

**CARNEGIE COUNCIL**

*The Voice  
for Ethics in  
International  
Policy*



Ethics, War,  
and Peace

Global  
Social Justice



**2005**  
*Annual Report*

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## 1

### PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

## 2

### GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE

- Global Policy Innovations
- *Ethics & International Affairs: Focus on Poverty*
- Merrill House Public Affairs Programs: Presenting a Wide Range of Opinions
- Human Rights Initiative and *Human Rights Dialogue*

## 8

### ETHICS, WAR, AND PEACE

- The War in Iraq
- The Question of Torture
- America and the World: Ethical Dimensions to Power
- The History and Politics of Reconciliation

## 11

### FELLOWS PRESENTATIONS

## 12

### CALENDAR OF ACTIVITIES

## 18

### PUBLICATIONS

## 21

### FINANCIAL SUMMARY

## 22

### CONTRIBUTORS

## 27

### OFFICERS, TRUSTEES, AND STAFF

## 28

### MEMBERSHIP

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

### Preparing for 2014

Even as the Council celebrated its 90th anniversary in 2004, we were looking to the future. “Where do we want to be when we celebrate our centennial in 2014?” we asked ourselves. The answer was clear. Our mission is to be the world’s leading voice for the promotion of ethical leadership in international policy, and to serve as a nonpartisan forum for a variety of ethical approaches to the issues of conflict and global inequality.



**JOEL H. ROSENTHAL**

With this in mind, the program year of 2004–2005 has been a period of self-examination and restructuring. Building on the extensive work of previous years, we are now focusing our efforts on two broad themes: “Global Social Justice” and “Ethics, War, and Peace.” Going forward, virtually everything that we do contributes to a deeper understanding of these two critical areas—from public affairs lectures, to journal articles, to agenda-setting forums held both here and abroad.

As part of our restructuring, we are also exploring new and more effective ways to expand our outreach and deliver our information, including the latest in audio and video technology. In addition, we are making major changes to our flagship publication, *Ethics & International Affairs*, which from now on will appear quarterly rather than three times a year. Moreover, we are proud to announce that starting in 2006 the journal will be published by Blackwell, the world’s leading publisher of academic and professional texts. All of these changes will result in an even higher profile for the Council and for the work of our distinguished contributors.

The following pages touch on some of the highlights of our program year, and a full calendar of events is included. Whether you attend our events in person, participate in our online discussions, or simply read our print and online publications, we welcome you to the Carnegie Council, and we hope that you will continue to find our work both informative and thought-provoking.

Joel H. Rosenthal  
President, Carnegie Council

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## GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE

Despite the fact that average global income is rising, the scourges of poverty, disease, and social inequality continue to plague billions of people in every part of the world. Meanwhile, driven by new developments in technology,

“globalization” proceeds apace. In the developing world, it brings new opportunities for some but drives others further into poverty. For wealthy nations, it brings cheaper

consumer goods and services but at the cost of a growing number of jobs being outsourced overseas.

Just what are the moral responsibilities of developed countries toward poorer nations? Who are the winners and losers in globalization and what does this mean for the future?—For workers? For governments? For international relations?

Across the spectrum of Council programs, scores of policymakers, practitioners, academics, and journalists are tackling these thorny questions, and their diagnoses and solutions are as varied as their backgrounds. However, on one issue they are all in agreement: the world is changing, and changing rapidly, and to return to the former status quo is simply not an option.

## Global Policy Innovations: Promoting Real Choices for a Changing World

“The last few decades have shown that one-size-fits-all economic solutions simply do not work. There is an urgent need for a broader range of economic development policies to choose from.” So say **Jerry Maldonado** and **Nadia Roumani**, program managers for **Global Policy Innovations** (GPI), a joint initiative of the Council and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Launched in January 2005, GPI is committed to exploring new approaches to global development and economic policymaking—approaches that foster human dignity, opportunity, and freedoms. Reaching these goals means expanding the range of choices and tools available to policymakers so that they can improve the living standards of their constituents.

Operating on an “incubator” model, GPI seeks to move innovative ideas from theory into practice as real and effective policy. By providing a forum where leading researchers, elected officials, and public advocates can exchange their ideas on some of the leading issues of the day, the program is creating a global network of pioneering thinkers. GPI also works hard to publicize these new ideas, providing media outreach at the local, national, and international level.

Just what are the moral responsibilities of developed countries toward poorer nations? Who are the winners and losers in globalization and what does this mean for the future?

### Among the recent achievements of GPI:

- In April, GPI launched a series of senior policy dialogues, the first one being **Democratizing Globalization**, held in partnership with the Helsinki Process on Globalization and Democracy. The event was attended by over fifty intellectual, political, and civil society leaders and participants, including former President of Ireland **Mary Robison**. All agreed that the United States can and should play a role in the spread of both global development and security. However, they also concurred that responsibilities must be shared. While developed countries bear significant responsibility for maintaining fair rules of the game at the global level, developing countries must take greater responsibility for defining their own development agenda and implementing the most appropriate mix of policies in their particular context.

- What good is democracy if your stomach is empty? When you're poor and unemployed, the benefits of "one person one vote" can seem meaningless. In recent UNDP polls, over half of all Latin Americans said that they would support an authoritarian regime

over a democratic one if it could solve their economic problems. GPI addressed this issue at a September 2005 conference in Bogotá, Colombia, in partnership with the Fundación Agenda Colombia. Entitled **Decent Work: The Path to Development in the Americas**, the conference was cosponsored by the Global Fairness Initiative



**LEFT TO RIGHT:**  
 Colin Bradford (Brookings Institution)  
 Fantu Cheru (American University)  
 Shepard Forman (New York University)  
 Mary Robison (former Pres. of Ireland)  
 Stephen Heintz (Rockefeller Bros. Fund)

**DEMOCRATIZING GLOBALIZATION FORUM**

and the Center for Economic and Policy Research in Washington, D.C., and made possible through the generous support of the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

- In 2005, GPI was designated the Secretariat for the **Annual Conference for Development and Change**, which will be held on three continents over the next three years (India in 2005, Brazil in 2006, and



South Africa in 2007). Its mandate is to provide a forum for an emerging global network of young economists whose work challenges mainstream economic analysis of global development. Here in the United States, GPI has launched a series of **U.S. Dialogues**—symposia, leadership forums, and roundtables—to be held at the Council’s New York City headquarters and in other U.S. cities.

You can read more about GPI’s work at their new website, [www.policyinnovations.org](http://www.policyinnovations.org). As well as listing their events, the site features an ever-growing database of area experts and a variety of online reports, including a GPI position paper written for the Bogotá conference, which is available in English, Portuguese, and Spanish.

### ***Ethics & International Affairs:*** **Focus on Poverty**

From national policies to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, an enormous amount of intellectual and financial capital has been devoted to the reduction of poverty, and yet this stigma on humanity is very much with us today. In an attempt to address the issues that underlie this ancient

and seemingly intractable issue, the Spring 2005 issue of the Council’s flagship publication, *Ethics & International Affairs* featured a dynamic and highly provocative symposium on world poverty.

According to philosopher **Thomas Pogge**, affluent countries could easily eradicate much of the severe poverty in the world, and have simply chosen not to do so. Moreover, he wrote, poverty is a harm that the affluent have inflicted on the least fortunate through unfair international rules, and therefore they have a stringent moral duty to remedy it. However, several authors took sharp issue with Pogge—notably Mathias Risse, who argued that “the global order not only does not harm the poor but can plausibly be credited with the considerable improvements in human well-being that have been achieved over the last 200 years.”

Commenting on the symposium, the journal’s deputy editor, **Paige Arthur**, noted that most would agree that somebody should be morally required to provide resources and to bring about changes in policies or social arrangements that would eliminate or at least mitigate poverty. “There are sharp disagreements, however, about which agents are responsible for doing so, and what the content of their responsibility is,” she continued. “The contributors to this symposium help both to clarify the true nature of these disagreements and to present evidence and highly original arguments that help resolve them.”

**The Spring 2005 issue of the Council’s flagship publication, *Ethics & International Affairs*, featured a dynamic and highly provocative symposium on world poverty.**

## Merrill House Public Affairs Programs: Presenting a Wide Range of Opinions

Economist **Jeffrey Sachs** agrees with Pogge that the developed nations have a moral obligation to ameliorate poverty. Moreover, he believes passionately that if the world's richest countries would only deliver on their pledge to increase development grants to 0.7 percent of their annual budgets, extreme poverty could be cut in half by 2015. Addressing a capacity audience at the Council's headquarters in April, he argued that the problems of the poorest of the poor—particularly in Africa—boiled down to three “biophysical realities”: insufficient food production, insufficient disease control, and economic isolation.

Sachs went on to say that all of these could be ameliorated with targeted aid, including such simple instruments as anti-mosquito bed nets. However, he agreed with a questioner that for aid to work, it is also essential for developing countries to crack down on corruption. But after all, he explained, he was not planning to hand over money, and “bed nets don't end up in Swiss bank accounts.”

One of the more controversial Public Affairs talks this past year was given by **Bjørn Lomborg**, who argued that since we cannot tackle all the world's problems at once, we should prioritize to make sure we get the best bang for our buck and the most immediate return. Therefore global warming—which he

sees as a relatively far-off problem—should be much further down the list than today's communicable diseases and malnutrition. “We should start with the problems where we can do a lot of good at low cost and where we can do it now,” he told a rather startled Council audience.

While most Council speakers, including Sachs and Lomborg, inevitably touched upon the pros and cons of globalization, several addressed this controversial issue head on. CNN's **Lou Dobbs** worried that thousands of U.S. jobs have already been lost to outsourcing and an estimated 14 million more are at risk—ranging from lower-paid jobs, such as technology call centers, to everything from engineering to Wall Street research. Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist **Thomas Friedman** and distinguished economist **Clyde Prestowitz**, although more measured, also saw globalization as leading to a decisive shift in wealth and power, as both high- and low-paying jobs leave the United States for India, China, and elsewhere. Be that as it may, argued



**LOU DOBBS**



**JAGDISH BHAGWATI**

**Of special note:** The presentations of Bhagwati, Dobbs, Friedman, and Prestowitz have been put together as the first in a new audio series, available from the Council on compact disc. In addition, you can find transcripts of all these events and more on our website, [www.CarnegieCouncil.org](http://www.CarnegieCouncil.org).

**Professor Jagdish Bhagwati**, on balance, economic globalization is and will be a positive force for good for the world as a whole, improving the economic situation of many of the world's poor, and facilitating the free flow of goods and services.



NATAN SHARANSKY

**“All societies can be divided into only two categories: free societies and fear societies.”**

Many would contend that social justice flourishes best under a democratic system. A memorable visitor to the Council head-

quarters this year was Israeli politician **Natan Sharansky**, who—drawing from his own experience as a former Soviet prisoner of conscience—spoke movingly of the power of freedom to overcome tyranny and fear. Among other speakers on the subject, **Morton Halperin**, **Joseph T. Siegle**, and **Michael Weinstein** argued that democracy and development go hand in hand and that therefore more aid should be given to poor democracies than to poor autocracies.

## Human Rights Initiative and *Human Rights Dialogue*

The Council's Human Rights Initiative and its magazine, *Human Rights Dialogue*, were launched in 1994 with initial funding from the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the United States Institute of Peace. This past year the program and magazine

concluded their work with a rare focus on the issue of “cultural rights”—a complex and often neglected aspect of social justice.

To what degree is a society responsible for accommodating and preserving cultural diversity? Indeed, exactly what constitutes a “culture” that warrants such societal consideration? Does diversity always justify protection, or is there also the need for compromise as expressed by the needs of the many over the few? Although cultural rights are contained within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other such broadly ratified documents, they are still an evolving legal concept.

A two-day Council workshop, **The Case for Cultural Rights**, explored the definition and status of cultural rights as it is evolving within international law and practice, and its relevance to ongoing international justice events. In conjunction with the workshop, **Elsa Stamatopoulou**, Chief of the Secretariat, UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, gave a seminar on **Why Cultural Rights Now?**

The final issue of *Human Rights Dialogue*, published in mid-2005, looks at some of the specific cultural rights cases that are making their way before national and international courts, and that will undoubtedly set precedent for many years to come.

The penultimate issue of *Human Rights Dialogue* focused on the emerging recognition of environmental protection as a foundation





PHOTO BY CARL MAXWELL

To read more on the *Marsh Arabs of Iraq*, please go to [www.CarnegieCouncil.org](http://www.CarnegieCouncil.org), where you will find the full transcript of **The Marsh Arabs of Iraq** panel; a speech by **Baroness Emma Nicholson of Winterbourne** on the human rights of the Marsh Arabs given at the Harvard Conference; and the Human Rights Dialogue article **“Twilight People: Iraq’s Marsh Inhabitants.”**

#### MARSH ARABS OF IRAQ

for human rights, and it singled out the destruction of Iraq’s southern marshlands in 1989 as a particularly sinister violation. Home to a community of about 500 thousand indigenous people known as Marsh Arabs, the marshlands were deliberately targeted for destruction by Saddam Hussein’s government, which claimed that Shi’a dissidents were taking refuge in the area.

In response to this blatant example of ecocide, the Council convened a panel at the beginning of the 2004/05 program year entitled **The Marsh Arabs of Iraq: The Legacy of Saddam Hussein and an Agenda for Restoration and Justice**. Experts from a variety of disciplines convened at New York University to discuss the ecological, human rights, legal, and political dimensions of this crisis. The marshes are being re-flooded, reported wetlands expert **Curtis Richardson**, but it seems likely that

only a small percentage of the original area can be restored. And although fish and algae are returning, in some areas the levels of toxicity in the water are dangerously high. Co-sponsored by the Environment Conservation Education Program/NYU, the Al-Khoei Foundation (UK), and the Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies/NYU, organizers also collaborated with Harvard University’s Conference on Mesopotamian Marshes and Modern Development, which took place at the same time.

**“The marshes are being re-flooded, but it seems likely that only a small percentage of the original area can be restored,”** says wetlands expert **Curtis Richardson**.

## ETHICS, WAR, AND PEACE

### The War in Iraq

Naturally, the War in Iraq continued to be a major topic of discussion throughout the year, and was the subject of a large number of the Council's many forums and publications. Speaking at Council headquarters in New York City, **Michael Walzer**, one of the most influential thinkers on the topic of "just war," strongly disagreed with the Bush administration's claim that the Iraq war was justified on humanitarian grounds. "A military intervention in 1991, after the first Gulf War, to stop the massacre of Shi'ites and Marsh Arabs in the south might have been justified," said Walzer, but the containment policy that followed made it impossible for Saddam to repeat atrocities on such a large scale. Brutal and oppressive though Saddam's regime was, it was not engaged in mass murder at the time of the 2003 invasion.



**FERNANDO R. TESÓN**

Yet in a provocative article in the Summer 2005 issue of *Ethics & International Affairs*, eminent legal scholar **Fernando R. Tesón** claims that the war was most certainly a humanitarian inter-

vention. He argues that the Bush administration's motives for the war were not important; that what mattered was its suc-

cess in ridding the world of a particularly evil dictator. In the same issue, Professor **Terry Nardin** responded that "ending tyranny" is not a suitable criterion for humanitarian war and its costs. The discussion continued in November at the Carnegie headquarters, where Tesón debated **Kenneth Roth**, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch. Like both Walzer and Nardin, Roth was adamant that the war could not be justified on humanitarian intervention criteria; and he declared that doing so was extremely damaging, as it gave the concept of humanitarian intervention a bad name.



**KENNETH ROTH**

### Squandered Victory?

Despite arguing that the war was justified at the time it happened, Tesón joined many others in deploring the events that followed Saddam's overthrow. "I believe that we snatched defeat from the jaws of victory there, that we botched it, and that things could have been done much better," he remarked during the debate with Roth.

Several of this year's speakers were directly involved in the plans for post-war Iraq. All were appalled and saddened by the mistakes and missed opportunities that followed the initial military victory. **David L. Phillips**, a former State Department official, was origi-

nally in favor of the war. He was part of the Future of Iraq project, the recommendations of which were ignored by the Bush administration. **Noah Feldman**, a constitutional expert and Arabic-speaker, was sent to Iraq to work on the new constitution. He analyzed the reasons behind the American failure to deal with realities on the ground and argued that, having intervened in the first place, unless asked to leave the United States is morally bound to stay until a legitimately elected government can govern effectively.

**Larry Diamond**, an expert on democratic development and U.S. foreign policy affecting democracy abroad, was part of the U.S.



**LARRY DIAMOND**

Government advisory team sent to assist the transition to democracy in Iraq. “Squandered Victory” is his phrase and the title of a book he wrote upon his return.

He still has hope that the cause of democracy in Iraq is not yet lost, and spoke of how moved he and his colleagues were by the strong desire of Iraqis for a decent, free, and democratic society. But he was forced to conclude that “because of the mistakes and shortcomings of the American occupation, at a minimum it will take much longer and be much more costly in lives and treasure than it otherwise might have been, and the chances for success have been greatly diminished.”



**MARK DANNER**

“In the wake of 9/11 the U.S. moved from a policy where, unofficially at least, it did not torture, to a policy where, officially, it does.”

## The Question of Torture

While most of us might prefer to look away from this ugly issue, there is no question that we as a nation have a moral responsibility to face it head on. Indeed, the very mandate of the Carnegie Council—rooted in the ethics of international affairs—demanded that this organization do so. To that end, the Council held two extremely timely and incisive events this year to discuss the abuse of prisoners in U.S. custody. The first, held at Council headquarters, featured **Michael Posner**, Executive Director of Human Rights First, and retired Rear Admiral **John Hutson**, both of whom are party to a lawsuit against Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld filed on behalf of eight Iraqi and Afghani detainees. The second—a panel discussion entitled **The Question of Torture**—was held at The New York Public Library, in partnership with the Library and *The New York Review of Books*. Addressing a capacity audience were investigative journalists **Mark Danner** and **Mark Bowden**, cultural critic

*Of special note: Audio from our events on torture has been compiled as part of a new series on select topics, available from the Council on compact disc.*

**Elaine Scarry** of Harvard University, and political science and torture expert **Darius Rejali**. Moderated by **Aryeh Neier**, President of the Open Society Institute and a founder of Human Rights Watch, the panel explored the practical, moral, legal, historical, and psychological aspects of torture and debated the controversial “ticking bomb” scenario.

### America and the World: Ethical Dimensions to Power

Americans view themselves as a benign and generous power, a beacon of democratic ideals for the rest of the world. But in fact the gap is widening between this self-image and how other countries actually see us. Recent polls show that positive opinions of the United States have declined dramatically across the world. In partnership with the Council, Professor **William Felice** of Florida’s Eckerd College initiated a four-part lecture series at Eckerd to look at U.S. foreign policy in the areas of human rights, empire building, economic justice, and development. Among the featured participants were **William Schulz** of Amnesty International; author **John Judis**; Carnegie Council President **Joel Rosenthal**;

Roosevelt looked forward to a world founded on what he called “four essential human freedoms”: freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

Professor **Michael Smith**; and Dr. **Nancy Birdsall**, founding President of the Center for Global Development.

“At some point during the series, it struck me and a number of others that these speakers were providing a kind of report card on the progress the United States has made in realizing Franklin Roosevelt’s vision of the post–World War II world order,” said Felice.

In his landmark annual address to Congress delivered during the dark period at the beginning of 1941, Roosevelt looked forward to a world founded on what he called “four essential human freedoms”: freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Inspired by the lecture series, in 2005 the Council produced a booklet entitled *A Study Guide to the Four Freedoms*, which assesses our current foreign policy situation in the light of Roosevelt’s ideals.

### The History and Politics of Reconciliation

Over the past few years the Council has supported a program promoting research and dialogue on how societies come to terms with difficult pasts and the processes involved in reconciliation at a societal and/or political level. One of the main program components has been a project examining the role of historical commissions as instruments of reconciliation. In collaboration with **Elazar Barkan** of Claremont Graduate University and the Institute on

Historical Justice and Reconciliation, the project seeks to establish precisely how and in which kinds of cases historical commissions can best contribute to reckoning with contested pasts in order to strengthen peaceful coexistence in the wake of conflict and massive human rights abuses.

The program's second main component has been a project on secondary school history education in nations with a contested past. With the help of grants from the United States Institute of Peace and the Spencer Foundation, the Council has funded researchers to conduct case studies of the history textbooks of Canada; post-unification Germany; India and Pakistan; Northern Ireland; Japan; Kazakhstan; North and South Korea; Russia; and Spain.

## FELLOWS PRESENTATIONS

Begun in 2000, the nonresidential Fellows Program was designed to deepen the Council's ongoing areas of study and to support its goal of nurturing the next generation of researchers on ethics and international affairs. In May, the four 2004–2005 fellows and one from the previous year came to New York to give public presentations on their findings.

Anthropologist **Robert Albro** kicked off the two-day program with a talk on **The Future of Culture and Rights for Bolivia's Indigenous Movements**, in which he examined the new forms of popular politics in

Bolivia that arose after the structural reforms in 1985. Like Albro, medical anthropologist **Kimberley Theidon** spent many years in Latin America. Her paper, **Among Neighbors: Violence and Reconciliation in Peru**, was based on her research in villages throughout the northern highlands of Ayacucho, the region that bore the greatest loss of life and infrastructure during the internal armed conflict. The first day ended with a spirited discussion following a presentation by foreign policy expert and Sovietologist **Thomas M. Nichols**. In **The End of Deterrence? Conflict in the New Age of Prevention**, Nichols explored the question of whether new security threats have reached proportions that are capable of transforming the norms of the international system, a process that he sees as already underway.

Why do African states seldom use the WTO dispute settlement process? And why has not one African nation successfully carried a complaint to decision? In her paper, **African States, Aggressive Multilateralism, and the WTO Dispute Settlement System: Politics, Process, Outcomes, and Prospects**, lawyer and scholar **Uché U. Ewelukwa** examined the answers to these questions and suggested ways to reform the current system. The final presentation in the Fellows series, **Accountability in Development Aid**, was given by philosopher **Leif Wenar**, who surveyed the general state of accountability in development agencies and presented an overview of the main proposals for increasing and improving accountability.



## CALENDAR OF ACTIVITIES

### September 2004

SEPTEMBER 13, MONDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Dennis Ross**

**The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of  
the Fight for Middle East Peace**

SEPTEMBER 22, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Gilles Kepel**

**The War for Muslim Minds:  
Islam and the West**

SEPTEMBER 22, WEDNESDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Joel Rosenthal**

**The Foreign Policy Agendas of the  
Presidential Candidates: An Ethical  
Perspective**

SEPTEMBER 23, THURSDAY

AMERICA AND THE WORLD LECTURE SERIES  
St. Petersburg, Florida (Cosponsored with Eckerd College)

**William Schulz**

**American Power and Human Rights**

SEPTEMBER 23, THURSDAY

STUDIES SEMINAR, HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE

**Elsa Stamatopoulou and Richard Wilson**  
**Why Cultural Rights Now?**

SEPTEMBER 23, THURSDAY – SEPTEMBER 24, FRIDAY

STUDIES WORKSHOP: HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE

**The Case for Cultural Rights**

SEPTEMBER 28, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Victor Malarek**

**The Natashas:  
Inside the Global Sex Trade**

SEPTEMBER 29, WEDNESDAY

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

**Roy Gutman**

**Bin Laden and Afghanistan:  
An Endless Tragedy**

SEPTEMBER 30, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Michael T. Klare**

**Blood and Oil: The Dangers and  
Consequences of America's Growing  
Petroleum Dependency**

### October 2004

OCTOBER 5, TUESDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Scott Silverstone**

**Field Trip to West Point, hosted by  
Carnegie Fellow Scott Silverstone,  
Assistant Professor, United States  
Military Academy at West Point**

OCTOBER 6, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Michael Novak**

**The Universal Hunger for Liberty:  
A Surprising Look Ahead at the Culture,  
Economics, and Politics of the Twenty-  
First Century**

OCTOBER 13, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Michael Walzer**

**Arguing About War**

OCTOBER 14, THURSDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

(With funding from IDEA-USA)

**Debate on American Power and  
Global Security**

OCTOBER 19, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Hendrik Hertzberg**  
**Politics: Observations and Arguments, 1966–2004**

OCTOBER 19, TUESDAY

AMERICA AND THE WORLD LECTURE SERIES  
 St. Petersburg, Florida (Cosponsored with Eckerd College)

**John Judis**  
**American Power and Empire**

OCTOBER 25, MONDAY

ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR

**Christian Barry, Sanjay Reddy**  
**Linking International Trade and Labor Standards**

OCTOBER 26, TUESDAY

STUDIES SEMINAR: HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE  
 (Cosponsored with NYU's Environment Conservation Education Program, the Al-Khoei Foundation (UK), and the Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies; in conjunction with Harvard University)

**The Marsh Arabs of Iraq: The Legacy of Saddam Hussein and an Agenda for Restoration and Justice**

OCTOBER 28, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Jagdish Bhagwati**  
**In Defense of Globalization**

## November 2004

NOVEMBER 8, MONDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Timothy Garton Ash**  
**Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West**

NOVEMBER 9, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Natan Sharansky**  
**The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror**

NOVEMBER 16, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Graham Allison**  
**Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe**

NOVEMBER 16, TUESDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Rory Stewart**  
**Iraq: What Really Happened on the Ground**

NOVEMBER 18, THURSDAY–NOVEMBER 19, FRIDAY

STUDIES CONFERENCE

(Cosponsored with the Uehiro Foundation and the Centre for Applied Ethics, Oxford University)

**Speakers included Peter Singer and James Watson**  
**Can Human Nature be Ethically Improved?**

NOVEMBER 30, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Lionel Barber**  
**New Perspectives on the Transatlantic Alliance**

NOVEMBER 30, TUESDAY

*ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS* PANEL DISCUSSION

**Nicolas de Torrenté, Gerald Martone, Roy Gutman**  
**Humanitarianism Under Fire: Achieving Humanitarian Aims in Difficult Times**

## December 2004

DECEMBER 2, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Lou Dobbs**  
**Exporting America: Why Corporate Greed is Shipping American Jobs Overseas**

## CALENDAR OF ACTIVITIES

DECEMBER 7, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Jean-Marie Guéhenno**  
**Challenges in UN Peacekeeping  
Operations**

DECEMBER 8, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**T. R. Reid**  
**The United States of Europe:  
The New Superpower and the End of  
American Supremacy**

DECEMBER 9, THURSDAY

PANEL DISCUSSION

(Cosponsored with the Eurasia Group)

**Sidney Blumenthal, Mark Danner, David  
Fromkin, James Hoge, Charles Kupchan,  
David Rieff, Arthur M. Schlesinger**  
**The Indispensable Nation: A Tribute to  
James Chace**

DECEMBER 12, SUNDAY – DECEMBER 14, TUESDAY

GPI CONFERENCE

(Cosponsored with the Rockefeller Brothers Fund at  
Pocantico Conference Center)

**Reinventing Globalization: Designing a  
Collaborative Process for Promoting  
Positive Policy Alternatives**

DECEMBER 15, WEDNESDAY

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

**S. Frederick Starr**  
**U.S. Afghanistan Policy: It's Working**

### January 2005

JANUARY 12, WEDNESDAY

ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS LAUNCH

**Andrew Arato, Jean L. Cohen,  
Ruti G. Teitel**  
**Sovereignty and Democracy in Iraq**

JANUARY 13, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Noah Feldman**  
**What We Owe Iraq: War and the Ethics of  
Nation Building**

JANUARY 19, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Bjørn Lomborg**  
**Global Crises, Global Solutions**

JANUARY 20, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Theodore Friend**  
**Indonesian Democracy: New Hope**

JANUARY 25, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Stephen Flynn**  
**America the Vulnerable: How Our  
Government is Failing to Protect Us from  
Terrorism**

JANUARY 27, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Sebastian Mallaby**  
**The World's Banker: A Story of Failed  
States, Financial Crises, and the Wealth  
and Poverty of Nations**

### February 2005

FEBRUARY 2, WEDNESDAY

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

**Andrew J. Bacevich**  
**The New American Militarism: How  
Americans Are Seduced by War**

FEBRUARY 3, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Kenneth Roth**  
**Three Challenges for the Human Rights  
Movement: Darfur, Abu Ghraib, and the  
United Nations**

FEBRUARY 3, THURSDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Thomas M. Nichols**  
**Conflict and Order in the New Age of Preventive War**

FEBRUARY 9, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**P. W. Singer**  
**Children at War**

FEBRUARY 10, THURSDAY

ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR

**Mary Kaldor**  
**A Human Security Doctrine for Europe**

FEBRUARY 11, FRIDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Lt. Gen. Roméo Dallaire**  
**Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda**

FEBRUARY 15, TUESDAY

ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE SEMINAR

**Patricia Rosenfield, Courtenay Sprague, Heather McKay**  
**Ethical Dimensions of International Grantmaking: Drawing the Line in a Borderless World**

FEBRUARY 16, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Kwame Anthony Appiah**  
**The Ethics of Identity**

FEBRUARY 16, WEDNESDAY

INTERROGATING BOUNDARIES SYMPOSIUM

Fairleigh Dickinson University

**Elizabeth Cole**  
**Political Reconciliation and Globalization**

FEBRUARY 23, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Anne Marie Oliver, Paul Steinberg**  
**The Road to Martyr's Square: A Journey into the Life of the Suicide Bomber**

## March 2005

MARCH 2, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Kishore Mahbubani**  
**Beyond the Age of Innocence: Rebuilding Trust between America and the World**

MARCH 2, WEDNESDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Tracy Dahlby**  
**Asia's War on Terror: A Report from behind the Scenes**

MARCH 8, TUESDAY

AMERICA AND THE WORLD LECTURE SERIES

St. Petersburg, Florida (Cosponsored with Eckerd College)

**Joel Rosenthal**  
**America and the World: Ethical Dimensions to Power**

MARCH 9, WEDNESDAY

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

**Ray Takeyh**  
**Taking on Iran**

MARCH 15, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Tom Diaz, Barbara Newman**  
**Lightning Out of Lebanon: Hezbollah Terrorists on American Soil**

MARCH 17, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Morton Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, Michael Weinstein**  
**The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace**

MARCH 22, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Álvaro Vargas Llosa**  
**Liberty for Latin America: How to Undo Five Hundred Years of State Oppression**

## CALENDAR OF ACTIVITIES

MARCH 30, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Jeffrey D. Sachs**

**The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time**

MARCH 31, THURSDAY - APRIL 1, FRIDAY

STUDIES SEMINAR

Naval War College

**Tom Nichols**

**New Rules for War?**

### April 2005

APRIL 6, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Thomas L. Friedman**

**The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century**

APRIL 13, WEDNESDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Zachary Karabell**

**The Foundations of Modern Islam**

APRIL 14, THURSDAY

GPI PANEL DISCUSSION

(Cosponsored with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Global Fairness Initiative)

**Juan Somavia, Michael Kozak, Sherrod Brown, François Bourguignon**

**Help Wanted: More and Better Jobs in a Globalized Economy**

APRIL 14, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**

**The Power Game**

APRIL 19, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Alan Wolfe**

**Return to Greatness: How America Lost Its Sense of Purpose and What It Needs to Do to Recover It**

APRIL 27, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**David L. Phillips**

**Losing Iraq: Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco**

APRIL 27, WEDNESDAY

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

**John O. Iatrides**

**A First Cut at a George Kennan Retrospective**

APRIL 28, THURSDAY

GPI LEADERS FORUM

(Cosponsored with the Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy, Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative, and the Global Fairness Initiative)

**Democratizing Globalization:**

**How Can the U.S. Help Win the Global War against Poverty?**

### May 2005

MAY 3, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Hugh Pope**

**Sons of the Conquerors: The Rise of the Turkic World**

MAY 4, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**David Rieff**

**At the Point of a Gun: Democratic Dreams and Armed Intervention**

MAY 6, FRIDAY

CONFERENCE PANEL

Princeton University

**Christian Barry, Devesh Kapur, Leif Wenar, Sakiko Fukuda-Parr**  
**Accountability in Development**

MAY 11, WEDNESDAY

GPI FILM SCREENING

**Mark Dworkin and Melissa Young**  
**Argentina: Hope in Hard Times**



MAY 12, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Rear Admiral John Hutson (retired),  
Michael Posner**  
**Ending Torture and Secret Detention in  
America's Name**

MAY 17, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Andrew J. Bacevich**  
**The New American Militarism:  
How Americans Are Seduced by War**

MAY 19, THURSDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Gene Smith, Skip Brandon**  
**What Went Wrong with U.S. Intelligence,  
and How Can It Be Fixed?**

## June 2005

JUNE 1, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Clyde Prestowitz**  
**Three Billion New Capitalists: The Great  
Shift of Wealth and Power to the East**

JUNE 1, WEDNESDAY

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

**David C. Hendrickson**  
**The Curious Case of American  
Hegemony: Imperial Aspirations and  
National Decline**

JUNE 1, WEDNESDAY

MODERATED DISCUSSION

New York Public Library  
(Cosponsored with The New York Public Library and *The  
New York Review of Books*)

**Mark Bowden, Mark Danner, Darius Rejali,  
Elaine Scarry, moderated by Aryeh Neier**  
**The Question of Torture**

JUNE 7, TUESDAY

YOUNG ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

**Daniel Sternoff**  
**Iran and North Korea: A Double Nuclear  
Challenge**

JUNE 8, WEDNESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**William Easterly, Joseph E. Stiglitz,  
Michael M. Weinstein**  
**Globalization: What's New?**

JUNE 14, TUESDAY–JUNE 15, WEDNESDAY

FELLOWS CONFERENCE

**2004–2005 Carnegie Council Fellows,  
Final Project Reports**

JUNE 14, TUESDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Larry Diamond**  
**Squandered Victory: The American  
Occupation and the Bungled Effort to  
Bring Democracy to Iraq**

JUNE 16, THURSDAY

GPI INTERNATIONAL PLANNING WORKSHOP

**Democracy and Employment in Latin  
America**

JUNE 16, THURSDAY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**Wendy Murray Zoba**  
**The Beliefnet Guide to Evangelical  
Christianity**

For transcripts of most of these events  
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[www.CarnegieCouncil.org](http://www.CarnegieCouncil.org)

## PUBLICATIONS

Please note that many of these publications can be found at [www.CarnegieCouncil.org](http://www.CarnegieCouncil.org).

### Periodicals

#### *Ethics & International Affairs*

##### **Volume 19.3 (Fall 2005)**

“Just Cause for War,” Jeff McMahan

“What’s Wrong with Preventive War? The Moral and Legal Basis for the Preventive Use of Force,” Whitley Kaufman

“Killing Naked Soldiers: Distinguishing between Combatants and Noncombatants,” Larry May

“‘Saving Amina’: Global Justice for Women and Intercultural Dialogue,” Alison Jaggar

“The Irony of Environmentalism: The Ecological Futility but Political Necessity of Lifestyle Change,” Paul Wapner and John Willoughby  
Review Essays and Book Reviews

##### **Volume 19.2 (Summer 2005)**

“Ending Tyranny in Iraq,” Fernando R. Tesón

“Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse? The Crisis in Darfur and Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq,” Alex J. Bellamy

“Toward a Realist Ethics of Intervention,” Michael Wesley

“Against the New Internationalism,” Anthony Burke

“A Moral Critique of the Cosmopolitan Institutional Proposal,” Steven Lee  
Review Essays and Book Reviews

##### **Volume 19.1 (Spring 2005)**

SYMPOSIUM: WORLD POVERTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS Thomas Pogge, Mathias Risse, Alan Patten, Rowan Cruft, Norbert Anwander, Debra Satz

“On the Alleged Conflict between Democracy and International Law,” Seyla Benhabib

“The Democratic Minimum: Is Democracy a Means to Global Justice?” James Bohman  
Book Reviews

##### **Volume 18.3. (Winter 2004/2005)**

“Whose Sovereignty? Empire Versus International Law” Jean L. Cohen

“Interim Imposition,” Andrew Arato

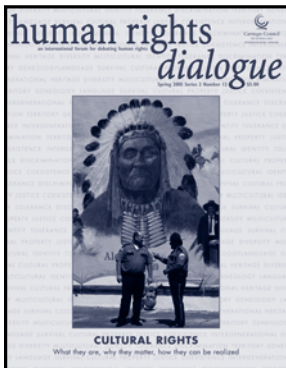
“Occupation as Liberation: International Law and Regime Change,” Simon Chesterman

“Toward Establishing a Universal Basic Health Norm,” Arnab K. Acharya

“Report from South Africa,” Anton Harber  
Review Essays and Book Reviews



## *Human Rights Dialogue*



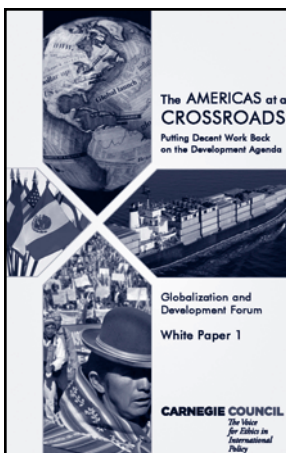
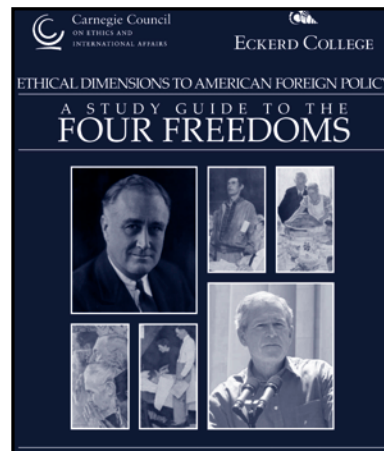
### **CULTURAL RIGHTS (Spring 2005)**

An examination of cultural rights as human rights, with a look at the Yiaaku people of Kenya, the Guaraní of Bolivia, the “Travelers” of Ireland, and other peoples and cultures at risk.

## **Booklets and Reports**

### **A STUDY GUIDE TO THE FOUR FREEDOMS**

Inspired by a four-part lecture series sponsored by the Council and Eckerd College, this provocative booklet assesses the current state of America’s foreign policy in the light of Roosevelt’s famous “Four Freedoms.”

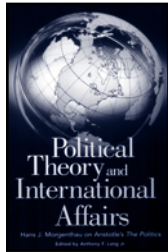


### **THE AMERICAS AT A CROSSROADS: PUTTING DECENT WORK BACK ON THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA**

Authored by a group of development policy experts, this GPI position paper gives recommendations on how to create decent work opportunities in today’s increasingly globalized world.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books



#### **POLITICAL THEORY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: HANS J. MORGENTHAU ON ARISTOTLE'S *THE POLITICS***

Anthony F. Lang, ed. (Praeger, 2004)

This fascinating selection of newly released lectures—first delivered at New York University in the early 1970s—reveals Morgenthau in a new light, as he draws on Aristotle to analyze such contemporary issues as the status of women, U.S. power policies, and regime change in Latin America.

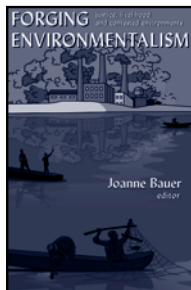
#### **GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES: WHO MUST DELIVER ON HUMAN RIGHTS?**

Andrew Kuper, ed. (Routledge, 2005)

Leading economists, ethicists, and international political theorists introduce a new way of thinking about the political system and human development, focusing on a responsibilities approach to human rights.



### Coming Soon



#### **FORGING ENVIRONMENTALISM: JUSTICE, LIVELIHOOD, AND CONTESTED ENVIRONMENTS**

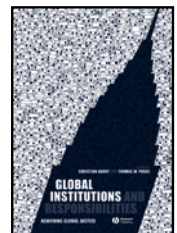
Joanne Bauer, ed. (M. E. Sharpe, 2006)

Through a combination of case studies and comparative analyses commissioned by the Carnegie Council, contributors focus on four environmentally significant countries—China, India, Japan, and the United States—and provide direction on what can be done to secure public support for and trust in environmental policies.

#### **GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES: ACHIEVING GLOBAL JUSTICE**

Christian Barry and Thomas W. Pogge, eds. (Blackwell, 2006)

This volume combines original essays by political philosophers, legal theorists, and economists into a spirited debate about the practical dilemmas of globalization. It integrates rigorous thinking about the principles of global justice with concrete discussions of the UN, the WTO, and the World Bank, thereby providing solid moral grounds for designing real-world reforms of current international rules and institutions.



## FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Statement of Activities for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 2004, and ending June 30, 2005

### Revenue & Support

Grants for Programs	429,955
Trustee & Individual Contributions	62,170
Program & Membership Fees	158,295
Interest Income	3,354
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<u>653,774</u>
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	1,966,711
<b>TOTAL REVENUE &amp; SUPPORT</b>	<u><u>2,620,485</u></u>

### Expenses

PROGRAMS	
Studies	554,414
Education	380,684
Public Affairs Programs (Merrill House)	380,188
Publications	713,523
<b>SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES</b>	<u>2,028,809</u>
Management and General Support	591,676
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<u><u>2,620,485</u></u>

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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We thank all current and past members for their support and invite those of you who have not yet joined to become members at whatever level is appropriate for you. Every single member makes a difference to us.

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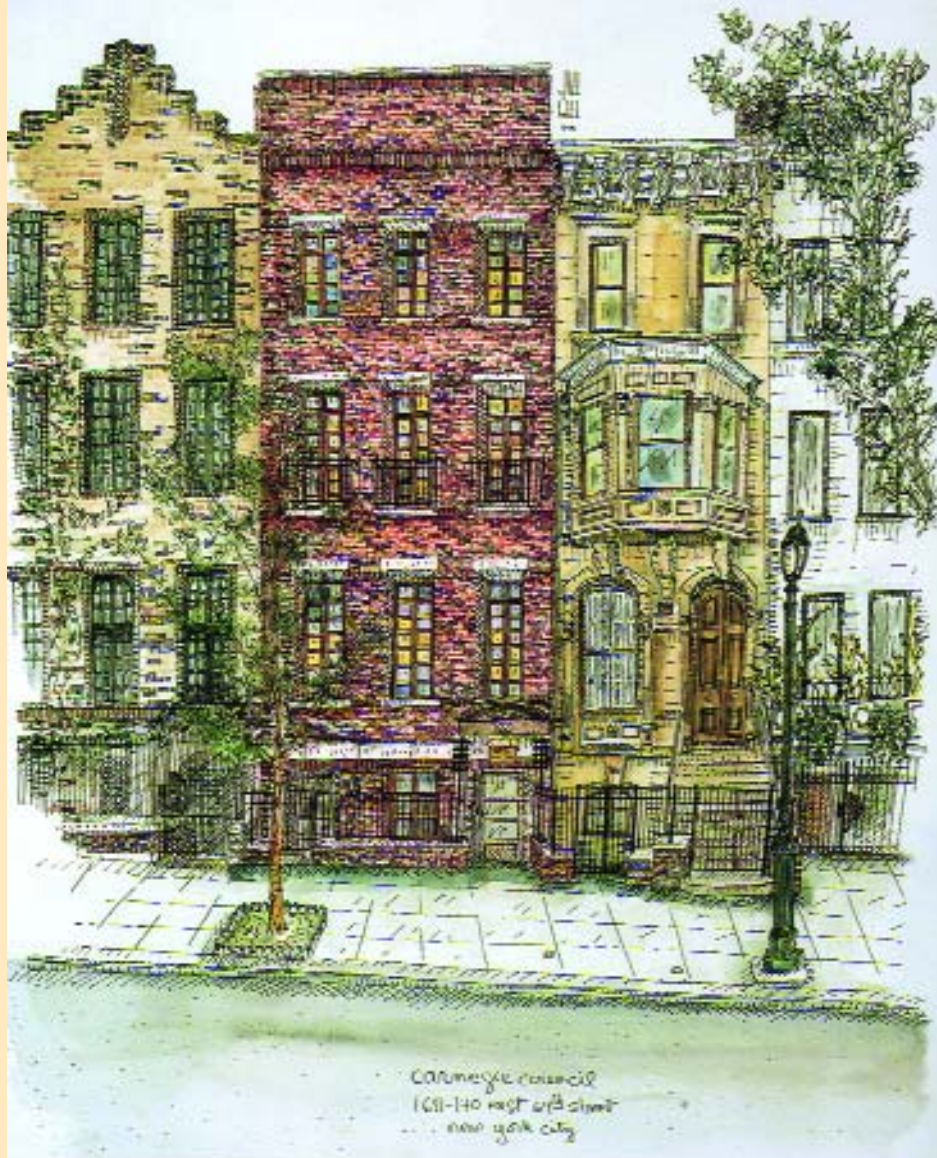
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