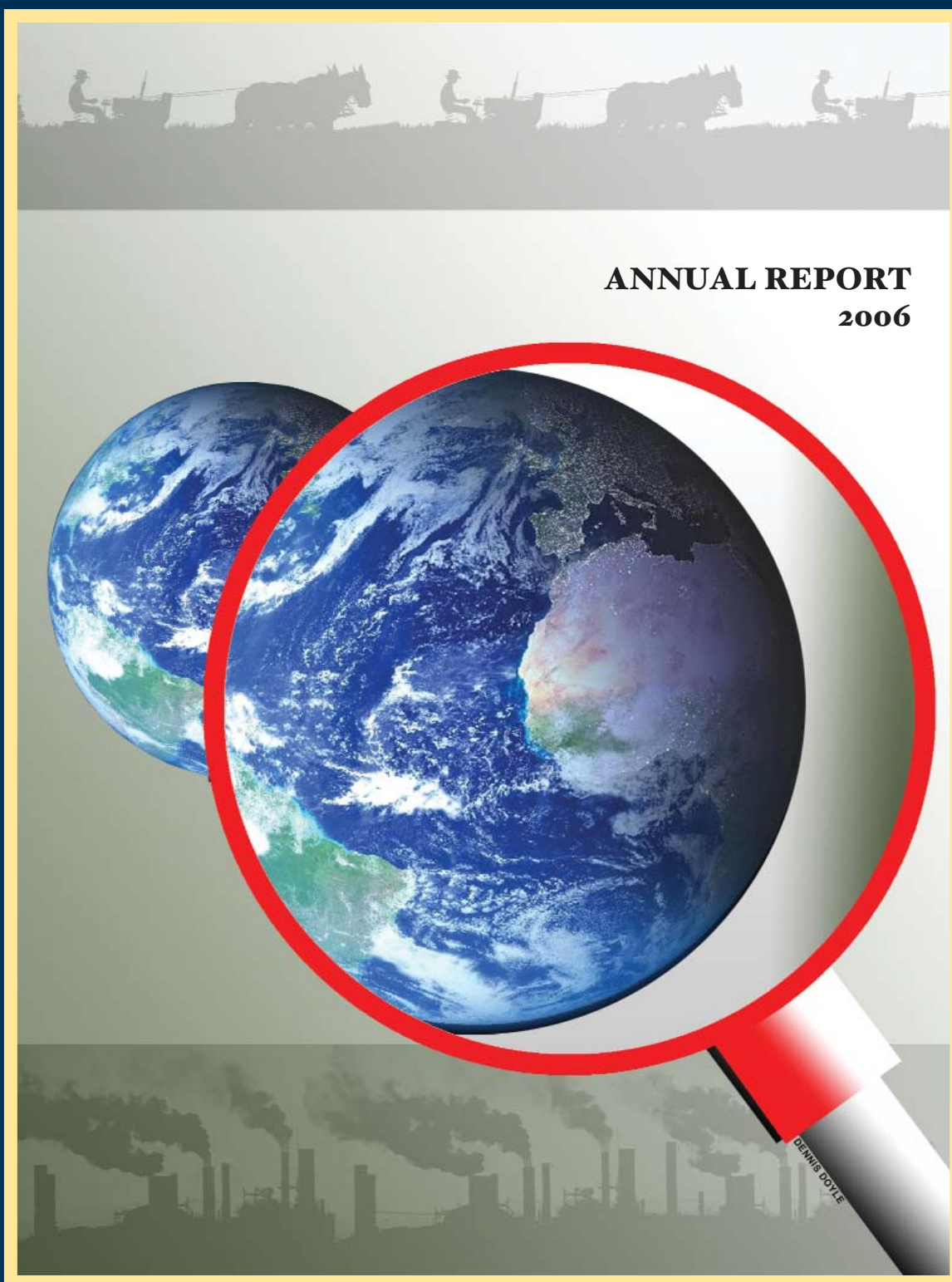


CARNEGIE COUNCIL

The Voice for Ethics in International Policy

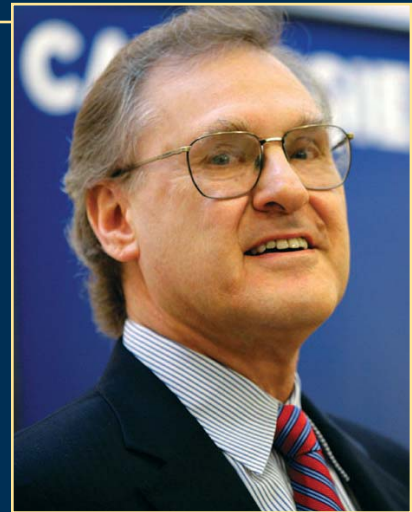


ANNUAL REPORT
2006

DENNIS DOYLE

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President's Message



JOEL H. ROSENTHAL

A YEAR OF INNOVATION

The program year 2005-2006 has been one of significant advances for the Council. Not only did we introduce several new lecture series, but also new faces, new websites, and even a new name.

In the fall of 2005, **Joanne Myers**, Director of Public Affairs Programs, initiated three dynamic and ongoing lecture series, each focusing on one of our core themes: A Fairer Globalization; The Ethics of U.S. Military Power; and The Resurgence of Religion in Politics.

Among the bright new faces are **Marcus Roberts**, Associate for Council Advancement, and **Devin Stewart**, Director of the Global Policy Innovations Program (GPI). We also appointed three distinguished Senior Fellows: **Dr. Jonathan Clarke**, a retired British diplomat, who will focus on Religion in Politics; **Colonel (Ret.) Jeffrey McCausland**, former dean of the U.S. Army War College, who leads the Council's work on Ethics, War, and Peace; and **Jere Van Dyk**, a journalist and author specializing in Afghanistan. I invite you to read the bios of these and all the Council staff on our website.

Speaking of websites, we launched not one but two new websites over the past year! Our new motto is "**Watch, Read, and Listen**"—our way of saying that you can now explore the entire world of the Council, its people, and programs, at www.CarnegieCouncil.org, including audios, videos, print documents, podcasts, and RSS feeds. In addition, our new online magazine is available at www.policyinnovations.org.

Lastly, the Council has taken a seemingly small but significant step forward, changing our name from the Carnegie Council *on* Ethics *and* International Affairs to the Carnegie Council *for* Ethics *in* International Affairs. With these two little words, we affirm our near century-long commitment to promoting ethical leadership in global policy.

Amidst all these changes, our mission remains the same: to provide a unique, nonpartisan forum for a variety of ethical approaches to the most challenging global issues.

Thank you for your support for this important work.

Joel H. Rosenthal
President, Carnegie Council

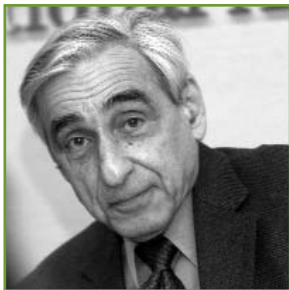
PROGRAM YEAR HIGHLIGHTS,
ORGANIZED AROUND THE COUNCIL'S CORE THEMES:
ETHICS, WAR, AND PEACE; GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE;
AND RELIGION IN POLITICS.

Ethics, War, and Peace

THE ETHICS OF WAR

Over three years have passed since the United States and its allies entered Baghdad, and U.S. public opinion is more divided than ever on the morality and wisdom of that decision. Naturally, this has prompted intense, ongoing discussions at the Council, both at public venues and in print.

Much of the debate has centered on the ethics of preventive war. At a February 2006 Public Affairs lecture, **Michael Walzer**, author of the classic *Just and*



MICHAEL WALZER

Unjust Wars, reiterated that preventive war was not acceptable, either in standard Just War theory, or under international law. However, he suggested that the theory of *jus ad bellum* (just war) should be extended to include *jus ad vim*—a theory of just and unjust uses of force. In his view, the containment imposed after the first Gulf War was a highly effective experiment in

the just use of force. It prevented both mass murder and (as we now know) the development of weapons of mass destruction, therefore rendering the 2003 Iraq War unnecessary.

Prof. **Whitley Kaufman** of the University of Massachusetts takes a somewhat different position. Writing in the Council's flagship journal *Ethics & International Affairs* (Volume 19.3), he argues that under both Just War doctrine and common sense morality preventive war is justifiable—providing that it satisfies the basic requirements for going to war, such as necessity and proportionality. However, like Walzer, he points out that under current international law the use of preventive international force is restricted to the UN Security Council alone, and individual states may use international force only in self-defense. “For all the shortcomings of the United Nations,” declares Kaufman, “we have not reached a state of total breakdown of authority sufficient to justify a return to the legitimacy of unilateral preventive war, such as going into Iraq.”

Responding to the enormous interest in this topic, in June 2006 the Council hosted a public forum entitled “**Just War?**” Held

at Saint Bartholomew's Church in New York City, it was cosponsored by the Center for Religious Inquiry and the Interreligious Center for Public Life, and moderated by Council president **Joel Rosenthal**. Speaking at the event were **Thomas Nichols**, Chairman of the Department of Strategy and Policy at the U.S. Naval War College, and **Jean Bethke Elshtain**, Professor of Social and Political Ethics at the University of Chicago.

According to Nichols, the United States and other developed nations are already moving into an era where preventive war is becoming acceptable. A new norm is quietly evolving, even though it is taboo to say so. "If force is resorted to," responded Elshtain, "it should be within the Just War tradition." But she reminded the capacity audience that historically the Just War tradition consists of two parts. The better-known precept is the often-cited "war of self defense, or preemptive war." The other, as first declared by Saint Augustine, is "to protect the innocent from certain harm." This provides justification for humanitarian interventions and is now evolving into the UN's "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine.

In addition, the Council devoted a special section of *Ethics & International Affairs* (Volume 20.1) to justice after war, focusing on Iraq and specifically examining the Iraqi draft constitution, governance in Iraq since the first Gulf War, and the ethics of lustration during the Iraq occupation—that is,

the problems of making decisions about the status of people who were either responsible for or who passively benefited from the regime's past injustices.

REPORTS FROM THE FIELD

While the debate continued about the ethics of invading Iraq and on how to best manage its aftermath, speakers in our Public Affairs series **The Ethics of U.S. Military Power** brought us accounts of what was actually happening on the ground.

Lieutenant Colonel Ahmed Hashim has served three tours of duty in Iraq and currently teaches at the U.S. Naval War College. Speaking as a private individual, he gave a detailed and sobering analysis of the rise of the Sunni insurgency, characterizing the situation in Iraq as a "low-level civil war." In addition, he said, Iraq now has organized crime and corruption on a massive scale, and is awash with drugs from Afghanistan. Given "the total lack of security and stability in Iraqi society," Hashim predicted gloomily that any possibility of achieving a truly democratic Iraq would take a minimum of ten years.

P. W. Singer, Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, focused on the role of military contractors in Iraq, without whom he believes the entire venture would have collapsed long ago. There are over 20,000 of these privately employed individuals, and the majority acquit themselves honorably. Yet

contractors have also been involved in many of the most controversial aspects of the war: over-billing allegations, the incidents at Fallujah, and, of course, Abu Ghraib, where the U.S. military found that 100 percent of the interpreters and up to 50 percent of the interrogators were private military contractors. It is time that we looked much more closely at the practical, legal, and ethical dilemmas that this form of outsourcing raises, says Singer, and how it is changing the face of warfare worldwide, not only in Iraq.

What about the situation in Afghanistan, five years after the fall of the Taliban? In March 2006, Afghan expert **Barnett Rubin** spoke to a Carnegie audience about the increasing violence in Afghanistan, which he termed “the forgotten war.” Over the past few months, he said, not only had the number of American troops killed risen higher than ever before, but the number of Afghan deaths had also shot up, demonstrating that this is not simply an anti-American insurgency. “Nevertheless,” he concluded, “if you asked people in Afghanistan, the majority appear to believe that things are better now than they were under the Taliban.”

INSIDE IRAN

Iran came to the fore this year, when President Ahmadinejad declared himself determined to pursue a nuclear program and made verbal attacks on Israel. But what are the opinions of Iranians themselves, and what are the domestic politics

fueling Ahmedinejad’s pronouncements? Two fascinating Public Affairs events gave us an insight into the thinking in today’s Iran.

A May 2006 forum entitled “Are We Misreading Iran’s Nuclear Politics?” featured political scientists **Vali Nasr** and **John Tirman**, along with **Ms. Fatemeh Haghighatjoo**, a leading Iranian human rights advocate. The background that Dr. Nasr provided on the new president and his team was hardly reassuring. They have little experience in foreign policy, he said, and their support comes from the Revolutionary Guards, a powerful military organization that is separate from the Iranian army, and from groups outside the mainstream of Iranian society, such as hard-line conservatives and ultra-nationalists.

On a more encouraging note, Ms. Haghighatjoo, a former member of Iran’s reform parliament, reported that the prospect of economic sanctions or even military attack on Iran had led all kinds of political groups, including conservatives, to join in debate that was critical of the government’s nuclear policy. But she observed that the White House was making a mistake by refusing to talk to Iran and by concentrating solely on Iran’s nuclear program. “Focusing on the nuclear issue has allowed the Islamic Republic to create a nationalist fervor,” she said. “There is no similar rallying together around either human rights or democracy in Iran.”

In fact, the United States has inadvertently aided Iran's ambitions, said Dr. Nasr in an interview with **Jere Van Dyk**, a distinguished journalist and Council Senior Fellow. "For the Iranians, the Taliban and Saddam were a problem, and the United States removed both of them," he said. "So, actually, if there is an opportunity for Iran to become a regional power, it came because of the 2001 attack on Afghanistan and the 2003 fall of Saddam." (The full text of Van Dyk's interview with Dr. Nasr, and with other Council speakers, can be found on the Council website.)

As part of the Council's **Resurgence of Religion in Politics** series, Nobel Peace Prize recipient **Dr. Shirin Ebadi** spoke of Iran's human rights situation, particularly the problems of discrimination against women and against different Muslim groups. Nevertheless, she said pointedly, while Iranian democracy is incomplete, it cannot be imposed from without, but must develop from within.

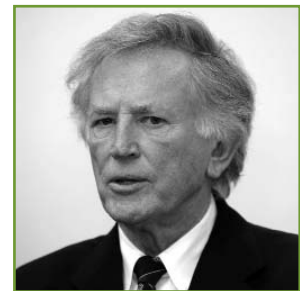
SECURITY—GLOBAL AND DOMESTIC

In establishing its program for reform of the United Nations, the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change acknowledged that, "Today, more than ever, threats are interrelated and a threat to one is a threat to all." But what constitutes a "global threat" from a nonstate actor, and who gets to define it? Which principles

should be upheld in dealing with nonstate actors? And just how should international institutions such as the United Nations be reformed to meet such threats?

In December 2005, a panel that included Ambassadors **Nirupam Sen** and **Nancy Soderberg** tackled these difficult questions, and the debate was continued in the pages of *Ethics & International Affairs* (Volume 20.2). Yet while terrorism and its effects on policy were, naturally, high on the agenda, both Sen and Soderberg made the point that for most people in the developing world, by far the most significant threat was poverty.

Former Senator Gary Hart has long been one of this country's foremost experts on domestic security, and he too believes that security threats cannot be confined within borders. "Within the next five to twenty-five years the entire concept of national security will begin to disappear," he told a Council Public Affairs audience. "It will be increasingly impossible for the United States to be secure if the rest of the world is insecure, and our only hope for security in this country, either traditionally narrowly defined or more broadly defined, is in collaboration and cooperation with other nations of goodwill—not just our traditional allies in Europe but throughout the world."



GARY HART

Global Social Justice

They say that a rising tide lifts all boats, and certainly the swell of larger markets created by increasing globalization has brought unprecedented prosperity and opportunities for many.

Nevertheless, millions of others have been left stranded, and many of them are even worse off than before. Poverty and inequity are actually increasing around the world, and a number of developing countries are carrying an enormous burden of debt. The Council strives not only to shed light on these problems, but also to give voice to positive ideas for a fair and just globalization.

GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS (GPI)

A vehicle is needed to publicize alternative proposals on how to tackle global development issues. Using the power of the Internet, GPI fills this need. “Our online magazine, *Policy Innovations* (www.policyinnovations.org), serves as a unique information hub,” says program director **Devin Stewart**. “It illuminates and facilitates the process of discovery by connecting innovative think tanks, civil society organizations, and intergovernmental organizations around the world.” The GPI team has already assembled

The screenshot shows the Policy Innovations website interface. At the top, it reads "POLICY INNOVATIONS The central address for a fairer globalization" and "A PARTNER OF THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL". Navigation links include IDEAS, INNOVATORS, EVENTS, ABOUT US, and CONTACT. The main content area features several articles with images and titles: "COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE" with a sub-heading "CHRISTIAN AID", "INNOVATIONS: The Global Goods Partners Story" with a photo of a woman and child, "INNOVATIONS: The International AIDS Vaccine Initiative Story" with a photo of a person in a lab coat, "EVENT: Free Trade, Fair Trade, and Sustainable Trade: The Case of Resource Extraction" with a photo of a mining site, and "COMMENTARY: The Cycle of AIDS and Hunger in Africa" with a photo of a man. On the right side, there is a search bar for the "CORE NETWORK" and a "NEWS FEED" section.

POLICYINNOVATIONS.ORG WEBSITE

a core network of more than 45 organizations that share information with GPI, and this handpicked group is growing. *Policy Innovations* features the work of these partners, as well as submissions from the “fairer globalization” community at large. Recent articles include an analysis by Tokyo-based scholar **Kim Beng Phar** on the difficulties consumers face when trying to sue for human rights violations in a system where trade is globalized but justice is not, and **Jennifer Horning’s** story on how she and her partners at Ethical Metalsmiths use art to drive the public debate on mining practices.

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Is the United Nations “indispensable,” as **Shashi Tharoor** would have it, or is it “irrelevant”? One of the high points of this year’s Public Affairs lecture series on **A Fairer Globalization** was a debate between Mr. Tharoor, UN Under Secretary-General for Public Affairs, and well-known law professor **Ruth Wedgwood** regarding the efficacy of the world organization. Journalist **James Traub**, author of an acclaimed biography of Kofi Annan, moderated this lively event.

While conceding that it still played a useful role, Dr. Wedgwood argued that the UN alone was no longer adequate and that it had serious built-in conflicts of interest. “Anybody who sits around the UN building,” noted Wedgwood, “can’t ignore the fact that countries vote their national interests, that the organization works on regional groups, and that, in fact, there is a tremendous pressure on members of regional groups to maintain the discipline of their caucus.” Her answer? Competition. “Competing multilaterals” should also be involved in solving the world’s problems, she declared.

Responding to the accusation, Mr. Tharoor pointed out that many at the UN are among the first to acknowledge its limitations and shortcomings, and that they were all working hard to implement reforms and new initiatives to make it more effective.

The Public Affairs series also included talks by **H. E. Mr. Jan Eliasson**, President of the 2005 UN General Assembly, and **Sir Emyr Jones Parry**, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the UN. Ambassador Eliasson, who until recently served as his country’s Foreign Minister, reported on the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission, the Central Emergency Fund, and the Human Rights Council, while Ambassador Parry described the positive rethinking of development policy that occurred in 2005 and the need to make 2006 the “year for action” in support of the UN Millennium Goals. He touched on the issues of aid, trade, UN reform, harmonization among donor organizations, and the struggle against corruption.

FAIR TRADE REGULATIONS

The Council is honored to have Nobel Laureate **Joseph Stiglitz** on GPI’s advisory board, as well as on the advisory committee for the Ethics and Debt Program, a joint project with the New School. In addition, he is a frequent speaker at the Council as part of the Public Affairs program.



JOSEPH STIGLITZ

Among his many achievements in the field of economics, Dr. Stiglitz has made major contributions to development economics



LEFT TO RIGHT: SANJAY REDDY, KAMAL MALHOTRA, ROBERT HOCKETT, TODD TUCKER, AND CHRISTIAN BARRY

and trade theory. “I firmly believe that aid and trade have to work together,” he told Jere Van Dyk in an April 2006 interview to discuss his book, *Fair Trade for All*, which calls for richer countries to open up their markets to the least developed countries. As he explained to a Public Affairs audience, the “trade liberalization” that has taken place over the past few years, from which economists expected so much, has actually resulted in trade that is neither free nor fair. Previous rounds of trade negotiations have been biased against poor countries, forcing them to open their markets and eliminate their subsidies, while richer nations are not obliged to fully reciprocate. This is particularly damaging in the case of agricultural goods, the main exports for 70 percent of the people in the developing world.

Also in April, the Council held a symposium entitled **International Trade: What Does Justice Demand?** The occasion was to mark the publication of *Global Institutions and Responsibilities*, edited by **Christian Barry** (Carnegie Council) and

Thomas Pogge (Australian National University and Columbia University). Led by Dr. Barry, the five distinguished panelists tackled issues such as trade and democratic legitimacy; justice in trade liberalization; and promoting human development through trade.

THE ROLE OF CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

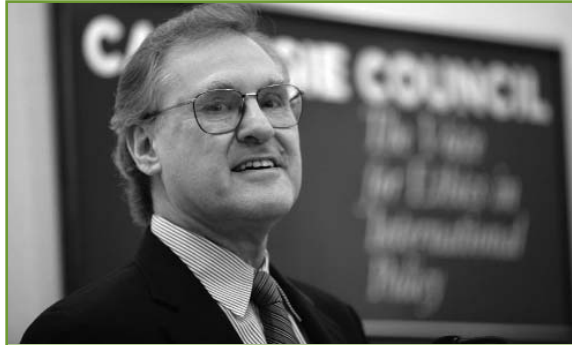
We live in a world where some corporations wield more power than many nation states. What obligations should we demand from corporations in order to alleviate poverty and protect human rights, and how can they be made to fulfill them?

Famed (and controversial) ethics philosopher **Peter Singer** together with author and former Carnegie Council staff member **Andrew Kuper** addressed these issues in a discussion of their recent book, *Global Responsibilities: How Can Multinational Corporations Deliver on Human Rights?* The volume was edited by Dr. Kuper and features Dr. Singer as a contributor. As the two speakers explained, the corporations

are, in a way, the result of the society in which they grow up, reflecting the interests of that society. Consequently, it is up to all of us to educate consumers in order to demand certain standards from these corporations, so that they can be held accountable in various ways.

AFRICA: CAUSE FOR ACTION, CAUSE FOR HOPE?

The African continent as a whole has surely benefited the least from globalization, and among its many problems HIV/AIDS stands out as a glaring rebuke to the developed world. In one of the most moving Council talks this year, **Dr. Stephen Lewis**, the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa, called AIDS the "ultimate ethical issue." Low-cost generic drugs and easy-to-follow regimens are available, he told his audience, and in fact, adherence to the regimen is often better in Africa than in the United States. Yet so far, the World Health Organization's "3 by 5" initiative, which aimed to provide three million people with anti-retroviral drugs by 2005, has reached only 1.3 million patients—less than half its goal. "There is something inexcusable and ethically indefensible about millions of people dying unnecessarily when the world knows how to intervene. We have lost the moral anchor of



DR. STEPHEN LEWIS AT THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL

the international community, and we must reclaim it," declared Lewis.

Sometimes it seems as though the only news from Africa is bad news. Yet reporter **Charlayne Hunter-Gault** is surprisingly optimistic about Africa's prospects. While acknowledging that Africa is hobbled by

"There's a second wind blowing across the continent, where progressive leaders are calling for an African renaissance..."

AIDS and poverty, she insists that this is not the whole story and that at last the culture of corruption is beginning to change. "There's a second wind blowing across the continent, where progressive leaders are

calling for an African renaissance," she told Jere Van Dyk in a Council interview. "Right now it's more of a vision and a slogan than a reality, but there are principles being laid down that will help achieve that renaissance, not least being changing the character of, and even the way, African governments do business. There are some that aren't corrupt. There are some that have got their houses in order."

Religion in Politics

“The Carnegie Council has a long tradition of examining religious issues,” says **Joanne Myers**, Director of Public Affairs Programs. “In our lecture series on **The Resurgence of Religion in Politics** we have been taking a close look at various developments as they unfold around the world, emphasizing their impact on social, cultural, economic, and political realities of the 21st century.” Indeed, it seems most appropriate that the Council—founded in 1914 as the Church Peace Union—would focus on this nexus of religion and politics, as it has proven once again to be a major force in shaping world affairs. As the West is learning to its cost, a thorough and objective understanding of these matters is essential to both foreign and domestic policy.

MUSLIMS AND THE WEST

The Struggle Between the Arab and Christian Worlds

“This is a conflict that began 1,400 years ago, and Iraq is only the latest chapter,” began **Milton Viorst**, a journalist who has covered the Middle East for over three decades. Declaring that it was folly for the Bush administration to go into Iraq without a working knowledge of the

region’s past, he proceeded to give the Council a history lesson on relations between the Christian and Muslim worlds, laying particular emphasis on the intensity of contemporary Arab historical memory concerning the Crusades and on the West’s various betrayals since World War I. The only viable solution for Iraq, he believes, is what he calls “the Lebanese Model,” referring to the intervention of the Arab League that put an end to the Lebanese civil war. President Bush should acknowledge his mistakes, withdraw American troops to Iraq’s periphery, and give the Arab League a chance to mediate Iraq’s ongoing conflicts, declared Viorst.

Muslims in Europe

With terrorist bombings in London and Madrid and Muslim furor over Danish cartoons, Europe was particularly tense this year. But what are the views and concerns of the silent majority of European Muslims? To learn more, the Council invited two eminent European scholars to help us go beyond the stereotypes. Based on interviews with over 300 Muslim leaders, Danish sociologist **Jytte Klausen** found that most European Muslims are liberal in outlook, and that their biggest priority is to build a European Islam, independent of the Islamic countries. Although they didn’t like the Danish cartoons, they value free speech and were against censoring the newspaper that published them.

The bad news, says Klausen, is that although one cannot generalize from country to country—Muslims in England are much more optimistic about their future than those in the Netherlands and Denmark, for example—many Muslims are “exceptionally unhappy” about the failure to integrate Islam into European life. The reason, she reports, is that unlike the United States, Europe has no tradition of a separation of church and state, and is ill equipped to deal with the issues of religious pluralism that Muslim migration has created.

Like Klausen, French scholar **Olivier Roy** stressed that most European Muslims fervently desire to be integrated. He observed that when young Muslims took to the streets of Paris in the riots of 2005, it was not in the name of Islam, but in the name of integration. Their demands are not for segregation, but for jobs and an end to discrimination. Some young Muslims have become financially successful, he told the audience, and the first thing they do is move out of public housing and put their children into private Catholic schools.

But Roy noted that there is also another phenomenon taking place: a wave of Western-educated Muslim terrorists, many of whom were born in Europe, and the rise of “born-again” Muslims among second-generation immigrants. He sees this as a result of their “deculturation”—the lack of a culture to call their own.



GUESTS LISTEN INTENTLY AT A CARNEGIE COUNCIL EVENT.

Many second-generation Muslims know little about Islam or their country of origin, and yet they are not truly at ease in Western culture either. Islamic fundamentalists tell them that they don't need to be religious experts. All they need to do is believe and they will be saved. This appealing message is strikingly similar to that of Christian evangelists, who are also beginning to make a few conversions among European Muslims. “It is not a matter of a clash of cultures and religions,” concludes Roy, “because the religions that are now effective are in fact disconnected from traditional cultures, and that is why they are working.”

The Consequences of Secularism in Europe?

While the United States becomes ever more religious, Western Europe is increasingly less so. Church pews are empty across Europe; and after more than a year of fierce debate it was decided not to mention Christianity in the preamble to the European Constitution. This denial of Europe's Christian roots greatly disturbs Catholic theologian **George Weigel**. As the birthrate drops dramatically and the demographic vacuum is filled “by people from another cultural experience,” he asks, will Europe be able to defend itself against

cultural transformation and a consequent reduction in its commitments to human rights and democracy?

In his talk (available online in print and audio), Weigel presents four possible European futures, ranging from a reconversion of Europe to Christianity at one extreme and an Islamicized “Eurabia” at the other. Alternatively, he said, perhaps some countries will remain democracies while others will become Islamicized, or perhaps Europe will find a way to sustain itself on its present course. But it was clear that he was not optimistic.

Many in the Council audience were skeptical, however. Asked one, “Is it not possible that the Europeans do not suffer from historical amnesia, but rather from a very vivid recollection of history, which goes back not only to the two World Wars but to the wars of religion before that? They will reject Islamicization in the same way that they have rejected war now for fifty years.”

RELIGION IN AMERICAN POLITICS

The Twelve Religious Tribes of American Politics

The separation of church and state has long been one of the pillars of the American system. Yet the United States is also one of the world’s most religious nations, and religion is playing an increasingly significant—and often divisive—role

in American politics. Intrigued by a 2001 exit-poll analysis that reported that the number-one issue for voters was moral values, journalist **Steven Waldman**, founder of the influential and comprehensive website beliefnet.com, decided to investigate. The result was his article, *The Twelve Religious Tribes of American Politics*, based on surveys conducted with **John Green**, a leading political scientist on matters of faith and politics.

What he found was surprising. To begin with, although it was the top answer, the actual number of voters in that famous exit poll who cited moral values as their primary issue was only about 22 percent—hardly an overwhelming proportion. Another interesting discovery was that the size of the Religious Right is about the same size as the Religious Left, although the Right’s political influence is much greater. The Republican coalition tends to splinter on economic issues and be cohesive around values issues, while the Democrats are the other way round; and polls show that less than half the population thinks the Democratic Party is friendly to religion. “So I think that Democrats are going to have to take faith seriously,” Waldman concluded. “They have to come up with a candidate who can talk about religion in a sincere way. They are going to have to come up with ways of convincing the public that they understand them.”

The Challenges of Religious Diversity

The United States is one of the most religiously diverse countries on Earth; and thanks to the separation of church and state, all religions are granted equal rights under the law. Yet Christians are still in the majority, and many believe that theirs is the only true faith, and that America should be a Christian nation. Just how do American Christians perceive people of other faiths?

Sociologist **Robert Wuthnow** conducted more than 300 in-depth interviews, and a national survey of nearly 3,000 people to find out how they were responding to the new diversity. On the one hand, he reported, most Americans say that they are tolerant of people who belong to religions other than their own, and even believe that all major religions probably contain some truth. However, he found that there is also “a chilling reservoir of intolerance towards Muslims and even toward Hindus and Buddhists.” For example, 60 percent say that they would support the U.S. Government collecting information on Muslim religious groups in the United States, while 50 percent also favor similar intelligence-gathering on Hindu or Buddhist groups.

According to Wuthnow, Americans are encouraged to be “bi-level”—that is, to respect civil liberties in their roles as citizens, and then to think whatever they want about religion in private, as long as

they keep it to themselves. Yet this solution just doesn’t work, he says, as people’s private religious convictions naturally affect their behavior towards others. In interview after interview, Wuthnow found that people of all faiths wanted “not a thin veneer of tolerance, not even respect, but understanding.”

The Legacy of Reinhold Neibuhr

Given the highly moralistic atmosphere in American politics today, what better time to revive the work of the great theologian Reinhold Neibuhr? A political realist, Neibuhr warned Americans against falling victim to the belief that God is always on their side. To be effective in politics, he avowed, what is needed is a sense of humility.

In a stirring Public Affairs talk, Niebuhr’s daughter, the editor and publisher **Elisabeth Sifton**, concluded that many of today’s Christian leaders are ignoring the truths her father espoused. All too often, pastors of today’s million-dollar mega-churches promise false security, avoiding or ignoring the biggest issues threatening people’s safety and freedom, she said. Politicians are also guilty of using this “specious public religion,” which, to quote her father, does nothing about “the brutalities of economic conflict, the disillusioning realities of international relations, the monstrous avarice of nations, the arrogance of races.”

Calendar of Activities

July 2005

- 7/13/05** | **PANEL AND COMMEMORATIVE EVENT**
Elazar Barkan, Roy Gutman, Donald. S. Hays, Haris Hromic, Charles Ingraio, Mirza Kusljagic, David Marwell, and H.R.H. Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein
Genocide and Aftermath: Rationalizing the Process of Truth and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina
Academy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in collaboration with Museum of Jewish Heritage, and with advisory support from the Carnegie Council
- 7/14/05** | **WORKSHOP**
Creating A Workable Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Bosnia and Herzegovina

August 2005

- 8/30/05-9/2/05** | **GRADUATE SEMINAR**
Christian Barry
Ethical Responsibility in a Complex World
University of Turku, Finland

September 2005

- 9/13/05** | **INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM**
Senator Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, Frank Fernandez, Jose Nun, Jose Serra, and Joseph Stiglitz
Ethics and Debt: Reflections on the Argentine Experience
Co-Sponsored with The New School Graduate Program in International Affairs and the Argentina Observatory
- 9/15/05** | **PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
George Weigel
The Cube and the Cathedral: Europe, America And Politics Without God
- 9/15/05** | **NEW LEADERS PROGRAM**
Richard Cizik, Allen Hertzke, and Luis Lugo
Evangelical Reflections on the U.S. Role in the World
- 9/16/05** | **LUNCHEON**
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Jeffrey D. McCausland
Iraq at the Crossroads
- 9/19/05** | **PANEL DISCUSSION**
A Fairer Globalization Series
Andrew Kuper and Peter Singer
Global Responsibilities: How Can Multinational Corporations Deliver on Human Rights?
- 9/20/05** | **PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Elisabeth Sifton
Radical Truths of Christian Realism: The Legacy of Reinhold Niebuhr
- 9/21/05** | **FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE**
Thomas M. Nichols
Anarchy and Order in the New Age of Prevention
- 9/22/05** | **SEMINAR**
Ethics & International Affairs
Seyla Benhabib
Transfigurations of Citizenship: Theory and Practice
- 9/27/05** | **PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Robert D. Kaplan
Imperial Grunts: The American Military on the Ground
- 9/27/05-9/28/05** | **GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM**
Jose Antonio Ocampo, Jose Serra, and Victor Tokman
Decent Work: The Path to Development in the Americas
Co-sponsored with the Fundación Agenda Colombia Bogotá, Colombia

October 2005

- 10/6/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
J. Douglas Beason
The E-Bomb: How America's New Directed-Energy Weapons Will Change the Way Future Wars Will Be Fought
- 10/6/05** | SEMINAR
Ethics & International Affairs Summer 2005 Launch
Kenneth Roth and Fernando Tesón
Ending Tyranny in Iraq: A Debate
- 10/6/05** | NEW LEADERS PROGRAM
Fernando Tesón
Humanitarian Intervention and Iraq
- 10/11/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Robert Wuthnow
America and the Challenges of Religious Diversity
- 10/19/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Kurt Campbell
Chinese Ambitions and the Future of Asia
- 10/19/05** | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Mark Danner
Taking Stock of the Forever War
- 10/25/05** | PANEL DISCUSSION
Alex Bellamy, Anthony Burke, Michael Fullilove, and Michael Wesley
Ethics and the Use of Force After Iraq
Co-sponsored with the Lowy Institute for International Policy and the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry at the University of Sydney
- 10/26/05** | GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
Kemal Dervis, Stephen Macedo, Mary Robinson, and Gideon Rose
Is A Fairer Globalization Possible?
Co-sponsored with the New York Society for Ethical Culture

- 10/27/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Benjamin M. Friedman
The Moral Consequences of Economic Growth

November 2005

- 11/1/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Pascal Menoret
Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia: Official Islam, Invented Tradition, and the Question of Religious vs. Political Opposition
- 11/1/05-11/2/05** | CONFERENCE
Christian Barry, Barry Herman, Sony Kapoor, Michael Kremer, Ann Pettifor, and Kunibert Raffer
Ethics and Debt
Co-sponsored with the Ford Foundation and New School University, New York
- 11/1/05** | GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
Ethan Kapstein, Armand Pereira, Peter Riggs, and Ian Sheldon
A Fairer Globalization: Ohio's Alternatives
Co-sponsored with the John Glenn Institute for Public Service and Public Policy
- 11/3/05** | 24th MORGENTHAU MEMORIAL LECTURE
Nicholas Negroponte
The \$100 Laptop: The Next Two Billion People to Go Digital
- 11/5/05** | SEMINAR
International Studies Association
Tom Farer
Fighting Terrorism: What Means are Legitimate?
Co-sponsored with International Studies Association (ISA), ISA Southern Region, Miami

Calendar of Activities

- 11/8/05-11/9/05** | PRESENTATION
Christian Barry and Sanjay Reddy
Just Linkage: Promoting Labor Standards in the World Trading System
European Union, Brussels
- 11/9/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Moisés Naim
Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers, and Copycats are Hijacking the World Economy
- 11/10/05** | PRESENTATION
Christian Barry and Sanjay Reddy
Just Linkage: Promoting Labor Standards in the World Trading System
European Union, Brussels
International Labor Organization, Geneva, Switzerland
- 11/10/05** | NEW LEADERS PROGRAM
Joel H. Rosenthal
What Constitutes an Ethical Approach to International Affairs?
- 11/18/05** | SEMINAR
International Studies Association Conference
Sohail Hashmi
Islamic International Law: Convergence or Dissonance?
Co-sponsored with International Studies Association, Northeast Region, Philadelphia
- 11/18/05-11/20/05** | CONFERENCE
History & the Politics of Reconciliation
Elizabeth Cole
Unite or Divide: The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict
Co-sponsored with the United States Institute of Peace, Warrenton, Virginia
- 11/21/05** | CONFERENCE
History & the Politics of Reconciliation
Judy Barsalou, Elizabeth Cole, Tony Gallagher, Charles Ingrao, and Karen Murphy
Unite or Divide: The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict
Co-sponsored with the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C. Policy Community

- 11/21/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Otto Schily
German Immigration Issues
- 11/29/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Philip J. Hiltz
Rx for Survival: Why We Must Rise to the Global Health Challenge
- 11/30/05** | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr.
How to Win in Iraq

December 2005

- 12/1/05** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
P. W. Singer
Corporate Warriors: The Privatized Military Industry and Iraq
- 12/8/05-12/9/05** | STUDIES PROGRAM
Information Ethics: Agents, Artifacts, and New Cultural Perspectives
Co-sponsored with the Uehiro Foundation and the Oxford Uehiro Centre for Applied Ethics
- 12/8/05** | PRESENTATION
Christian Barry
The Ethics of External Sovereign Debt
Federal University of Sao Paolo
- 12/13/05** | NEW LEADERS PROGRAM
Bruce Jones and Robert O. Keohane
"A Threat to One Is a Threat to All": Nonstate Actors, Collective Security, and the Reform of the UN
- 12/13/05** | ROUNDTABLE
Ethics & International Affairs
Bruce Jones, Robert O. Keohane, H. E. Mr. Nirupam Sen, and H. E. Mrs. Nancy Soderberg
"A Threat to One Is a Threat to All." Nonstate Actors, Collective Security, and the Reform of the UN

12/14/05 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
John L. Allen
Opus Dei: The First Objective Look Behind the Myths and Reality of the Most Controversial Force in the Catholic Church

January 2006

1/12/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
H. E. Sir Emyr Jones Parry
Development Agenda 2006: From Ideas Into Action

1/19/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Richard N. Gardner
My Italian Mission: Ethical Dilemmas & Lessons for Today

1/27/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Bernard-Henri Lévy
American Vertigo: Traveling America in the Footsteps of Tocqueville

1/31/06 | INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
Christian Barry and Thomas Pogge
How Can Medicine Help Overcome World Poverty?
Co-sponsored with the Center for Applied and Public Ethics, Australian National University

February 2006

2/1/06 | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Max Boot
War Made New: Four Great Revolutions that Changed the Face of Battle and the Course of History

2/3/06 | LUNCH
Stuart Cohen
The Quest for a Corpus of Jewish Military Ethics in Modern Israel

2/7/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Chris Patten
Cousins and Strangers: America, Britain, and Europe in a New Century

2/15/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Steven Waldman
The Twelve Religious Tribes of American Politics: Understanding the Real Role of Faith in Elections and Policymaking

2/22/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Nancy Sherman
Stoic Warriors: The Ancient Philosophy Behind the Military Mind

2/28/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Michael Walzer
Arguing About War

March 2006

3/2/06 | NEW LEADERS PROGRAM
Mary Habeck
Islam and Democracy

3/3/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Gary Hart
In the Shield and the Cloak: The Security of the Commons

3/6/06 | PRESENTATION
Christian Barry
Global Proposals for Greater Research and Development of Treatments for Neglected Diseases
Brazilian Society of Tropical Medicine, Piaui, Brazil

3/6/06 | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Yitzhak Nakash
Reaching for Power: The Shi'a in the Modern Arab World

Calendar of Activities

- 3/8/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Michael J. Sandel
Public Philosophy: Episodes and Arguments in American Civic Life
- 3/14/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Barnett Rubin
The Forgotten War: Afghanistan
- 3/15/06** | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Michael Mandelbaum
The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World's Government in the Twenty-First Century
- 3/20/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Gershon Gorenberg
The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements 1967-1977
- 3/21/06-3/26/06** | MEETING
American Philosophical Association Pacific Division Meeting
Christian Barry
Trade, Labor, Taxation, and Global Justice
Portland, Oregon
- 3/28/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Stephen Lewis
Race Against Time: Searching for Hope in AIDS-Ravaged Africa
- 3/29/06-4/1/06** | CONFERENCE
American Society for International Law Centennial Conference
Christian Barry
"Just" Trade Under Law: Do We Need A Theory of Justice for International Trade?
Washington, D.C.
- 3/30/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Olivier Roy
Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah

April 2006

- 4/3/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Joseph Stiglitz
Fair Trade for All: How Trade Can Promote Development
- 4/4/06** | NEW LEADERS PROGRAM
Sanjay Reddy
Aid Effectiveness
- 4/5/06** | PUBLIC FORUM
Christian Barry, Robert Hockett, Kamal Malhotra, Sanjay Reddy, and Todd Tucker
International Trade: What Does Justice Demand?
- 4/6/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Jytte Klausen
Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe
- 4/7/06-4/8/06** | PRESENTATION
Christian Barry and Sanjay Reddy
Just Linkage: International Trade and Labor Standards
Cornell School of Law
- 4/17/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Wole Soyinka
You Must Set Forth at Dawn: A Memoir
- 4/20/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Philip Jenkins
Decade of Nightmares: The End of the Sixties and the Making of Eighties America
- 4/26/06** | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Daniel Yergin
Ensuring Energy Security
- 4/26/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Amartya Sen
Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny

May 2006

- 5/1/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Shirin Ebadi
Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope
- 5/3/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Jack Goldsmith and Tim Wu
Who Controls the Internet?: Illusions of a Borderless World
- 5/4/06** | NEW LEADERS PROGRAM
Mary Jane McQuillen
Responsibility in Investing
- 5/9/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
The Resurgence of Religion in Politics Series
Milton Viorst
Storm From the East: The Struggle between the Arab World and the Christian West
- 5/10/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Charles S. Shapiro
Redefining Politics: Latin American Style
- 5/11/06** | 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PRACTICAL ETHICS ASSOCIATION
Joel H. Rosenthal
Tokyo, Japan
- 5/17/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Fatemah Haghightjoo, Vali Nasr, and John Tirman
Are We Misreading Iran's Nuclear Politics?
- 5/22/06** | RECEPTION
Maine Humanities Council
Joel H. Rosenthal
What Does it Mean to be an American?
- 5/23/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Harold James
The Roman Predicament: How the Rules of International Order Create the Politics of Empire

June 2006

- 6/1/06** | SYMPOSIUM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Jean Bethke Elshtain, Thomas M. Nichols, and Joel H. Rosenthal
Just War?
Co-sponsored with the Center for Religious Inquiry and The Interreligious Center for Public Life
- 6/6/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
American Military Power: An Ethical Inquiry Series
Ahmed S. Hashim
Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq
- 6/7/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
H. E. Mr. Jan Eliasson
The Progress of UN Reform
- 6/7/06** | FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
John H. Miller
Will the Real Japan Please Stand Up
- 6/8/06** | NEW LEADERS PROGRAM
Nicolas de Torrenté
Health and Global Justice
- 6/12/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Shashi Tharoor, James Traub, and Ruth Wedgwood
The United Nations: Still Relevant After All These Years?
- 6/21/06** | PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
A Fairer Globalization Series
Charlayne Hunter-Gault
New News Out of Africa: Uncovering Africa's Renaissance

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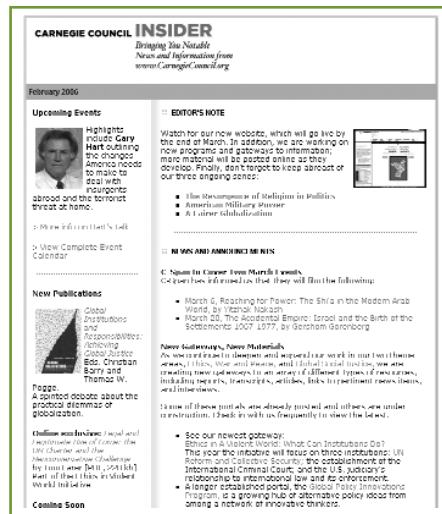
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Publications

Ethics & International Affairs



Volume 20.2 Summer 2006

ARTICLES

“Whither the Responsibility to Protect? Humanitarian Intervention and the 2005 World Summit,” Alex J. Bellamy
“The Gendered Dimensions of Conflict’s Aftermath: A Victim-Centered Approach to

Compensation,” Sara L. Zeigler and Gregory Gilbert Gunderson

“Western Policies on Child Labor Abroad,” Roland Pierik, Mijke S. Houwerzijl

ROUNDTABLE: “A THREAT TO ONE IS A THREAT TO ALL:” ON NONSTATE THREATS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY, Robert O. Keohane, Bruce Jones, Nirupam Sen, Nancy E. Soderberg, Steven P. Lee

REVIEW ESSAY

“Is Globalization Working?” David Singh Grewal

Volume 20.1 Spring 2006

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“Accountability in International Development Aid,” Leif Wenar
“Compromising Justice: Why the Bush Administration and the NGOs Are Both Wrong about the ICC,” Kenneth A. Rodman

SPECIAL SECTION ON JUSTICE AFTER WAR

“Accountability and Global Governance: The Case of Iraq,” Joy Gordon
“The Ethics of Secession and Post-Occupation Iraq,” Margaret Moore
“The Ethics of Lustration,” Jens Meierhenrich

Volume 19.3 Fall 2005

ARTICLES

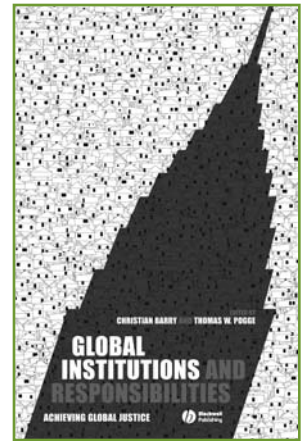
“Just Cause for War,” Jeff McMahon
“What’s Wrong With Preventive War? The Moral and Legal Basis for the Use of Preventive Force,” Whitley Kaufman
“Killing Naked Soldiers: Distinguishing between Combatants and Noncombatants,” Larry May
“Saving Amina: Global Justice for Women and Intercultural Dialogue,” Alison M. Jaggar
“The Irony of Environmentalism: The Ecological Futility but Political Necessity of Lifestyle Change,” Paul Wapner and John Willoughby

For details, go to
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www.blackwellpublishing.com.

Global Institutions and Responsibilities: Achieving Global Justice

Edited by Christian Barry, School of Politics and International Relations, University College, Dublin; and Thomas Pogge, Australian National University and Columbia University (Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

Most philosophical discussions of global justice are far removed from the practical dilemmas of those who aspire to change the way global institutions work, or even to replace them altogether. This collection of essays by leading political philosophers, legal theorists, and economists helps to bridge that gap. Engaging in real-world issues, the writers identify reforms that are both realistic and morally acceptable.



Forging Environmentalism: Justice, Livelihood, and Contested Environments



Edited by Joanne Bauer, former Director of Studies, Carnegie Council (M. E. Sharpe, 2006).

“*Forging Environmentalism* is an outstanding addition to the literature on environmental policymaking,” says **Elizabeth Economy** of the Council on Foreign Relations. “The volume explores the decision-making process in four countries—Japan, China, India, and the United States—through a set of rich case studies, each of which underscores the importance of culture in shaping understandings and approaches to environmental policy”.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Ethics and Debt

Edited by Christian Barry, School of Politics and International Relations, University College, Dublin; Barry Herman, Visiting Senior Fellow, The New School; and Lydia Tomitova, former Council Program Associate, Global Social Justice (Blackwell Publishing, 2007).

This volume, which brings together a number of essays by leading philosophers, policy-makers, and economists, is the result of the Ethics and Debt Program, a joint project of the Carnegie Council and The New School. The project aims to generate debate on the ethical questions of sovereign indebtedness; to identify the relevant principles for the ethical assessment of proposed solutions; and to explore policies and institutional arrangements based on such principles.

Just Linkage

Christian Barry (see above) and Sanjay G. Reddy, Department of Economics, Barnard College, and the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University (Columbia University Press).

“Should some rights to engage in international trade be made conditional on the promotion of labor standards?” ask Barry and Reddy. Critics of such conditionality, known as linkage, are right to be concerned about its possible adverse effects. However, the authors argue that a set of rules for international trade that incorporates linkage can serve the interests of developing countries.

Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation

Edited by Elizabeth Cole, former Program Officer, Carnegie Council (Rowman & Littlefield).

The teaching of history is an essential component of reconciliation with the past. A complex activity, history education both illuminates the past and helps to shape societal shifts in thinking about difficult and often shameful historical events. This groundbreaking volume explores the relationship between how history is taught and the path of political and societal reconciliation in the aftermath of violent events. The eleven case studies focus on events in Russia, Northern Ireland, Kazakhstan, North and South Korea, Zimbabwe, Canada, Pakistan and India, Japan, Spain, Guatemala, and post-reunification Germany.

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Financial Summary

Statement of Activities for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 2005, and ending June 30, 2006

REVENUE & SUPPORT

Grants for Programs	\$1,028,982
Trustee & Individual Contributions	\$250,950
Program & Membership Fees	\$151,094
Interest Income	\$1,067
SUBTOTAL	\$1,432,093
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	\$1,581,879
TOTAL REVENUE & SUPPORT	\$3,013,972

EXPENSES

PROGRAMS	
Studies	\$410,982
Education	\$368,129
Public Affairs Programs (Merrill House)	\$554,650
Publications	\$938,627
SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	\$2,272,388
Management and General Support	\$741,584
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$3,013,972

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, N.Y. 12231.

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