

CARNEGIE COUNCIL

ANNUAL REPORT 2007

*The Voice
for Ethics in
International
Policy*



Kokowicz

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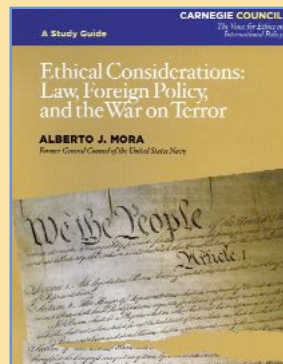
ALI A. ALLAWI SPEAKING AT THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL



GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS EVENT



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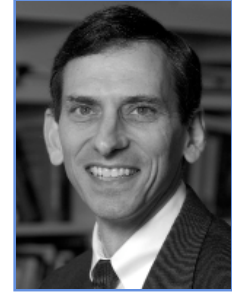
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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Taking Stock

At the end of every program year we take a step back and cast a critical eye over what we have accomplished. This past year prompted even more reflection than usual, as the Council celebrated some important anniversaries: Our flagship journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, first appeared two decades ago, while our new websites, www.carnegiecouncil.org and the online magazine www.policyinnovations.org, have now turned one year old.



JOEL H. ROSENTHAL

So precisely what have we achieved over the last year, and are we fulfilling our mission? How can we make next year even more productive?

Our goal—to be the voice for ethics in international policy—has two parts. The first is to identify and encourage the voices themselves. Carnegie Council provides a space where people of different backgrounds, expertise, and views can explore the most critical moral issues of our time: conflict and its aftermath; global social justice; and the role of religion in politics.

This year we increased the number of our events, and continued to add to the diversity of our writers and speakers. Our journal *Ethics & International Affairs* expanded its scope, offering a selection of timely, insightful articles on key issues of the day in addition to the in-depth peer-reviewed pieces for which it has long received academic acclaim. As always, our Public Affairs Program hosted many of the world's finest thinkers and practitioners in international affairs—some well-known, others rising stars. And our Global Policy Innovations program (GPI) launched a new initiative that we have entitled “Workshops for Ethics in Business.” GPI publishes the cutting-edge online magazine *Policy Innovations*, which focuses on new ideas for creating a fairer globalization—ideas that are often ignored by the mainstream media. In its first year it featured an eclectic mix of authors and formats, including briefings, interviews, an up-to-the-minute blog on globalization, and fascinating articles from a wide variety of sources, including more than fifty partner sites.

The second part of our mission is to reach as large an audience as possible. Voices crying in the wilderness are not much use to anyone! Happily, our new websites are succeeding far beyond our expectations in getting the word out. Since its launch a year ago, the traffic on our Council website has increased 400 percent. It passed a major milestone in March 2007, when it received a million hits in one month for the first time. On average, Council podcasts are downloaded over a thousand times each, and the numbers continue to grow month by month.

What lies ahead? As we approach the biggest anniversary of all—our centenary in 2014—we are acutely aware of our responsibilities. Our charge is to contribute to guaranteeing that ethics play an integral role in any discourse on international affairs, and to ensure that these discourses serve both to educate and to influence policy. With the aid of hard work, thoughtful ideas, and the latest technology, our potential audience is limitless.

Thank you for your support.

Joel H. Rosenthal
President, Carnegie Council

ETHICS, WAR, AND PEACE

Iraq

In the United States, the debate about Iraq focuses on how and when to put an end to the expense of American blood and treasure. At the same time, we must not forget that those paying the heaviest price are the twenty-five million citizens of Iraq. Estimates vary, but as of early November, 2007, The Iraq Body Count Project calculated that there were 75,971 to 82,776 documented civilian deaths from violence since 2003 (see <http://www.iraqbodycount.org>). Although security seems to be improving, millions are still coping with the constant threat of violence and a crippling lack of basic necessities, such as electricity, water, and sewage facilities.

Added to these grim concerns are the war's repercussions on Iraq's immediate neighbors and beyond, which was the subject of a very special Public Affairs event. It is rare to hear an insider's perspective on the situation in Iraq, and so the Council was especially privileged to host former senior Iraqi minister **Ali A. Allawi**, who analyzed the regional impact of what he called "one of the most cataclysmic events in modern Arab history."

While the fall of the Sunni leadership is increasing the power of Shiite Iran, said Allawi, it is damaging to Iraq's other neighbors. It seems likely that the Kurds will achieve at least some measure of autonomy, a prospect that Turkey views with alarm. Meanwhile, both Jordan and Syria are struggling with a growing refugee crisis, with at least two million Iraqis on tourist visas sheltering in their countries, and Jordan is also suffering from a massive drop in revenues. For decades, trade with Iraq was a mainstay of the Jordanian economy, but this ended with the war and may never be revived. Going beyond Iraq's immediate neighbors, there is no doubt



IRAQ, PHOTO BY COUNCIL FELLOW JEFF MCCAUSLAND

that the new Shia ascendancy will affect Saudi Arabia and a string of countries up and down the Gulf in ways that are yet to be seen.

We need some kind of congress, suggested Allawi, similar to the Congress of Vienna following the Napoleonic Wars, whereby the major interested powers can work out a treaty that will be acceptable to both Iraq and its neighbors. But who can bring the parties together? Like it or not, he asserts, the only actor with the economic means and global authority to do so is the United States. (*Audio, podcast, and transcript available online.*)

An Historical Perspective

What will be the war's final place in history? Historian **Greg Raymond** approached this topic by taking us on what began as an entertaining walk through the world of the ancient Greeks. But his message was a chilling one: *hubris* (pride) leads to *ate* (blind irrational act or acts) which leads to *nemesis*—destruction. In particular he reminded us of the story of Croesus, as told by Herodotus. Croesus, whose kingdom was the superpower of his day, chose to attack Persia—an entirely

preventive war, as Persia was not an immediate threat—and was soundly defeated. In addition to demonstrating the foolishness of preventive war, said Raymond, Herodotus is showing us that “unipolar moments are fleeting.” Indeed, the record shows that this is true of the modern world as well as the ancient one. Since the seminal Treaty of Westphalia in 1638, no country has stayed at the pinnacle of power for long.

If you could step into a time machine, he went on, and talk to a historian specializing in the 21st century, it is a good bet that he would say that the century’s biggest story was not Saddam Hussein or Osama bin Laden, but the “the shifting tectonic plates of world politics.” By the end of the 21st century we will probably see the re-emergence of a multipolar system, as countries such as China continue to rise, and how the U.S. conducts itself now will determine how it will be treated in the future. (*Audio, podcast, and transcript available online.*)

A Military View

After a lifetime of distinguished military service, **General Sir Rupert Smith** (British Army, ret.) concludes that “industrial war”—the traditional clash of state against state—no longer exists. Today’s world is one of “wars among the people,” a series of *conflicts and confrontations*, two terms which are not synonymous. Conflicts are the actual fighting, while confrontations provide the context for conflict. Although conflict can play a part in the resolution, confrontations need not always be resolved by conflict. Indeed, we must recognize that superior military force will not necessarily be the deciding factor.

Iraq was not the principal subject of Smith’s recent book, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, yet it is a perfect example of this new kind of

war. It is not surprising, then, that in an interview with Carnegie Council Senior Fellow Dr. **Jeff McCausland** (Col. U.S. Army, ret.) the conversation soon turned to Iraq—to the 1991 Gulf War, in which both men served, and to the present situation. Sir Rupert saw the current confrontational issues as belonging to two groups: internal—who will eventually govern Iraq and in what form—and external. Externally, seeing Iraq’s fragility and the possibility that it will fragment, the players in the region have started to back proxies inside Iraq, thus making a bad situation worse. Therefore, said Sir Rupert, our allied military forces need to support diplomatic efforts to persuade these regional players not to contribute to a worst-case scenario but instead to work toward achieving a stable government in Iraq. (*Videos, audios, podcasts, and transcripts of the Public Affairs address and interview are available online.*)



GENERAL SIR RUPERT SMITH

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The Case of Saddam

Bringing Saddam Hussein to justice for his crimes against Iraqis was one of the stated reasons for the U.S. invasion. His two trials, the first for crimes against humanity in Dujail and the second—which was never completed—for genocide in the al-Anfal campaign, have been overshadowed by the grisly spectacle of his botched execution by hanging. Nevertheless, these proceedings demand scrutiny. How fair were they, and how legitimate and fair do Iraqis perceive them to be? Did they bring justice for the victims? What effect will they have on future war crimes trials, both in Iraq and elsewhere?

ETHICS, WAR, AND PEACE



IRAQ, PHOTO BY COUNCIL FELLOW JEFF MCCAUSLAND

In September 2006, *Ethics & International Affairs* published a symposium assessing the first segment of the Dujail Trial, which had just ended. **Miranda Sissons** is head of the Iraq Program for the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), which regularly monitored the trial. Although it was obviously still too early to make a final evaluation, she found much cause for concern. An American creation, the tribunal's legitimacy was politically and legally suspect, wrote Sissons, not only to Iraqis, but also to the broader Middle East and to international criminal legal experts. "The model of an occupying superpower creating and assisting a tribunal should not be repeated," she concluded.

With some reservations, Sissons gave the tribunal good marks for independence, noting that its personnel are all "proudly Iraqi" and that it relied strongly on the Iraqi criminal code. But security was abysmal, and affected every aspect of the trial. Many deaths occurred, and there was no witness protection program. Sissons acknowledged that the trial itself was clearly fairer than those that took place under Hussein. Yet, she said, that is hardly the standard that we should apply. Already it was apparent that the trial "does not contribute or conform to international best practice." Despite best efforts, the defense was problematic—a weak point of most tribunals since Nuremberg; disclosure of the proceedings

to the Iraqi public was shamefully inadequate; and the tribunal relied heavily on anonymous witnesses.

A U.N. diplomat, legal scholar, and former legal adviser to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, **Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu**, saw the trial differently. Despite the legitimate concerns surrounding it, he believed that "Saddam Hussein has received an appropriate trial, both in the light of the specific details of the judicial proceedings and in light of the political nature of war crimes justice in an anarchic system of states."

All war crimes trials are inherently political, he contended, but that does not make them wrong. The Nuremberg Trials were undoubtedly morally justified, yet they were also clearly an example of victor's justice. As to the legitimacy of Saddam's trial, Moghalu argued that no matter what one's position on the war might be, in the end the U.S.-led coalition acquired the status of Occupying Power under the Geneva Conventions, which gave them the authority to make laws, and so the trial was legally valid.

He reminded us of the debate over whether Saddam should be prosecuted by an international tribunal established by the U.N., by a "hybrid" national-international tribunal such as that of Sierre Leone, or by a purely Iraqi tribunal. The decision to make it a purely Iraqi court, on Iraqi soil, in Arabic, was the right one, he believes, despite any suspicions of an American hand in it. Any other solution would have had little impact in Iraq. Compare this with the international war crimes tribunals established to prosecute those guilty of ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda: both took place on foreign soil, and proved to be out of touch with the societies for which they were created.

Moreover, in striving for an impossible perfection, they were prolonged to the point of near-farce, as exemplified by the Milosevic trial.

Lastly, were Saddam's rights respected? For the most part, Moghalu believes they were. Certainly from an international human rights perspective the death penalty issue is a difficult one to grapple with, but without it, the trial would have had no legitimacy in Iraqi eyes. In conclusion, said Moghalu, the trial passes the fairness test. It has not been perfect, but war crimes trials never are. *(Both articles are available in full online.)*

What Price, War?

Before leaving the subject of Iraq, let's return to the price that America is paying for the war. In his book *The Price of Liberty*, Robert Hormats, of Goldman Sachs, examined how past presidents and congresses paid for their respective wars. He found that every war in U.S. history has been financed by borrowing large sums of money; but until this war, every administration, for both moral and practical reasons, has made it a priority to pay off the debt as soon as possible. This tradition began at America's birth, when Alexander Hamilton instituted the tax system to pay for the debt incurred by the Revolution. In fact, it was he who coined the phrase "the price of liberty" to describe this debt.

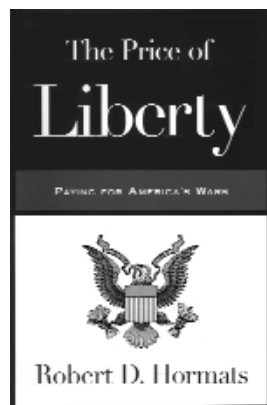
Costly though the war is in dollars, the problem is not primarily one of money, said Hormats. Iraq is relatively

inexpensive percentage-wise, compared to other American wars. It costs less than 1 percent of GDP. Vietnam cost 10 percent and, at its peak, World War II cost a colossal 40 percent of GDP annually. No, the problem is that unlike all other American wars, while the troops and their families are making great sacrifices, most Americans are not. Soon after 9/11, Bush advised Americans to go shopping, and taxes were cut again in 2003. Whatever happens in Iraq, the United States will need to spend a lot of money over a long period of time—on homeland security measures, on re-equipping the army, on looking after wounded veterans—and by failing to make Americans realize now that wars are expensive, it will be harder to raise funds down the road.

What's more, although the United States has always borrowed money to finance its wars, it has never been as dependent on foreign capital as it is today. Foreigners, particularly from China and oil-rich Middle Eastern countries, are financing roughly 60 percent of the deficit. If the economy plummets—because of a terrorist attack that seriously damages our infrastructure, for example—foreign lenders may simply refuse to lend us more funds, or may raise their interest rates. Long ago, Hormats reminded us, Hamilton realized that sound finances and strong national security go hand-in-hand. It is a lesson that we need to heed now. *(This Public Affairs lecture is available online as an audio, podcast, and transcript.)*

The War on Terror

In 2002, U.S. authorities were desperate to wring information from detainees held at Guantanamo Bay and elsewhere. Consequently, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales,



ETHICS, WAR, AND PEACE



ALBERTO MORA RECEIVING THE PROFILE IN COURAGE AWARD

JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY

and others reasoned that they were justified in invoking military powers that override such legal rights as habeas corpus, and in using all means of interrogation, including cruelty and torture.

Yet not everyone inside the government was willing to stand by in silence and let this pass. One of the highlights of the Council's program year was the appearance of former Navy General Counsel **Alberto Mora**, who quietly but eloquently told of his fight to stop policies that authorized cruelty and torture toward terror suspects, both of which he deems illegal.

"The cruel treatment of any detainee, whether at home or abroad in Europe, is a per se criminal act," he told veteran correspondent **Dan Rather** in a Council interview. It is also ineffective. "Cruelty harms our nation's legal, foreign policy, and national security interests," said Mora. "I can't put it any plainer than that." (*The speech and interview are available online as videos, audios, podcasts, and transcripts. There is also an accompanying Study Guide, available in print and online, which includes a timeline and discussion questions.*)

Afghanistan and Pakistan

Iraq is not the only allied battlefield. "The Taliban are back in Afghanistan with a vengeance," reported journalist and author **Zahid Hussain** in March 2007. "More American and NATO soldiers have been killed in Afghanistan last year than the total number

in four years since the fall of the Taliban government in December 2001."

The worsening situation in Afghanistan shows the failure of American policy there, he continued, as well as the contradictions inherent in the shot-gun marriage that is the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. But it also tells us something about how badly Pakistan has handled its own war on extremism. It is no secret, said Hussain, that the Taliban have always been on both sides of the border and that Pakistan has simply looked the other way. To make things worse, Pakistani militant groups that were outlawed by Musharraf after 9/11 have mutated into small cells that carry out terrorist attacks. These groups have now merged with al-Qaeda, and are in contact with terrorist groups in other countries, such as Great Britain. (*Read the transcript of this Public Affairs talk online.*)

Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Jere Van Dyk** is an expert on Afghanistan, a country he has been visiting since the 1970s. Recently he spent time in the dangerous, Taliban-infested border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Many intelligence analysts believe that Osama bin Laden is hiding somewhere in these rugged mountains, but there are different theories as to exactly where. Soon after Van Dyk's return he discussed Afghanistan's past and present at length in a Council interview. In the 1980s, he spent time with the late Mujahideen leader Yunus Khalis and also with Jalaladin Haqqani, who is now the chief Taliban military commander. Both these men knew bin Laden. Van Dyk's sources lead him to believe that after the American invasion it was Khalis's sons who escorted bin Laden to safety up into the mountains to Tora Bora, and that today he is quite probably in Waziristan, just inside Pakistan, in a

place called Miram Shah, under the protection of old friend Jalaladin Haqqani. *(An interview transcript is available online.)*

Nuclear Proliferation

“We have reached a nuclear tipping point,” warned veteran expert on nuclear security **Joseph Cirincione** in December 2006, and the policy decisions that the United States makes over the next three to five years could well decide the future of the world. Although Iran and North Korea grab the headlines, Cirincione believes that the number one threat is nuclear terrorism. It’s quite possible, he predicts, that al-Qaeda or some other group will make or acquire a nuclear weapon and use it to destroy an American city. In fact, like Graham Allison who spoke at the Council in 2004, he fears that if we don’t change course within the next ten years, the likelihood of this happening is 100 percent. Another significant threat comes from existing arsenals. Although numbers have been cut in half, there are still 27,000 nuclear weapons out there, thousands of them still on Soviet missiles and bombers, and still on hair-trigger alert.

In an interview with Senior Fellow Jeff McCausland, Cirincione discussed Iran and North Korea at greater length. Of the two, he believes that Iran is the greater threat. But force is not the answer as the repercussions could be catastrophic. In response to attack, Iran could strike at U.S. troops in Iraq, threaten Israel, and cut off oil supplies through the Straits of Hormuz, which could trigger a worldwide recession. What’s more, such an attack would almost certainly inflame Muslims around the world. What is required, says Cirincione,

is tremendous diplomatic skill—a bag of “carrots” backed up with a military threat. The Europeans could offer economic benefits, while the U.S. could guarantee security and offer diplomatic recognition, just as it did with Libya. But Cirincione seemed rather doubtful that we could muster the skills required to convince the Iranians to abandon their nuclear ambitions. *(Videos, audios, and transcripts of this Public Affairs talk and interview are available online.)*

The J Curve: A New Way to Understand Why Nations Rise and Fall

Is there a way of predicting the future of nations?

In a Public Affairs talk followed by an interview with the Council’s Global Policy Innovations Director **Devin Stewart**, President of Eurasia Group and Council Trustee **Ian Bremmer** used the analogy of a J-shaped



IAN BREMMER

EURASIA GROUP/NET

curve, which he explains as “the nonlinear relationship between openness and stability.” The horizontal axis in the curve is openness; the vertical axis is stability. Using this model, he demonstrates that a sudden increase of openness in closed societies such as North Korea and Cuba could lead to instability in the short-term. Bremmer concludes that political isolation and sanctions often work against their intended results and that globalization is the key to opening closed authoritarian states. *(Videos, audios, and transcripts of this talk and interview are available online.)*

GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE

Policy Innovations Online Magazine

In September 2006, building on two years of networking and accumulating alternative policy papers, the Global Policy Innovations (GPI) program launched *Policy Innovations*, a bold new online magazine (www.policyinnovations.org).



The magazine's advisory board includes such pioneer figures as Nobel laureate **Joseph Stiglitz**,

policy entrepreneur **Steven Clemons**, publisher **Moisés Naím**, and new media specialist **Rebecca MacKinnon**.

This new website, which can also be accessed directly from the Council's home site, provides a platform for scholars and grassroots communities to broadcast ideas on building a fairer globalization. Along with new features every week, such as briefings, commentary, original ideas, and audio and video presentations, a growing Core Network of over fifty partner organizations share their content with *Policy Innovations*, creating a unique "information hub." Always on the alert for the latest technology, the website offers a community-wide Google search tool, which was installed on October 24, 2006, the very same day that Google launched it. Thus, the reader can type in a request and get an aggregate of results from every site in the Core Network, all from one web address.

In its first year, *Policy Innovations* led the way with a variety of groundbreaking stories. Inspired by the new cohesive approach to assistance embodied in the

formulation of the Millennium Development Goals, globalization expert **Susan Aaronson** discusses the benefits to the developing world of coordinating human rights, development, and trade policies. In another notable article, philosopher **Thomas Pogge** lays out an innovative reform proposal to reward pharmaceutical companies in proportion to the health impact of their inventions. The converse of today's system, Pogge's plan would give companies financial incentives to address the diseases that most affect the world's poor; to prioritize prevention over treatment; and to develop the most cost-effective medical interventions, thus benefiting millions of poor people across the globe.

GPI Events

How do policymakers weigh and advance the sometimes contradictory aims of economic efficiency, equity, and sustainability? In assessing free, fair, and sustain-



GUESTS ATTEND A GPI EVENT AT THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL



POLICY INNOVATIONS WEBSITE

able trade, is it possible to move toward a more moral form of trade? “Free Trade, Fair Trade, and Sustainable Trade: The Case of Resource Extraction,” a two-day Oxford-Uehiro-Carnegie Council Conference held at the Council in December, examined these fair trade issues as applied to the case of equitable resource extraction. Topics included whether trade can or should be used to promote human rights; the goals of fair, free, and sustainable trade; pricing and technology; and the China factor in global ethics. (*Texts of some of the conference speeches are available at www.policyinnovations.org.*)

GPI also organizes book talks and lectures that focus on policy responses to questions surrounding globalization. Among this year’s speakers was **Dr. Federico Macaranas** of the Asian Institute of Management, who discussed the ethics of the brain drain. Using Philippino health professionals as a case study, he showed how health systems in some developing countries are understaffed partly because many of the brightest and best emigrate to the West.

Marcus Noland, the only American economist who has devoted serious scholarly effort to the problems of North Korea and the prospects for Korean unification,

talked about his new book on the North Korea famine of the mid-1990s, when up to a million people died. In an accompanying interview with Devin Stewart, Noland discussed his forthcoming book, *The Arab Economies in a Changing World*, in which



MARCUS NOLAND

DAILYNK.COM

he and coauthor Howard Pack

estimate that sustained 5 percent growth rates will be necessary to create jobs for the region’s growing labor force. If this growth is managed well, the so-called demographic time bomb could yield a demographic dividend of dynamic young workers. But is this likely? Recent growth has been dependent on high oil prices, and therefore not evenly distributed across the Middle East. (*Audios of these talks and the interview are available at www.policyinnovations.org.*)

The first of GPI’s **Workshops for Ethics in Business** took place in March 2007, entitled “Taking Stock of Business and Human Rights: Policies and Practices.” **Christine Bader**, of BP, described her experiences working on human rights issues at BP, starting on the frontlines with a project in Indonesia and then moving into policymaking, developing a “Human Rights Guidance Note” for BP use worldwide. She also discussed her work as advisor to John Ruggie, U.N. Special Representative on business and human rights.

David Schilling, of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, enumerated what one should ask of companies: policies aligned with international human rights and standards; accountability from the board on

GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE



GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS CONFERENCE ON "FREE TRADE, FAIR TRADE, AND SUSTAINABLE TRADE: THE CASE OF RESOURCE EXTRACTION," WITH PANELISTS (LEFT TO RIGHT) JOANNE BAUER, DAVID SCHILLING, FRANK MANTERO, CHRISTINE BADER, AND DEVIN STEWART (MODERATOR)

down to every member of the staff; rigorous implementation through employee training on human rights requirements; internal as well as independent monitoring; strong emphasis on mediation; stakeholder engagement and consent of the community; and robust public reporting, with specific indicators and information about management systems.

Joanne Bauer (formerly Carnegie Council Director of Studies) presented the Business & Human Rights Resource Centre's work on human rights policies. Founded in 2002, the Centre's website provides a network of more than 3,500 companies from 180 countries. It encourages opinion leaders to share information and concerns regarding human rights innovations or abuses, and also allows companies to defend themselves against those concerns. The website is updated hourly. (*Audios of each speech and a text summary of this event are available at www.policyinnovations.org.*)

Special Journal Issue on Ethics and Debt

How should governments decide when and how much to borrow? What are the responsibilities of official, multilateral, and private creditors that lend to governments? Who should bear which risks? When debt crises occur, how should they be resolved? What makes processes of debt restructuring, debt cancellation, or the enforcement of debt contracts more or less just, or the outcomes of such processes better or worse?

A special Spring 2007 issue of the Council's flagship publication, *Ethics & International Affairs*, contributed to these pressing policy debates, but also took a step back from the political fray to examine some more fundamental considerations that seem relevant to assessing the fairness of current arrangements related to sovereign debt

contracts and to explore possible alternatives. The introductory essay by **Barry Herman**, currently a Visiting Senior Fellow at the Graduate Program in International Affairs of the New School and a thirty-year veteran of the United Nations Secretariat, describes the main actors—such as borrowing governments, lending governments, commercial banks, purchasers of government bonds, and multilateral institutions, such as the IMF—and how they operate during a buildup of government foreign debt and after a default on payments. Other authors include **Sanjay Reddy** of Columbia University, on moral norms regarding international debt; **Jonathan Shafter** of the investment company Boston Provident, on the due diligence model, a new approach to “odious debt”; and **Thomas Trebat** of Columbia University, on the Argentine debt crisis of 2001–2002 and its aftermath, in the light of the moral framework of Catholic social teaching on the debt problems of poor countries.

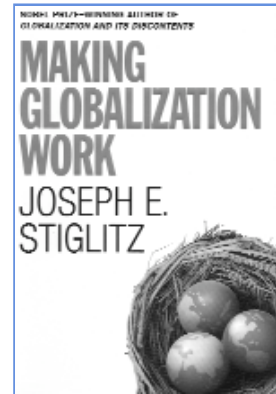
This journal issue grew out of a joint project with the New School’s Graduate Program in International Affairs, with additional support from the Ford Foundation. The project also resulted in an edited volume, published in December 2007.

Towards a Fairer Globalization

In addition to being on GPI’s advisory board and writing for *Policy Innovations*, economist **Joseph Stiglitz** is a frequent guest of the Public Affairs program. In October 2006, speaking about his latest book, *Making Globalization Work*, Stiglitz offered an imaginative and bold new prescription for global equality, including a plan to restructure the global financial

system, ideas for how countries can grow without degrading the environment, and a framework for free and fair global trade.

Like Stiglitz, **Ethan Kapstein**, Paul Dubrulle Professor of Sustainable Development at INSEAD, in France, is passionate about creating a fairer global economy. In a November Public Affairs talk, he laid out a model that stems from what he calls a realist perspective—that is, it respects states as the authoritative units in the international system, with the right to negotiate on issues such as international trade, but also with ethical responsibilities toward their citizens and toward each other. What is required, he believes, are rules that are inclusive, so that each and every state would have a voice in international arrangements that would affect them. In other words, developing countries should be given a real say in the decisions of organizations such as the IMF and WTO. (*Audios and transcripts of these speeches are available online.*)



AN ENGAGED AUDIENCE DURING A PUBLIC AFFAIRS EVENT

RELIGION IN POLITICS

Muslims in the West

Although they are united by a common faith, there are huge regional, ethnic, and cultural diversities among Muslims. After all, Islam flourishes in very different cultures around the globe—in Indonesia, Africa, the Arab world, and the Indian sub-continent, as well as in the United States and Europe. How could such diverse groups possibly be the same?

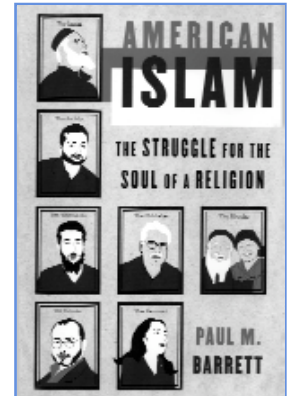
This year, two Public Affairs speakers focused on the individual stories of particular Muslims living in the West. Their accounts and accompanying analyses of the communities-at-large not only provide us with valuable insights in themselves, but taken together they highlight some important differences between Muslim integration in Europe and America.

Muslims in the U.S.

Although there are no exact figures, it is estimated that there are between three to ten million Muslims living in the United States. This includes Arabs, Asians, and Eastern Europeans, some of them immigrants, some native-born. In addition, many Americans have converted to Islam; up to a third of this country's Muslims are African-Americans.

Despite the topic's importance, there has been little research on Islam in America, and so, not long after 9/11, journalist **Paul Barrett** decided to investigate. Rather than writing an overview—"we probably have a few too many generalizations about Muslims in this country and too little in the way of particular, granular facts," he told a Public Affairs audience—he chose to focus on the stories of seven people. One of them is

Osama Siblani. Born to a poor family in Lebanon, his family scraped together the money to send him to college in Detroit, "the unofficial capital of Arab America." He became a successful American businessman, and rebuilt his childhood home outside



Beirut, where his mother still lived. But his life changed entirely when this home was destroyed during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Frustrated by the generally pro-Israeli sentiments in the American media, he gave up his business career and founded a newspaper in Arabic and English that presents the Arab case and sympathizes with Hezbollah. Today he is one of the most powerful political powerbrokers in Detroit, a registered Republican who is passionately anti-abortion and pro-business—although since 9/11, like most Arab-Americans, he has become very disillusioned with George W. Bush.

What does his story tell us? First, that it is very difficult to pigeon-hole Muslim Americans. For example, while most Americans would probably assume that Siblani is typical because he is Arab-American, in fact Arabs represent only a quarter of the nation's Muslim population. The largest subgroup of American Muslims is from South Asia, which accounts for about 34 percent, and they are probably not overly concerned with the Arab/Israeli situation. However, in many regards, said Barrett, Siblani's story does illustrate certain traits that are common among American Muslims: for one, they are better educated than the average American (roughly 59 percent of Muslim adults are college graduates, com-

pared to 28 percent for the overall population); for another, Muslim family household income is above the national median. And even though many American Muslims are bitterly opposed to aspects of U.S. foreign policy, reports Barrett, most are highly integrated.

Barrett also discussed the prejudices that Muslims face in the United States, which were evident even before 9/11. For instance, in a 2006 Gallup poll, 50 percent of respondents said they would favor a special identity card for Muslims, and 38 percent said they believe that Muslims are sympathetic to al-Qaeda. Acts of discrimination against Muslims have certainly increased since 9/11, while conservative radio hosts and even some Christian preachers publicly insult Muslims and their faith.

The Situation in Europe

Despite such wrongs, for the most part are Muslims better-integrated in the United States, a nation of immigrants, than in Europe? Perhaps America has just been lucky, yet so far there has been little evidence of significant home-grown extremism or of widespread alienation among a subgroup of unemployed (or underemployed) Muslim youth, both of which are serious problems in certain European nations.

Holland is a country that prides itself on its tolerance and its generosity toward immigrants of all faiths and nationalities. Yet it was in Amsterdam that a Moroccan-Dutch Muslim brutally shot, stabbed, and mutilated provocative filmmaker Theo Van Gogh as he was bicycling to work. In his latest book, **Ian Buruma**, who is Anglo-Dutch, examines the life of the young killer and finds that nearly all those from mainstream Dutch society with whom he came in contact were welfare offi-



IAN BURUMA MEETS WITH CARNEGIE COUNCIL GUESTS

cers of one kind or another, in charge of dispensing state largesse. “The problem”, Buruma told a Public Affairs audience, “is that he, like many of these young men born in Europe, really didn’t know where he belonged. He felt alienated from the society he was born into and grew up in, but he certainly didn’t feel at home in the Berber village where his father came from either. That’s when people reach for a particularly purist, radical kind of Islam—not from mullahs in a mosque, but usually from like-minded groups.” The murderer got much of his radical ideology from Saudi websites in English, which are appealing to these rootless young men precisely because they are not attached to a particular culture.

At the heart of Buruma’s book is Holland’s reaction to the murder. Many who had been ardent defenders of multiculturalism now declared that tolerance was a form of appeasement, and called for a crackdown. Yet Buruma believes that this sense of panic and nationalism actually goes much deeper than concerns about the consequences of large-scale Muslim immigration. He links it to fears about the effects of the European Union

RELIGION IN POLITICS

and economic globalization, and to a general feeling of powerlessness. The “no” vote against the EU and the fact that 51 percent of the Dutch people say that they are frightened of Islam, says Buruma, are both votes against the Dutch elites—the elites that didn’t take complaints about high crime rates in immigrant areas seriously, and who are more interested in European idealism than in national pride. To think that cultural differences are the real issue, he concluded, is “a great and dangerous misunderstanding.” (*Audios and transcripts of both these talks are available online.*)

The Rising Influence of Christianity

“Although we so often hear about the rise of Islamic fundamentalism,” said Public Affairs Director **Joanne Myers**, in her introduction to **Philip Jenkins**, “it is Christianity,

with more than 2 billion adherents worldwide, that is both the world’s largest—and in some regions the fastest-growing—religion. And most of that expansion is taking place in the developing world.”

Indeed, by 2025, according to Professor Jenkins, Africa and Latin America will have the greatest number of Christians—by 2050 Africa will be number one—and theirs is a different Christianity from that commonly found in the Global North. Already conflicts are emerging between Northern and Southern Christianity, most tellingly in the Anglican Church. When the U.S. Episcopal Church ordained a gay bishop, for example, many African and Asian Anglicans reacted with horror and condemnation.

The Christianity of the Global South is much more supernatural-oriented, with a stronger belief in prophesy, and its believers have a much closer relationship with the poor, rural, and often cruel world of the Bible,

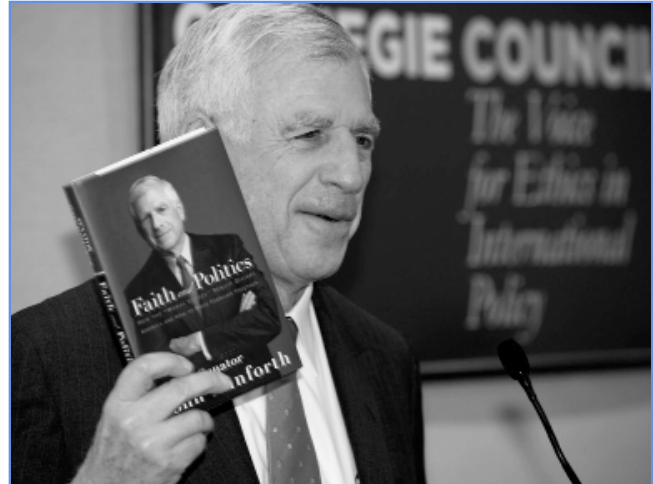


A CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN ETHIOPIA,
PHOTO BY GIUSTINO, www.flickr.com/photos/giustino

which is very similar to their own. Jenkins quotes a South African theologian who says, “If any African finds it difficult to be at home with the Old Testament, they really need to examine themselves to see if they might not have lost their Africanness in some way.” How many Westerners could say the same? Many things in the Bible that are distant and even repellent to those in the Global North are very familiar to Africans, such as the concept of atonement through the shedding of blood, and the practice of animal sacrifice.

But the most salient feature of this emerging Christianity, says Jenkins, is poverty. “The largest single religion among the poorest is not Islam, it is not Hinduism. It is Christianity. The problem of extreme poverty in the world is, above all, a Christian issue. This radically affects the way in which people read the Bible, a book which was written by and for a very poor community.” *(An audio and transcript of this talk are available online.)*

John Danforth, a former Republican Senator from Missouri and one-time U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, is both a politician and an ordained Episcopal minister. In his book, *Faith and Politics: How the “Moral Values” Debate Divides America and How to Move Forward Together*, he presents his concerns about excessive polarization in American politics. Because of this, he told a Public Affairs audience, politics has become “stalemated,” making it very difficult to address pressing national issues. As Danforth explained, it used to be that roughly a third of the country were Democrats, a third were Republicans, and a third were independents. Consequently, in order to win, office-seekers had to appeal to independents and to those of the opposing party. “Because people had to appeal to the center, politics gravitated to the center,” said Danforth. Today, however, both parties



JOHN DANFORTH SPEAKING AT THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL

concentrate on energizing their political base at the expense of the center—liberal in the case of Democrats and Christian conservative in that of Republicans.

Religious people have always been involved with government and politics, Danforth continued, and like them he believes that it is their responsibility to be so. However, from this country’s inception, we have recognized that the linking of politics and religion is inherently a divisive combination, which is why the United States has a separation of church and state.

What is the solution? More and more of us must become engaged in addressing the issue of what is the appropriate role of religion in public issues, says Danforth. “I believe that if you ask the average American, ‘Do you believe that religion should divide us as a country?’ most people would say, ‘No, of course not.’ So I’m asking the question. I want people to have the chance to discuss that question.” *(A video, audio, and transcript of this talk are available online.)*

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Ethics & International Affairs



“Crime and Punishment: Holding States Accountable”
Anthony F. Lang, Jr.

Volume 21.1 Spring 2007

SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE ETHICS OF SOVEREIGN DEBT

ARTICLES

“Introduction: The Players and the Game of Sovereign Debt”
Barry Herman

“International Debt: The Constructive Implications of Some Moral Mathematics”
Sanjay G. Reddy

“The Due Diligence Model: A New Approach to the Problem of Odious Debts”
Jonathan Shafter

Volume 21.2 Summer 2007

ESSAY

“The Human Rights Council: A New Era in U.N. Human Rights Work?”
Yvonne Terlingen

FEATURES

“Uganda’s Civil War and the Politics of ICC Intervention”
Adam Branch

“Liability and Just Cause”
Thomas Hurka

“The Inconveniences of Transnational Democracy”
Luis Cabrera

“National Responsibility and the Just Distribution of Debt Relief”
Alexander W. Cappelen, Rune Jansen Hagen, Bertil Tungodden

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“Making the Case for Jubilee: The Catholic Church and the Poor-Country Debt Movement”
Elizabeth A. Donnelly

“Argentina, the Church, and the Debt”
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Volume 20.4 Winter 2006

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“The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions”

Allen Buchanan, Robert O. Keohane

“Counterfactuals and the Proportionality Criterion”

David Mellow

“Killing Soldiers”

Gerard Øverland

“Judicial Globalization in the Service of Self-Government”

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SYMPOSIUM: THE TRIAL OF SADDAM HUSSEIN

“And Now from the Green Zone . . . Reflections on the Iraq Tribunal’s Dujail Trial”

Miranda Sissons

“Saddam Hussein’s Trial Meets the “Fairness” Test”

Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu

Volume 20.3 Fall 2006

SPECIAL SECTION ON CITIZENSHIP AND EQUALITY

“Immigration, Multiculturalism, and the Welfare State”

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“Should a Cosmopolitan Worry about the “Brain Drain”?”

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“Holes in the Rights Framework: Racial Discrimination, Citizenship, and the Rights of Noncitizens”

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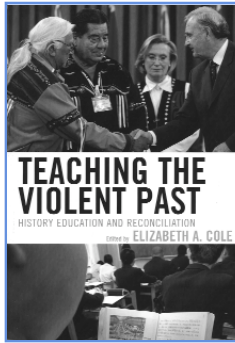
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PUBLICATIONS

Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation



Edited by Elizabeth A. Cole

Co-published by the Carnegie Council and Rowman & Littlefield
(September 2007)

“For anyone interested in transitional justice, national reconstruction after mass violence, or multicultural politics, *Teaching the Violent Past* is a source of insight and wisdom, grounded in compelling case studies of the struggles over teaching history in Germany, Japan, Canada, Spain, Northern Ireland, and Guatemala. It includes probing chapters examining ongoing debates over how Russia, North and South Korea, India and Pakistan should teach their young about the past so that neither national pride nor psychic wounds ends up fueling new

violent conflicts. This book offers vital examples of efforts to engage students in critical confrontations with the complexity of the past.” —Martha Minow, Harvard Law School and author of *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*

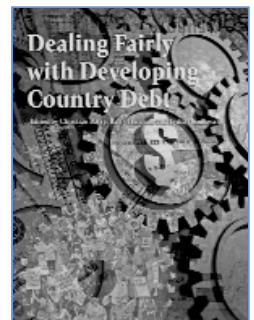
The book is based on a five-year international project sponsored by the Carnegie Council. Go to www.carnegiecouncil.org for an online companion including resources and discussion questions, along with a link to Rowman & Littlefield to purchase the book.

Dealing Fairly with Developing Country Debt

Edited by Christian Barry, Barry Herman, and Lydia Tomitova

Published for the Carnegie Council by Blackwell Publishing (December 2007)

How do you balance obligations to repay a debt with potentially worsening poverty in the debtor country? Should creditors be held accountable—and if so, how—for loans to governments that are not even minimally representative of their people’s interests? This volume by leading philosophers, theologians, lawyers, and economists, addresses these questions and more. It grew out of the Ethics and Debt program, a joint project of the Carnegie Council and the New School.



Study Guide to Ethical Considerations: Law, Foreign Policy, and the War on Terror

Alberto J. Mora, Dan Rather, Joel H. Rosenthal

This Carnegie Council booklet contains a speech by Alberto Mora, who fought to halt policies that authorized cruel and illegal interrogations of detainees; a torture debate timeline; discussion questions; and recommended resources. Contact info@cceia.org to order a free printed copy or download a PDF from our website.

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Marcus Roberts
Introduction to the Carnegie Council

9/12/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Ian Bremmer
The J Curve: A New Way to Understand Why Nations Rise and Fall

9/13/06 CONFERENCE
Joanne Bauer, Richard Franke, Dale Jamieson, Keith Kloor, and Guobin Yang
Can Cultural Values Save the Environment?

9/15/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Josef Joffe
Überpower: The Imperial Temptation of America

9/20/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
John Danforth
Faith and Politics: How the “Moral Values” Debate Divides America and How to Move Forward Together

9/26/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Niall Ferguson
The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West

9/27/06 FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Fred Charles Iklé
Annihilation From Within: The Ultimate Threat to Nations

9/29/06 GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS WORKSHOP
Strategic Communications and the Web

October 2006

10/5/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Joseph Stiglitz
Making Globalization Work

10/10/06 YOUNG LEADERS PROGRAM
Paul Brown
New York and the Terrorist Threat

- 10/11/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Philip Jenkins
The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South
- 10/18/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Vali Nasr
The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future
- 10/25/06** FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Michael Kirk
The Lost Year in Iraq: Spring 2003–2004
- 10/26/06** LUNCH
David Nasaw
Andrew Carnegie
- 10/26/06** GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
Nikolas K. Gvosdev
North Korea's Nuclear Detonation and Northeast Asian Politics
- 10/31/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Ronald Dworkin
Is Democracy Possible Here? Principles for a New Political Debate

November 2006

- 11/1/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Ethan Kapstein
Economic Justice in an Unfair World: Toward a Level Playing Field
- 11/2/06** 25th MORGENTHAU MEMORIAL LECTURE
Alberto Mora with Special Introduction by Dan Rather
Ethical Considerations: Law, Foreign Policy, and the War on Terror
- 11/7/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Matthew Levitt
Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad
- 11/15/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
James Traub
The Best Intentions: Kofi Annan and the U.N. in the Era of American World Power
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Michael Kirk
Continuation of The Lost Year in Iraq: Spring 2003-2004
- 11/16/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
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Generals in the Cabinet Room: How the Military Shapes Israeli Policy
- 11/17/06** GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
Annual Conference for Development and Change (ACDC)
- 11/20/06** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Ian Buruma
Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance

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11/30/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
David Malone
*The International Struggle for Iraq:
Politics in the U.N. 1980–2005*

December 2006

12/5/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Joseph Cirincione
*Nuclear Proliferation: A Delicate
Balance Between Force and
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12/12/06 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
H.E. Mr. Young-jin Choi
*Terrorism, Failed States, and
Enlightened National Interest*

12/13/06 FOREIGN POLICY
ROUNDTABLE
Omer Taspinar
Turkey on the Brink

January 2007

1/11/07 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
John B. Taylor
*Global Financial Warriors:
The Untold Story of
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An American Empire?

1/18/07 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Michael B. Oren
*Power, Faith and Fantasy:
America in the Middle East,
1776 to the Present*

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General Sir Rupert Smith
*The Utility of Force: The Art of
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Peter Ackerman, Andrei
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Windsor
*Freedom in the World 2007:
Is Freedom Under Threat?*

February 2007

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Edward Luce
In Spite of the Gods: The Rise of Modern India
- 2/5/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Gernot Erler
European Energy Security and the Role of Russia
- 2/7/07** FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Rashid Khalidi
The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood
- 2/12/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Simon Chesterman
Secretary or General? The U.N. Secretary-General in World Politics
- 2/13/07** YOUNG LEADERS PROGRAM
Tom Parker
The Trial of Saddam Hussein
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- 2/22/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
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The American Challenge in Iraq: Past, Present, and Future

March 2007

- 3/1/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Paul M. Barrett
American Islam: The Struggle for the Soul of a Religion
- 3/7/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Kenneth Roth
Global Human Rights Leadership: Who Will Fill the Void Left by the United States?
- 3/12/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Zahid Hussain
Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam
- 3/21/07 - 3/22/07** CONFERENCE
Annual Conference for Development and Change (ACDC)
Steering Committee Meeting
- 3/22/07** GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
Christine Bader, Joanne Bauer, Frank Mantero, David Schilling, and Devin Stewart
Taking Stock of Business & Human Rights: Policies and Practices
- 3/27/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Barbara Bodine, John H. Gill, and John Tirman
Energy Security in the Gulf and the Growing Importance of "the East"

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Larry Johnson
New Challenges for the United Nations

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ROUNDTABLE
Adam Garfinkle
Exit Interview: A Conversation with John Bolton

April 2007

4/4/07 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Fabrice Weissman
The Darfur Crisis: Humanitarian Aid in the Balance

4/5/07 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Susan L. Shirk
China: Fragile Superpower: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail its Peaceful Rise

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Ali A. Allawi
The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace

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Jill Shinkleman
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INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
Marcus Noland
Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid, and Reform

4/18/07 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Mark Payne
Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America

4/20/07 GLOBAL POLICY
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Strategic Communications and the Web II
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**4/23/07 -
4/24/07** YOUNG LEADERS PROGRAM
Lessons in Leadership Field Trip
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Sari Nusseibeh
Once Upon a Country: A Palestinian Life

4/25/07 FOREIGN POLICY
ROUNDTABLE
David Unger
Wealth and Terror: Why America's Quest for Absolute Security Is a Mission Impossible that Can also Destroy Our Democracy

May 2007

- 5/3/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Martha Nussbaum
The Clash Within: Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future
- 5/10/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Robert Hormats
The Price of Liberty: Paying for America's Wars
- 5/15/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes
America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked
- 5/23/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Michael Oppenheimer
Confronting Climate Change
- 5/23/07** FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE
Richard J. Samuels
Securing Japan: The Current Discourse
- 5/30/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Gregory A. Raymond
After Iraq: The Imperiled American Imperium
- 5/30/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS/GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
Joshua Eisenman, Eric Heginbotham, and Devin Stewart
China and the Developing World: Beijing's Strategy for the Twenty-First Century

- 5/30/07** YOUNG LEADERS PROGRAM
Joshua Eisenman, Eric Heginbotham, and Devin Stewart
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June 2007

- 6/5/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Allan Rock
Children and Armed Conflict: Sri Lanka, a Case in Point
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Norman Pearlstine
Off the Record: The Press, the Government, and the War over Anonymous Sources
- 6/20/07** PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM
Major General John D. Altenburg (U.S. Army ret.) and Jeffrey D. McCausland
Shades of Gray: Military Commissions and the Rule of Law
- 6/26/07** GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM
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FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Statement of Activities for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 2006, and ending June 30, 2007

Revenue & Support

Grants for Programs	\$ 373,744
Trustee and Individual Contributions	\$ 186,215
Program and Membership Fees	\$ 172,155
Interest Income	\$ 30,495
SUBTOTAL	\$ 762,609
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	\$1,954,306
TOTAL REVENUE & SUPPORT	\$2,716,915

Expenses

PROGRAMS	
Education	\$ 580,936
Public Affairs Programs	\$ 627,386
Internet and Print Publications	\$ 982,619
SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	\$2,190,941
Management and General Support	\$ 288,217
Fundraising and Development	\$ 237,757
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$2,716,915

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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