a Viable Option for Making Multinational Corporations Socially Accountable?*

4/3/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
William Odom  
*Fixing Intelligence: For a More Secure America*

4/3/03 | STUDIES CONFERENCE  
*Privatization and GATS – A Threat to Development?* – Cosponsored with the UN Financing for Development Office and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation

4/9/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Andrew Bacevich  
*American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*

4/15/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Paul Berman  
*Terror and Liberalism*

4/24/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Shepard Forman, David Malone, and Kishore Mahbubani  
*Unilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy*

4/30/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
Marshall Goldman  
*The Piratization of Russia: Russian Reform Goes Awry – Is Putin the Solution?*

4/30/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
Michael Glennon  
*Why the Security Council Failed*

4/30/03 | ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
ROUNDTABLE  
Jack Boorman, Thomas Palley, Ann Pettifor, and Arturo Porzecanski  
*Dealing Justly with Debt*

### May 2003

5/1/03 | STUDIES SEMINAR  
Jonathan Sacks  
*The Dignity of Difference: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilizations*

5/2/03 | STUDIES SEMINAR (College Park, Maryland)  
Carolyn Boyd and David Crocker  
*Democratic Development and Reckoning with the Past: The Case of Spain in Comparative Context* – Cosponsored with CIRCLE, Institute for Philosophy & Public Policy, University of Maryland

5/6/03 | "BEYOND HISTORY AND MEMORY"  
SEMINAR  
Stuart Eizenstat  
*The Work of an International Negotiator in Restitution Cases and the Legacy of World War II* – Cosponsored with Columbia University

5/7/03 | 22nd MORGENTHAU MEMORIAL LECTURE  
Wesley Clark  
*Waging Modern War*

5/9/03 | STUDIES CONFERENCE (Washington, D.C.)  
*The Earth's Riches and the World's Poor: Finding Solutions to Problems of Natural Resource Extraction and Economic Justice* – Cosponsored with Oxfam America and Catholic Relief Services

5/14/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Ross Terrill  
*The New Chinese Empire: And What it Means for the United States*

5/15/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 James Derham  
*Security on the U.S. Borders: Canada and Mexico – Protect or Divide?*

5/18/03 | FACULTY DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR (Worcester, Massachusetts)  
 5/21/03 | *Ethics, Science, and Policy: Environmental Education for a Transnational World* – Cosponsored with the College of the Holy Cross

5/20/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Jonathan Schell  
*The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People*

5/22/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Graham Fuller  
*The Future of Political Islam*

5/28/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Riccardo Orizio  
*Talk of the Devil: Encounters with Seven Dictators*

5/29/03 | STUDIES CONFERENCE  
 5/31/03 | *Feasible Additional Sources of Finance for Development* – Cosponsored with the ILO, the UN Finance for Development Office, and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation

## June 2003

6/2/03 | FACULTY DEVELOPMENT SEMINAR (Montreal, Canada)  
 6/6/03 | *Evil and International Affairs: Rhetoric, Reality, and Responsibility* – Cosponsored with McGill University

6/2/03 | STUDIES SEMINAR  
*Media-Military Relations: Lessons from the Iraq War*

6/4/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Michael Hirsh  
*At War with Ourselves: Why America Is Squandering Its Chance to Build a Better World*

6/4/03 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE  
 Andrew Krepinevich  
*Operation Iraqi Freedom: Preliminary Military and Strategic Lessons Learned*

6/10/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Clyde Prestowitz  
*Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*

6/12/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Robert Art  
*A Grand Strategy for America*

6/15/03 | FELLOWS WORKSHOP  
 6/19/03 | 2002–2003 and 2003–2004 Carnegie Council Fellows

6/17/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Shanthi Kalathil  
*Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule*

6/24/03 | MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAM  
 Karl Meyer  
*The Dust of Empire: The Race for Mastery in the Asian Heartland*

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MAY  
 JUNE

## Program Highlights

**MERRILL HOUSE PROGRAMS:** Talks on war, terrorism, and the Middle East; humanitarian intervention; and American unilateralism.

**HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE:** Continued publication of *Human Rights Dialogue* with issues on public security and human rights (Fall 2002) and human rights and globalization (Spring 2003).

**JUSTICE AND THE WORLD ECONOMY PROGRAM:** Seminar series on achieving global justice (several of the presenters also contributed to *Ethics & International Affairs*); co-sponsored conference on the impact of privatization on development, which generated a report (see **PUBLICATIONS**); co-sponsored conference on the problems of natural resource extraction and economic justice, which received major media attention.

**HISTORY AND THE POLITICS OF RECONCILIATION PROGRAM:** Continuation of joint seminar series with Columbia University exploring the differences between history and memory; continued sponsorship of original research on the role of history education in countries with difficult pasts, with funding from the U.S. Institute of Peace and the Spencer Foundation; participation in a meeting on Polish-Jewish reconciliation, the first case study for a new project on international historical commissions.

**ETHICS AND THE USE OF FORCE PROGRAM:** Forum series at Georgetown University on notions of war and peace in the world's major religions.

**ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES AND POLICYMAKING PROJECT:** Manuscript preparation for an edited volume on the project's findings (see **PUBLICATIONS**).

**FACULTY DEVELOPMENT:** Workshop in May at the College of the Holy Cross, on environmental education for a transnational world; workshop in June at McGill University, on concepts of evil and the study of international affairs (see **FILMS**).

# Contributors

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## 2002-2003

### IHSAN D. DAGI

Middle East Technical University, Turkey,  
International Relations  
*Islamist Intellectuals in Turkey: Rethinking Human Rights, Democracy, and the West*

### MARIA GUADALUPE MOOG RODRIGUES

College of the Holy Cross, Political Science  
*Transnational Environmental Activism and Its Impact on Local Communities*

### KEITH M. SLACK

Policy Advisor, Oxfam America  
*Digging Out of Poverty? Just Management of Natural Resource Extraction and Its Implications for Poverty Reduction in the Developing World: Lessons from Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia*

### ELIZABETH K.P. WONG

Secretary General, National Human Rights Society, Malaysia  
*Changing Perceptions of Rights and Security in Malaysia Post-9/11*

### TAKASHI YOSHIDA

Western Michigan University, History  
*Remembering the Pacific War: War and Peace Museums in China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan*

### DIETER ZINNBAUER

London School of Economics, Development Studies  
*Intellectual Property Rules for the Digital Economy: Determining the Distribution of Global Benefits from a Technological Revolution*

## Selected 2003-2004

### UCHÉ EWELUKWA

University of Arkansas School of Law, International Law  
*African States, Aggressive Multilateralism, and the WTO Dispute Settlement System – Politics, Process, Outcomes, and Prospects*

### MARCUS HALL

Research Fellow, Swiss Federal Research Institute, Switzerland  
*Fighting Malaria in Sardinia: DDT, the Rockefeller Foundation, and Imperial Environmentalism*

### ELIZABETH OGLESBY

University of Arizona, Latin American Studies  
*Education and the Politics of History in Guatemala: Integrating "Memory of Silence" into the Curriculum?*

### 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*

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\*Departed prior to October 1, 2003.

# Financial Summary

Statement of activities for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 2002, and ending June 30, 2003

## REVENUE & SUPPORT

Grants for Programs	141,767
Trustee & individual contributions	63,873
Program & Membership fees	139,532
Interest Income	2,169
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>347,341</b>
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	2,363,418
<b>TOTAL REVENUE &amp; SUPPORT</b>	<b>2,710,759</b>

## EXPENSES

<b>PROGRAMS</b>	
Studies	589,061
Education	713,941
Merrill House Programs	330,626
Publications	719,481
<b>SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES</b>	<b>2,353,109</b>
Management and General Support	357,650
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>2,710,759</b>

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



### Vol. 17.1 (Spring 2003)

Featuring a roundtable on the pre-emptive use of force; a special section on achieving global economic justice; and a debate on Israel's policy of targeted killings.



### Vol. 16.2 (Fall 2002)

Featuring a roundtable on the September 11 effect; a special section on health and global justice; and a debate on human

rights and the politics of victimhood.

## Morganthau Memorial Lectures



**Waging Modern War**, by Wesley K. Clark (2003)



**The Mystery of Capital**, by Hernando de Soto (2002)

## Human Rights Dialogue



**"Making Human Rights Work in a Globalizing World"** (Spring 2003)



**"Public Security and Human Rights"** (Fall 2002)

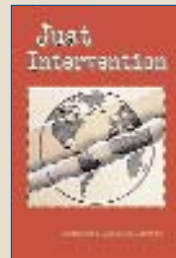
## New Carnegie Council Books



**Ethics and the Future of Conflict: Lessons of the 1990s**, eds.

Anthony F. Lang, Jr., Albert C. Pierce, and Joel H. Rosenthal (Prentice Hall, 2003).

**Just Intervention**, ed. Anthony F. Lang, Jr. (Georgetown University Press, 2003).



### COMING SOON:

**Dancing Cats and Factory Ships: Justice, Livelihood, and Contested Environments**, ed. Joanne Bauer (M.E. Sharpe, 2004 forthcoming). A report of the Council's multi-year study of environmental values and policymaking.

## <INPPING> Newsletter



**"A New Turn in the New War"** (May/June 2003)



**"Dealing Justly with Debt"** (January/February 2003)



**"Threats beyond the Headlines"** (September/October 2002)



**"Instead of Reconciliation, A Widening Gulf"** (March/April 2003)



**"Justice after War"** (November/December 2002)



**"The Carnegie Council Covers the New War"** (Supplement, Summer 2003)

# Membership

“Everyone with anything interesting to say about international relations sooner or later finds their way to Merrill House. Merrill House Programs provide an excellent overview of the ongoing debate about how nations should treat one another in the world they all share. The dialogue between speaker and audience is sophisticated and always stimulating.”

PAUL LEWIS, FORMER WRITER  
FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

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 31); an invitation to the Council's annual Morgenthau Memorial Lecture; and regular e-mail updates on upcoming events and new resources.

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. Every year we hold development programs for college faculty and support the work of junior scholars on original research projects.

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“The Merrill House breakfasts offer perhaps the most stimulating early-morning intellectual fare available in New York City. Remarkable speakers, an exceptionally well-qualified audience, and a relaxed atmosphere – under the firm but light guiding hand of director Joanne Myers – contribute to discussions that are invariably interesting, lively, and productive. I always leave the breakfasts feeling energized and enlightened. I can’t imagine a more refreshing start to the working day than one of Merrill House’s Books for Breakfast.”

SHASHI THAROOR, UNDER-  
SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR  
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## CREDITS

### COVER MONTAGE:

**Top row:** William Kristol at a 3/5/03 Merrill House Program; March/April 2003 <INPPINb> cover: "Instead of Reconciliation, A Widening Gulf"; book cover for *Answering Only to God: Faith and Freedom in Twenty-First Century Iran*, by Geneive Abdo and Jonathan Lyons, who spoke at a 3/18/03 Merrill House Program; 2003–2004 Carnegie Council Fellows on the Merrill House terrace; Onora O'Neill at an 11/19/02 Merrill House Program; Fall 2003 *Ethics & International Affairs* cover; Merrill House exterior, 170 East 64th Street.

**Middle row:** *Just Intervention*, edited by Anthony F. Lang, Jr.; November 2002 *Ethics & International Affairs* roundtable on the preemptive use of force; John Mearsheimer at an 11/7/02 Merrill House Program; DVD cover for *Ararat*, directed by Atom Egoyan, who spoke at a Carnegie Council-McGill University Faculty Development Workshop; 2002–2003 Carnegie Council Fellows on an outing in Central Park; Fall 2002 *Human Rights Dialogue* cover: "Public Security and Human Rights"; March/April 2002 <INPPINb> cover: "The Details Matter: Human Rights and the War on Terrorism."

**Bottom row:** Carol Bellamy at a 3/4/03 Merrill House Program; May/June 2003 <INPPINb> cover: "A New Turn in the New War"; Roméo Dallaire at a 1/29/03 Merrill House Program; Mary-Lea Cox interviewing David Clinton at the 2003 International Studies Association meeting in Portland, Oregon; January/February 2003 <INPPINb> cover: "Dealing Justly with Debt"; Wesley Clark delivering the 22nd Morgenthau Memorial Lecture at the Harmonie Club, New York City.

**TEXT:** Mary-Lea Cox, with Vivek Nayar, Christine Neilsen-Craig, and Mark Pedersen

**DESIGN:** Derek Lawlor

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