

NOTES

Acknowledgments

1. Monsieur Jourdain is the character in Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* who finds, to his enormous surprise, that for many years, quite without realizing it, he has been speaking "prose" [trans.].

Introduction

1. The phrase comes from the late-eighteenth-century poet Friedrich Schiller ("die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht"). It comes from his poem *Resignation*. See Schiller, *Werke* III, pp. 61–62. It is found later in §340 of Hegel's *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, p. 371.
2. In 1996, in the case of Kant, on the occasion of the bicentenary of the publication of "Perpetual Peace." The 350th anniversary of the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 was celebrated in 1988. The figure of Grotius was fêted at that time, his *On the Law of War and Peace* (*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*) having been conceived and published in 1625 during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), at the end of which the treaty was signed.
3. The expression was coined by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his "Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." See *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 5.
4. Among the many theoretical references and various interpretations of this model of analysis, one of those to which we feel closest is by Jepperson, Wendt, and Katzenstein, titled "Norms, Identity and Culture in National Security" in *The Culture of National Security*, pp. 33–76. Our analysis emphasizes more the role of nongovernmental agents and concentrates on the moral dimension of norms.
5. This constructivism involves a discussion with political and moral philosophy. We are close here to a normative vein of analysis in international relations that stands opposed to a neutral, distanced view of politics excluding the analysis of moral obligations and values. See Frost, *Toward a Normative Theory of International Relations*, pp. 26–41.
6. Pharo, *Morale et sociologie*, p. 152.

One The 1990s

1. "A state is called the coldest of all cold monsters. Coldly lieth it also; and this lie creepeth from its mouth: 'I, the state, am the people.'" Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, XI, "The New Idol." This expression is borrowed by Stanley Hoffmann in his call for the moralization of international relations. See Hoffmann, *Duties Beyond Borders*.

2. Kissinger, *Diplomacy*.
3. For a study of the representations of the state through the portraits of its leaders, which shows how an aesthetics of coldness precedes and reinforces the theories of international amoralism, see Colonosmos (2004): pp. 75–90.
4. Taking his lead from the sociologist Erving Goffman, Robert Jervis was the first to put such an analysis together. See Jervis, *The Logic of Images*. For a more contemporary discussion of the role of the emotions, see Crawford, “The Passion of World Politics,” pp. 116–156.
5. As Luc Boltanski reminds us, the notion of *theatrum mundi* is a very old one, dating from the eighteenth century. It characterizes rather well the scene in which actions are oriented by the images and representations of self and other. See Boltanski, *La Souffrance à distance*, p. 45.
6. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, VI, p. 6.
7. Carl Schmitt (1996a).
8. Josselin and Wallace (eds.), *Non-State Actors in World Politics*. This model was devised by Rosenau in *Turbulence in World Politics*.
9. This category is imported from the sociology of Howard Becker. See Becker, *Outsiders*, p. 148; Nadelmann, “Global Prohibition Regimes,” pp. 479–526.
10. We may refer here to the indices of economic transparency—a new measure of a country or of a company’s honesty—drawn up by NGOs such as Transparency International.
11. Financial ratings, humanitarian work, and trials affect the image of states or of the various international power centers.
12. Pharo, *Morale et sociologie*, pp. 9–10.
13. Chaumont, *La Concurrence des victimes*.
14. Smith, *Foreign Attachments*; Shain, *Marketing the American Creed*.
15. Smith, *America’s Mission*.
16. Pierre Hassner refers to this phenomenon as “Wilsonism in boots.”
17. As Freud pointed out, Wilson was the son of a Presbyterian minister and that heritage had a major role in developing his worldview. Before being elected president of the United States, Wilson did in fact teach at the University of Princeton, of which he was also the thirteenth president. That university embodied and still embodies a model of rigor and excellence associated with Protestant culture. Freud and Bullitt, *Thomas Woodrow Wilson*.
18. Loh, “A Stripped-Down Conception”; Kagan, “The Benevolent Empire,” pp. 24–35.
19. “Lines” referred to as “road maps.”
20. Brilmayer, *American Hegemony*.
21. Boli and Thomas, “INGOs and the Construction of World Culture,” pp. 13–59.
22. Sheffer (ed.), *Modern Diasporas*.
23. www.ictj.org. With Latin American experience in the field of democratization behind it, the ICTJ has taken a hand in the reparations program currently under examination in Peru.
24. The definition of these norms forms part of American “soft power.” Nye, “Soft Power,” 153–171. Soft power differs from—and complements—exclusively military and strategic power.
25. Gentili, *De jure belli libri tres*. first published in 1612. Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, first published in 1625.
26. As the sociologist Robert Bellah has so well demonstrated, there is in America a “civil religion” that is ready to welcome the different faiths in the name of the existence of a divine all, while retaining a Protestant stamp of a messianic, voluntaristic character. See Bellah, “Civil Religion in America,” pp. 1–21.
27. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic* (fifteenth impression). First published in 1904–5.
28. Luke 16:2.
29. Castells, *The Information Age*.
30. Colonosmos (2000).
31. Keck and Sikkink *Activists Beyond Borders*.
32. Dezalay, *Marchands de droit*.

33. As an illustration, but no less revealing for that, we may take the Paris Institut d'Études Politiques, where this trend toward the globalization of higher education through competition is in evidence. See "La politique internationale de Sciences Po," *Les Dossiers thématiques de Sciences Po* (2003). And not only this kind of Parisian institution is affected by this dynamic. For example, in 2003 on a political science postgraduate diploma course at Clermont-Ferrand, one student in every two was not from France. At that same university there are no fewer than six hundred Chinese students.
34. The concept "rise in generality" comes from the sociology of Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot.
35. James Rosenau introduced this notion of "cascades" to analyze the highly reactive relations between non-state actors and states. See Rosenau, *op. cit.*
36. Badie and Birnbaum, *Sociologie de l'État*.
37. Rosenau, *op. cit.*, pp. 435–440. Badie, *Un monde sans souveraineté*.
38. Foucault, "Cours du Collège de France," pp. 14–16.
39. Van Ham, "The Rise of the Brand State," pp. 2–7.
40. Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 429–430.
41. Oscar Wilde, "De Profundis." For a literary, imagistic analysis of this singular, yet no less exciting, view of the world, see the essay by the novelist Emmanuel Carrère, who expatiates on Wilde's remark. Carrère, *Le Déroit de Behring*, p. 42.
42. The counterfactual model applies to the past (this is the commonest case, where it is a question of modifying one of the occurrences of an individual or collective past and reconstructing *ex post facto* "the history that did not happen"), the present, and the future. Counterfactuality in the present aims to establish scenarios within a field of possibilities. When projected into the future, counterfactuality proposes future scenarios that contradict the most probable ones: "If industrial societies continue to use oil in the coming decades (the most probable case), many environmental problems will occur; consequently, it would be preferable to imagine an alternative energy source that could be used to get around petrol shortages (counterfactual history in the future)."
43. This film is taken from the novel of the same name by Philip K. Dick, first published in 1956. See Dick, *The Minority Report*.
44. For a French-language site devoted to *uchronias*, see www.noosphere.com/heberg/mota/uchronies_francophones.htm.
45. Counterfactuals are, to use David Lewis's expression, "possible worlds." See Lewis, *On the Plurality of Worlds*, pp. 1–5, and *Counterfactuals*, p. 185. For an application of the idea of possible worlds to the study of politics, see Elster, *Logic and Society*, pp. 48–63.
46. These are works grouped around the question that can be encapsulated in the words "What if?" See Ferguson (ed.), *Virtual History*; Hawthorne, *Plausible Worlds*; Fay, "Unconventional History," pp. 1–6; Rosenfeld, "Why do we ask 'What if?'" pp. 90–103.
47. The counterfactual approach undermines historical determinism. See Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 44 and following.
48. The implicit reference here is to the endlessly repeated exhumation of scandals from the years of the Vichy regime in France. See Conan and Rousso, *Vichy. Un passé qui ne passe pas* [trans.].

Two Is There any Shame in Being Cynically Realist?

1. Among the opponents are Attac, José Bové, Sami Naïr, and Ignacio Ramonet. Among the sympathizers are Jacques Attali, Peter Berger, Alain Minc, and Kenichi Ohmae.
2. Bunge, "Realism and Antirealism," pp. 207–235.
3. In the thinking of Gianni Vattimo among others.
4. The chair was established in 1919. Carr occupied it from 1936 to 1947.
5. Koskenniemi, *The Gentle Civilizer*. See, particularly, chapter six, "Out of Europe: Carl Schmitt, Hans Morgenthau, and the Turn to 'International Relations,'" pp. 413–509.

6. Ibid., pp. 436–437.
7. Morgenthau, *La Notion du “politique” et la théorie des différends internationaux*.
8. This is the key idea running through Kissinger’s thesis and first work, which opened up a university career for him. See Kissinger, *A World Restored*. This same idea is found in Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth*, pp. 160–161.
9. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis*, pp. 79–81.
10. Lebow, *The Tragic Vision of World Politics*, p. 238.
11. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*. See chapter fourteen, “Morality, Mores and Law as Restraints to Power,” pp. 219–249.
12. Ibid., p. 248. It should be noted that Morgenthau was opposed to the Vietnam War.
13. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 187–188; emphasis added.
14. He returns to the idea of “the state of nature” of the world of states in chapter twelve of his *De Cive*. See Hobbes, “De Cive,” *Man and Citizen*.
15. We should remind the reader here that for Hobbes it is impossible to kill the Leviathan.
16. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 188. As R. B. J. Walker very rightly stresses, this is one of the limitations on the use of the gladiator image pointed out by Hobbes himself. Walker, *Inside Outside International Relations*, p. 93.
17. Spengler, *The Decline of the West*.
18. Ratzel was the author of *Politische Geographie*, published in 1897. At the point when William II was seeking to rival the power of Great Britain, particularly at sea, Ratzel was a member of the German Fleet Association (*Deutscher Flottenverein*). For a critical genealogy of geopolitics, see Raffestin, Lopreno, and Pasteur, *Géopolitique et histoire*. See also Jacob, *L’Empire des cartes*.
19. Following the historian Leopold von Ranke, history must be studied as it happened: “wie es eigentlich gewesen.”
20. Morgenthau’s founding text provides convincing evidence of this. See Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 10. For an analysis of this ambivalence, see Beitz, *Political Theory of International Relations*, p. 20.
21. Kissinger, *A World Restored*, p. 316.
22. Kissinger, *Diplomacy*.
23. In the vein of Waltz’s writings. See Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*.
24. Holmes, *On War and Morality*, p. 51.
25. The feminization of the profession also coincides with the appearance of new feminist moral theories applied to international relations. Among a (long) series of works, see Weber, *Faking It*. Feminist critique also advances a moral theory based on the notion of “care.” See Robinson, *Globalizing Care*. For an analysis steeped in classical learning and rejecting unbridled postmodernism and the essentialist determinism of some feminist writings, see Elshstain, *Women and War*.
26. Current American policy is characterized by a bellicose idealism. By contrast, under legal cover, French or German policy is more realist than is generally thought. America has a deep idealist tradition. It must be conceded that “old Europe” did not take this path.
27. Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power*. For an even more suggestive illustration, see “Texans are from Mars, Parisians from Venus,” March 4, 2003, *Daily Telegraph*. www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/03/03/1046540131448.html.
28. Mandelbaum, “Foreign Policy as Social Work”; Hoffmann, “In Defense of Mother Teresa.”
29. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy*.
30. Gaddis, “International Relations Theory,” pp. 5–58.
31. These neoconservatives take a harsh view today of the realism they accepted during the Reagan era. For them, too, the Cold War is over. This can be seen from the book by Irving Kristol’s son William Kristol with Lawrence F. Kaplan, *The War over Iraq*. See in particular the chapter “A Typically American Internationalism: Bush II.”
32. For an account of these perspectives, see Deudney and Ikenberry, “Who Won the Cold War?” pp. 123–138.

33. Ibid.
34. Introduced after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979.
35. Brooks and Wohlforth, "Economic Constraints," pp. 273–309; "Power, Globalization and the End of the Cold War," pp. 5–53.
36. Brooks and Wohlforth, "Economic Constraints," p. 277.
37. Data source: *ibid.*, p. 282.
38. Deudney and Ikenberry, "Who Won the Cold War?"
39. Keohane and Nye (eds.), *Transnational Relations; Power and Interdependence*.
40. In the journal *Atlantic Monthly* in January 1998. The career path and vocation of Soros are typical of the 1990s. Having survived the holocaust and escaped from Communism, Soros became a financier in the United States. He created an important hedge fund and threw himself into international philanthropy, particularly in Eastern Europe. A genuine Renaissance man, Soros surrounded himself with philosophers and social science specialists to take part in the adventure of "global open society."
41. Elster, *Closing the Books*; Teitel, *Transitional Justice*.
42. "Liberated" by the unblocking of the Security Council.
43. "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true" ("Truth and Power," an interview conducted by Alessandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino, June 1976. In Rabinov (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*, p. 73.
44. Schmitt, *Political Theology*, p. 5.
45. Hitchens, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*. Eugene Jarecki has made a film of this book entitled *The Trials of Henry Kissinger*.
46. Some selected extracts: "Why should we flagellate ourselves for what Cambodians did to each other?"; "Covert action should not be confused with missionary work" (on the Americans' betrayal of the Kurds in 1975); "The illegal we do right away, the unconstitutional takes a little longer." For an online anthology, see www.trialofhenrykissinger.org.
47. Kissinger, "The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction," p. 88.
48. Sloterdijk, *Critique of Cynical Reason*. See in particular chapter five: "In Search of Lost Cheekiness," pp. 101–133.
49. Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth*, pp. 262–266.
50. Falk (ed.), *Vietnam War and International Law*.
51. To follow the extensive news on this global indictment, see www.icaionline.org/kissingerwatch.
52. Let us recall that Kissinger was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973.
53. Falk, *Vietnam War and International Law*, p. 503.
54. Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime*. Kiernan's interpretation is broadly echoed by organizations such as Kissingerwatch.
55. The Internet is the place where many movements attempting to bring Kissinger to justice and to build up this issue in the public arena come together. Other works complementing that of Hitchens are going to press at the time of writing.
56. The substance in question is "agent orange," the effects of which have been disclosed to the general public. Actions have been brought against the chemical firms that marketed this product. These trials have a symbolic function; they contribute to transforming the way war is viewed.

Three The Re-Enchanted Critique of Capitalism

1. "La Moralisation du capitalisme," conference at CERI, Paris, May 24–25, 2005. Proceedings published in *Revue internationale des Sciences sociales*, no. 184, June 2005.

2. This is the title of a work that has become a standard of popular management theory. Ohmae, *The Borderless World*.
3. Levi's was one of the first companies to withdraw from Burma in 1991. See Schoenberger, *Levi's Children*, p. 64.
4. <http://www.kmaglobal.com>. In 1999, Henry Kissinger was joined by Thomas McLarty, who had worked in the Clinton administration. The business sells its strategic consultancy services to the big multinationals.
5. Thanks to his reputation, Kissinger attracts clients who are eager to take advantage of his strategic advice transposed into the economic field. There is an amusing paradox here: both Kissinger's critics and his admirers agree that economics was his theory's Achilles heel.
6. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*.
7. For a recent theorisation, see Ferber and Nelson (eds.), *Feminist Economics Today*.
8. At issue here is the transition from the "collective responsibility" of a state to the "social responsibility" of a company.
9. Drucker, *The Concept of the Corporation*. Originally published in the 1940s, this book has gone through many editions, the most recent of them in 1993.
10. Friedman, "The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase Its Profits," *The New York Times Magazine* September 13, 1970, 122 (my emphasis).
11. Friedman visited the country in 1975 and gave a series of lectures there.
12. Bentham introduces the rule of the maximization of the happiness of the greatest number on the basis of the calculation of the consequences of an act chosen by an individual and puts the accent on the criterion of the measurement of pleasure. Bentham, *Principles of Morals*, pp. 1–7. Mill is interested in the maximization of the happiness of the greatest number induced by the choice of a rule that guides decisions. In *Utilitarianism*, Stuart Mill defined a virtuous and profitable system that connected economy, society, and culture (particularly education) in virtuous circles. Mill is also one of the first philosophers to have reflected from a liberal standpoint on the conditions for intervention to save peoples subject to the injustice of tyranny. Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention" in Himmelfarb (ed.), *John Stuart Mill*, pp. 368–384.
13. Hirschman, *L'Économie comme science morale et politique*. Foucault carried out the genealogy of Liberalism. In his last writings, Bourdieu considers the incantatory role of the "morality" of the economy and its agents: it is simply one of the latest effects of domination that goes together with globalization.
14. Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence*.
15. To use Jean-François Bayart's expression.
16. www.soros.org
17. Jarniou, *L'Entreprise comme système politique*. See also the various strands woven around "citizen enterprise."
18. Managerial culture sets enormous store by this theme; it appears in the form of best-sellers in airport lounge literature. One of the most popular authors is George Gilder. See his article "Le mariage de l'ordinateur et du téléviseur," *Harvard-L'Expansion*, Autumn 1991: 32–47; also Gilder, *Wealth and Poverty*.
19. Keohane and Nye, "Power and Interdependence," pp. 81–94.
20. President Clinton's second inaugural address largely takes up this theme.
21. Mainly in the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility in New York.
22. Based on the data from 2003 Report on Socially Responsible Investing Trends in the United States, SIF Industry Research Program, Social Investment Forum.
23. Data based on Social Investment Forum; Standard's and Poor, Javier Santiso (2003).
24. Max Weber, "Stock and Commodity Exchanges." *Theory and Society*, vol. 29. no. 3, pp. 339–371 [Translation of *Die Börse* (Göttingen: Göttinger Arbeitsbibliothek, 1891)].
25. "The greater temptation to gamble that presents itself to the domestic public and the financial losses that they are responsible for inflicting upon themselves must be borne as part of

- the costs of *war* in the struggle among *nations* for a dominant economic position,” *ibid.* (my emphasis).
26. This expresses itself, among other things, through worries about people “gambling with the housekeeping money” and the (often justified) fear that small shareholders may become victims of the market (big investors are ahead of the market: they can wait for slumps to pass and sell when prices rise again). Max Weber picks up on this last point.
 27. The holders of virtuous shares are often linked to religious institutions. In some cases, religious organizations have created their own investment funds. Who could accuse nuns (in France, Sister Nicole Reille launched one of the first ethical investment funds in 1983) or Protestant ministers of falling foul of “the gambling demon”? www.ethinvest.asso.fr/
 28. Vogel, *The Market for Virtue*, p. 11.
 29. For example: www.ft.com/ethicalinvesting
 30. Pava and Krausz, *Corporate Responsibility*. See, more particularly, “Appendix A: Summary of 21 Empirical Studies,” pp. 155–160. At a more theoretical level, recent works indicate that companies whose directors apply rules of societal responsibility survive and hence are competitive in a market in which their competitors do not apply the same principle. Frank, *What Price the Moral High Ground?* pp. 58–68.
 31. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*.
 32. Fukuyama, *Trust*.
 33. Source Transparency International, [www.transparency.org/pressreleases_archive/2002/2002.05.14.bpi.en.html#bpi l'humanitaire](http://www.transparency.org/pressreleases_archive/2002/2002.05.14.bpi.en.html#bpi_l'humanitaire).
 34. Data based on *Balance of Payments Statistical Yearbook*, International Monetary Fund, UNCTAD or national agencies, World Bank.
 35. Based on data from the UNCTAD World Investment Report, 2000.
 36. Transparency International came into being in 1993, founded by an official of the World Bank. The NGO embodies this synthesis between thinking on governance, moral reflection, and the consciousness of the 1968 generation converted to humanitarianism.
 37. Peters and Enderle, *The Emerging Relationship*. See, more particularly, “Appendix: The Survey NGO Expectations from Transnational Corporations (TNCs).”
 38. Winston, “NGO Strategies for Promoting Social Responsibility,” pp. 71–88.
 39. Such as Maximilien Rubel, the French translator of Marx. My thanks to Patrick Pharo for pointing this out to me.
 40. Fombrun, *Reputation*. www.business-humanrights.org.
 41. This was the case with Sister Nicole Reille in 2001.
 42. Matthew 28:19. This Gospel passage is the international manifesto of American fundamentalist Protestant missionaries.
 43. This relates to the scandal of unclaimed Jewish accounts and the role of the SNCF in the deportation of Jews to concentration camps. The SNCF provided the transport and, according to the victims’ lawyers, forced these “passengers” to pay for their tickets.
 44. Postelnicu, “Lawsuits Hit Non-U.S. Companies.” *Financial Times* Monday, September 27, 2004: 17.
 45. www.fondationshoah.org/.
 46. Almost half of the companies in the SBF 120 (large companies and SMEs) achieve 40% of their turnover in the United States.
 47. The first country affected was the United Kingdom. The countries of continental Europe followed, first France and the northern countries, then Spain and Italy (this was the third wave).
 48. The late 1990s saw a shift from the frame of reference of ethics to that of human rights. Events on the international stage, which came thick and fast in this period, were the main reason for this change.
 49. Source: Ariel Colonomos and Javier Santiso, from data that appeared in *Le Nouvel Économiste*, June 29, 2001: 38–49.

50. For a detailed study of this phenomenon and an economic analysis, see Colonomos and Santiso, “*Vive la France!*” pp. 1307–1345.
51. The French employers’ federation, Medef, and the French diplomatic service encouraged investment in Cuba by organizing official visits and meetings with Cuban leaders, as the presence of many French companies in that country attests. The economic relations of France with its former colonies in Africa are also at stake.
52. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, pp. 93–183.
53. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms*.
54. The ARESE consultancy, founded by Geneviève Ferone was made up of a team of young men and women of various nationalities (India, Italy, Brazil, United States). Today Geneviève Ferone is at the head of CoreRatings, a new structure within the large Fimalac holding company. The group also owns Fitch, the world’s third largest ratings agency.
55. One of the most instructive texts in this field is, certainly, the treatise by Alberico Gentili. This early-seventeenth-century Protestant legal scholar is one of the founding fathers of international law and lays the foundations for an ordered international society (taken over by Grotius) and a global society. These principles underlie the Westphalian (interstate) order that was established in 1648 at the end of the Thirty Years’ War. Gentili refers to the role of women and discusses it at several points. Women, he argues, should not leave the place assigned to them. When they cross the boundary between the private tasks, to which they should confine themselves, and public affairs, particularly in the political register of warfare, they should be severely punished. The paradigm of this sexual transgression is the figure of magic and cunning embodied by Joan of Arc. The stake is the proper punishment for this offense against nature and reason. Gentili, *De jure belli libri tres*, book II, chapter VI.
56. Since the late 1970s, the sociologist Ronald Inglehart has highlighted the rise of a preference for well-being over materiality. He has developed this thesis in more recent works. See Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Post-Modernization*. See, in particular, chapter five: “The Shift to Post-materialist Values 1970–1994,” pp. 131–160.

Four What Justice for Economic Sanctions?

1. Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, p. 304.
2. In full, Wilson’s argument runs as follows: “A nation that is boycotted is a nation that is in sight of surrender. Apply this economic, peaceful, silent, deadly remedy and there will be no need for force. It is a terrible remedy. It does not cost a life outside the nation boycotted, but it brings a pressure upon the nation which, in my judgment, no modern nation could resist” (my emphasis). Wilson’s Fourteen Points, set out after World War I, inspired the League of Nations Charter, which sets great store by the use of economic sanctions.
3. Saint Augustine, *City of God*, Book XIX, Chapter 15.
4. Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q 40, art. 1 obj. 4.
5. [www.un.org/News/oss/sanction.htm](http://www.un.org/News/press/docs/1997/19970201_sanctions.htm). Source: President’s Export Council, 1997, Carter Study, 2002.
6. http://www.usaengage.org/literature/2002/2002sanctions/sanctions_country.html.
7. Galtung, “On the Effects of International Economic Sanctions,” pp. 378–416.
8. Some companies might be tempted to get round the embargo and continue to trade in a quasi-monopoly position with the pariah.
9. The competition was severe. Many other think tanks in Washington carried out their own analyses of this phenomenon, first among them the Institute for International Economics. The Brookings Institution also produced its own expert assessment, as did the Center for

- Strategic and International Studies, and the International Peace Academy (the United Nations think tank).
10. These objectives are, e.g., democratization, the protection of minorities, and regime change. The most exhaustive assessment of the use of embargoes is, so far, the IIE study. Though its methodology has been contested, it provides an interesting and instructive reference. It is also an object of study itself, insofar as it has oriented many public debates on embargo policy. Hufbauer, Schott, and Elliott, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*.
 11. At the Brookings Institution, the IIE, and the Hudson Institute.
 12. From this point of view, declarations of war conform to another time scale. War is an indispensable, often urgent response to an unacceptable, critical situation. Sanctions signal an intention, whereas war is generally a point of no return in relations between the two parties.
 13. In the case of multilateral sanctions, no partner enriches itself; no oil company should have profited from Iraqi oil wells before the UN Oil for Food program was put in place.
 14. John Paul II chose to emphasize the traditional criteria of discrimination and proportionality. Cited in Siroco, "Free Trade and Human Rights: The Moral Case for Engagement," in Singleton and Griswold (eds.), *Economic Casualties*, p. 103.
 15. www.granma.cu/documento/ingles01/026-i.html.
 16. The co-tenability principle in counterfactual analysis requires that the counterfactual history and the real history should be commensurable. If the course of real-world events had been changed by forming the counterfactual world (in this case, the embargo on Cuba was lifted and could cause the regime to fall), this imagined world would not be compatible with the initial conditions of the real world (the Cuban state led by Castro). The real and virtual worlds are not radically "alien" to one another; the counterfactual operation is something distinct from fiction. To be valid, counterfactual history also assumes that, in the imagined sequence, a relation of causality applies between an act and its consequence. See Fearon, "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing," p. 193; Elster, *Logic and Society*, p. 177 and 183.
 17. www.usaengage.org.
 18. Hufbauer, Elliott, Cyrus, and Winston, "US Economic Sanctions." For a similar approach, see Singleton and Griswold (eds.), *Economic Casualties*, p. 103.
 19. See earlier, "The Embargo against Cuba."
 20. That is to say, a disaster affecting the whole of trade, with a few rare exceptions.
 21. Simons, *Imposing Economic Sanctions*.
 22. Garfield, *Morbidity and Mortality*.
 23. Based on the data from the Garfield report. The full report is available at <http://www.casi.org.uk/info/garfield/dr-garfield.html>. The author's methodology is explained in this document.
 24. This type of counterfactual is termed a "spotlight counterfactual." It is commonly used in moral indictment campaigns. See Turner, *Cognitive Dimensions*, 69 et seq.
 25. Mueller and Mueller, "Sanctions of Mass Destruction," pp. 43–53.
 26. On average, the GNP of the former is two hundred times higher than that of the latter. Hufbauer, Schott, and Elliott, *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered*, vol. 1, p. 98.
 27. Among other things by blocking loans to the pariah government and freezing their leaders' accounts abroad.
 28. Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, pp. 1420–1456. See especially chapter XI, "Moderation Concerning the Right of Killing Men in a Just War," p. 1439. Grotius considers the clemency an army should show to civilians, and deals in particular with the case of women. They should, he writes, be spared, "unless they have committed some Crime which deserves a particular Punishment, or have usurped the Offices of Men" (p. 1442). Grotius's lenient approach implies an intuitive sense of the other when sparing him: "What we have said (of Women and Children) may be generally said of all Men, whose *Manner of Life* is wholly averse to Arms" (p. 1443; my emphasis).

29. Gentili is not very subtle in his perceptions of the differences between cultures: Mohammedans are suspect and heretics are dangerous by nature. Alberico Gentili, *De jure belli libri tres*, Book 3, Chapter XIX, "On Making a Treaty with Men of a Different Religion," pp. 397–403. As for Grotius, the question arises when he examines the fate reserved for prisoners captured by an army of a "barbarian" nation and their goods. Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, Book III, Chapter IX, XVIII 3/XIX 2, pp. 1408–1409.
30. The diamond trade has been accused of financing and sustaining the war in Angola and Sierra Leone, where the precious stones have become "blood diamonds."

Five Can Reparation be Made for Historical Injustices?

1. White, "Making the French Pay."
2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
3. Fisch, *Reparationen nach den Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Quoted in *Final Report of the Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland—Second World War*, p. 427.
4. Keynes left the negotiating table as a mark of his disagreement. According to Keynes, the main mistake consisted in making Germany responsible for paying Allied war pensions, which "tripled the total claim."
5. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences*.
6. Ferguson, *The Pity of War*. See especially "How (Not) to Pay for the War," pp. 395–432.
7. Garmise, "The Iraqi Claims Process," pp. 840–878.
8. Source of data: White, "Making the French Pay," p. 23. The German reparations (1953–1965) comprise only the sums paid to the state of Israel; they do not include individual compensation payments and payments to community organizations (for an overall assessment of the German reparations program, pp. 108–109).
9. Data source: Bundesministerium der Finanzen, *Entschädigung von NS-Unrecht*, Anlage 6 (1), p. 48.
10. Literally, "making good again."
11. See chapter three.
12. Particularly by calling for cancellation of the debt.
13. The report is available on the Internet at www.sacc-ct.org.za/j2ksa/contents.html.
14. This is one of the possible interpretations of Don Juan's behavior and aristocratic attitude when he is confronted with his creditors. See Kofman, "L'art de ne pas payer ses dettes," in Kofman and Masson, *Don Juan ou le refus de la dette*, pp. 97–100.
15. Mead, "Interview with Edgar Bronfman Senior," p. M, 3, 1 (my emphasis). This declaration anticipates the tense relations between the American Jewish organizations and France in the context of the new Judeophobia that broke out some years later.
16. The denunciation of a particular case must always be articulated to general and universal conditions of injustice. Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation," pp. 420–424. For an international approach structured around testimony and a historical perspective, see Drinan, *The Mobilization of Shame*.
17. One finds this notion in American law; it also corresponds to an Aristotelian conception of property. See Aristotle, *The Politics*, pp. 5–7.
18. Weber, "Critical Studies," p. 164. This reflection on causality was first published in 1906 as "Kritische Studien auf dem Gebiet der kulturwissenschaftlichen Logik," in Volume XXII of the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, pp. 143–207. For a discussion in terms of the philosophy of history, see Aron, *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire*, p. 164; Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, p. 257.
19. The various Swiss establishments imposed very strict rules; death certificates were required.

20. For an application to international relations, see Tetlock and Belkin (eds.), *Counterfactual Thoughts*.
21. Max Weber stresses the significance of this mechanism: "In order to penetrate to the real causal interrelationships, we construct unreal ones." "Critical Studies," pp. 185–186.
22. Weber points out the structural relation between counterfactual history and law.
23. Would wars in Africa be so long and lethal without the diamond traffickers? See the preceding chapter and the reference to Angola.
24. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*; and *A Moral Reckoning*.
25. *Final Report of the Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland—Second World War*, pp. 122–24. Historians enquire here into the degrees of anti-Semitism in Switzerland. Can we, for all that, infer a collective responsibility of the population on the grounds of the historical finding of anti-Semitism? Historians have not resolved this debate.
26. The Two-Plus-Four Agreement, signed in Moscow on September 12, 1990, following German reunification.
27. *U.S. and Allied Efforts To Recover and Restore Gold and Other Assets Stolen or Hidden by Germany During World War II*, prepared by Dr. Greg Bradsher, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, for The Interagency Group on Nazi Assets, coordinated by Stuart E. Eizenstat, under-secretary of state for economics, business, and agriculture, special envoy of The Department of State on Property Restitution in Central and Eastern Europe, May 1997 (my emphasis). For a detailed counterfactual analysis of the lost opportunities to refuse to serve as bankers to the Nazis, see "Major Conclusions and Policy Implications."
28. During the war, this argument ("every penny invested in war materiel sent from Switzerland to Germany prolonged the war") had been formulated by Anthony Eden, the British foreign secretary, without having much impact.
29. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 228 et seq.
30. The legal situation of the various countries of Eastern Europe is currently very diverse. Several barriers exist that enable the various bureaucracies to protect themselves against restitution claims. This is particularly the case in Poland, where claimants must be Polish and reside in the country to have a right to restitution. Local Jewish associations have, however, obtained the restitution of some communal property.
31. Bundesverband Information und Beratung für NS-Verfolgte (www.nsberatung.de).
32. The "Memory, Responsibility and Future" Foundation (Stiftung, "Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft").
33. www.riskinternational.com.
34. www.wiesenthal.com/swiss/ancestry.cfm.
35. Feliciano, *The Lost Museum*. The original version of this work (*Le Musée perdu*) was published in Paris by Austral in 1995.
36. Black, *IBM and the Holocaust*. One of the rare academic works in this vast field is Simon Reich's pioneering work *The Fruits of Fascism*.
37. Sandholtz, "Dynamics of International Norm Change," typewritten document: 32.
38. Five companies are directly concerned by these trials: Aetna, New York Life, AIG, J. P. Morgan Chase, and First Boston Principal Group. *USA Today*, February 21, 2002.
39. Some, such as Nigeria, favored a call for the acknowledgment of the crime, without any reparations being demanded. The positions of the leaders were not, however, necessarily representative of the various countries' nongovernmental delegations.
40. We are here hypothesizing a situation in which Africans were deported to America and slavery was subsequently abolished.
41. Slavery is the reflection of a moribund or stagnant economy that covered only its own costs; one particularly finds this interpretation among Marxist economists.
42. Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*. For a discussion of these arguments, see Elster, *Logic and Society*, 208 et seq. It should be noted that Fogel had already carried out a counterfactual

- study by imagining the development of the American economy in the nineteenth century in the absence of railroads. Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth*.
43. See the republication of a text that dates from the early 1970s: Browne, "The Economic Basis for Reparations," pp. 99–110. For a summary by one of the authors at the center of this debate: America (ed.), *The Wealth of Races*.
 44. *World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Statement by his Excellency Abdoulaye Wade, President of the Republic of Senegal*, Durban, September 1, 2001.
 45. Wijers-Hasegawa, "Wartime Killing Contests Trial Starts—Daughter Cites Pain from 'Groundless' Published Accounts," *Japan Times*, July 8, 2003.
 46. Reparations are part of the Geneva Agreement of December 2003 between Israelis and Palestinians; they correspond to a social demand that state institutions had difficulties answering, particularly during the Camp David negotiations.
 47. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, article 75, "Reparations to victims," p. 43; art. 79, "Trust Fund," 44.

Six The Fear of Accountability and Calculating the Incalculable

1. These different analyses are brought together in a collective work, each of them attempting to answer the question of American and British inaction. Neufeld and Berenbaum (eds.) (2000).
2. David S. Wyman (1984).
3. Quoted in Neufeld and Berenbaum (eds.), p. x.
4. Courtois, Werth, Panné, Paczkowski, Bartosek, and Margolin, *The Black Book of Communism*. As Stéphane Courtois notes in the first page of his introduction, having listed the various genocides and crimes perpetrated by twentieth-century states, "Communism has its place in this historical setting overflowing with tragedies." For an analysis of a moral approach to the Cold War, particularly where death inflicted by political regimes is concerned, see John Lewis Gaddis (1996): 140–2.
5. Ferro (éd.), *Le Livre noir du colonialisme*.
6. Source of data: <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/war-list.htm>.
7. Clausewitz, *On War*, p. 83.
8. Thomas, *The Ethics of Destruction*, p. 1.
9. See chapter II and the frontispiece of the work.
10. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, book 5, chapter 7, paras 84–116.
11. Doyle, "Thucydidean Realism," pp. 223–237.
12. "But against Enemies, whom the Common-wealth judgeth capable to do them hurt, it is lawfull by the original Right of Nature to make warre; wherein the Sword Judgeth not, nor the doth the Victor make distinction of Noent, and Innocent, as to the time past; nor has other respect of mercy, than as it conduceth to the good of his own People." *Leviathan*, p. 360 (chapter twenty-eight: "Of Punishments, and Rewards").
13. This passage continues as follows: "And upon this ground it is, that also in Subjects, who deliberately deny the Authority of the Common-wealth established, the vengeance is lawfully extended, not only to the Fathers, but also to the third and fourth generation not yet in being, and consequently innocent of the fact, for which they are afflicted..." (*ibid.*, p. 360).
14. Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, pp. 47–48.
15. Schmitt, *The Leviathan in Thomas Hobbes's Doctrine of the State*.

16. *Leviathan*, op. cit., p. 382.
17. Machiavelli, *The First Decade of Titus Livius*. Machiavelli takes the following example: The severity used by Brutus in preserving for Rome the freedom he had won for her, was not less necessary than useful. The spectacle of a father sitting on the judgment, and not merely sentencing his own sons to death, but being himself present at their execution, affords an example rare in history.
18. See table 6.4.
19. Depending on ways of counting and the distinction between those killed instantly, the deaths that followed in the course of the year and those that could be attributed to illnesses (cancers) contracted as a result of the explosion, figures vary. Instantaneous deaths amount to eighty thousand in the case of Hiroshima, to which must be added an equivalent number in the immediate aftermath and seventy-five thousand at Nagasaki.
20. Alperovitz, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb*. This type of accusatory history is questioned not only from the factual angle, but also for its logic. For an interesting critique of hasty reconstructions and a proper use of counterfactual history (particularly of the criterion of co-tenability), see Gaddis, "On Moral Equivalency and Cold War History," pp. 145–147.
21. Frank, *Downfall*.
22. Each of the internees received a sum of twenty thousand dollars together with a letter from the American president Ronald Reagan in which he presented his apologies in the name of the American state to the victims of this discriminatory policy. A new letter of apology was sent by Bill Clinton to the former internees in 1993. In 1996, the American state granted compensation to Latin Americans of Japanese origin who had been subjected to similar treatment.
23. Offenstadt, *Les Fusillés de la Grande Guerre et la mémoire collective*.
24. Freud, "Introduction to Psychoanalysis and the War Neuroses," pp. 206–215.
25. Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture" and "The Question Concerning Technology," in *The Question Concerning Technology*, pp. 115–154; 3–35.
26. Freud, "Why War?" pp. 195–215.
27. Gray, *Warriors' Reflections on Men in Battle*.
28. Kantorowicz, "Dying for One's Country," pp. 472–492.
29. Quoted in Devine, *The Influence of America's Casualty*, p. 9 (my emphasis).
30. Data based on Feaver and Gelpi, *Choosing Your Battles*, p. 154.
31. Beck, *Risk Society*.
32. In a work that is now a classic, Janowitz develops this theory, stressing that the distance between army and society must be reduced and the army must adapt to the rules of society. See Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*.
33. Cited in Devine, *The Influence of America's Casualty*, p. 14.
34. Feaver and Gelpi, *Choosing Your Battles*.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
36. It is common to refer to the "body bag" syndrome to indicate that Americans would refuse to support a war that is costly in human lives. For a critique of this allegedly "irrefutable" dogma, see Hosti, "Of Chasms and Convergences," in Feaver and Kohn (eds.), *Soldiers and Civilians*, p. 37.
37. Luttwak, "Toward Post-Heroic Warfare," pp. 109–122; "A Post-Heroic Military Policy," pp. 33–44.
38. Thomas, *The Ethics of Destruction*, 169 et seq.
39. Data gathered by Ward Thomas. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
40. In the United States, it is known as the "Powell Doctrine," from the name of its putative originator, the general who served the Bush administration as head of the State Department. Following the invasion of Iraq, the honor of American soldiers was tarnished as a result of

the abuse inflicted on Iraqi soldiers. It is a sign of the times that financial compensation is under consideration for the families.

41. Levy and Sznajder, *Erinnerung im globalen Zeitalter*.

Seven Shared Responsibility

1. Human Rights Watch “substituted itself” de facto for the United Nations, who were unable to gain access to Jenin on account of the opposition they met with on the part of the Israeli government. www.hrw.org/reports/2002/israel3/.
2. According to the Israeli army, twenty-three soldiers died at Jenin.
3. Toulmin has reflected on justification, without taking international questions into account. He has also published a book criticizing cosmopolitanism. Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument; Cosmopolis*.
4. Habermas has treated this theme of human rights and the logic of justification. In the next chapter we shall take up the Kantian theme of rights. Jürgen Habermas, “Kant’s Idea of Perpetual Peace: At Two Hundred Years’ Historical Remove” and “Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State,” in *The Inclusion of the Other*. We shall discuss the theoretical model of justification in our conclusion. See also Habermas, *Truth and Justification* and *Justification and Application*. For the moment, our analysis starts out from the international conditions of justification and notes the difficulty of positing a priori a schema of justification in this field, if not, indeed, the impasse to which such an approach might lead.
5. The validity of Rawls’s arguments when applied in the international sphere is much debated. The elements of the theory of justice and also, to a large extent, of the Oxford Conference of 1993 on the law of nations are scarcely appropriate for analyzing international justification. The analogy between the individual and the state is one of the weaknesses of this approach. Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*.
6. Some legal scholars take the view that law should be confined within the borders of the nation state.
7. This is laid down in the law of war and peace. Grotius, Book 2, chapter IV, VII, 214–215, “On Doubtful Causes of War,” VII, 2. The case of the transatlantic slave trade deserves particular attention. The discrimination blacks have suffered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is directly linked to the history of slavery.
8. Contrary to what some of its critics imply, American unipolarity is a fact of international affairs; its validity and viability nonetheless deserve to be examined.
9. Particularly from a consequentialist point of view.
10. Platonic idealism, e.g., regarded these two ideas as identical.
11. Buchanan, “Reforming the International Law,” pp. 130–173.
12. In chapter XII of the *Theologico-Political Treatise*, Spinoza lays down the distinction between the morality “inscribed on hearts” and the religious law written in scripture. Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 165. Kant also makes the distinction between the tribunal of consciences and the criminal court.
13. This law dates from 1789 (28 US Code, chapter 85, para. 1350) and was first applied in 1980 in an action against a Paraguayan soldier (*Filartiga v. Pena-Irala*, 630 F.2d 876 [1980]). Filipinos have also brought actions against Marcos thanks to the ATCA. It was complemented by the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, which allows Americans to take legal action against foreign states in the case of injury or death resulting from the activity of a foreign state on American soil. The Torture Victim Protection Act of 1991 gives non-Americans and Americans the possibility of suing other non-Americans (in cases of torture perpetrated in the name of a state ideology). Since 1996, American citizens can

- also sue states accused of supporting terrorism (when these state entities are assigned to this category).
14. The full American term is “class action lawsuit.”
 15. The sum involved in the first judgment was 745 million dollars.
 16. Yale academics worked on the class action against Karadzic. The law department of that university is particularly recognized for its work on international law.
 17. They are to be found on both sides of the Atlantic.
 18. Admittedly, the International Criminal Court has many partisans in Europe and the activities of the European Court of Human Rights are making distinct progress. Nevertheless, the low participation of continental lawyers (particularly barristers) at the Hague Tribunal on former Yugoslavia attests to the challenge posed to a number of European countries, particularly France. For reasons relating to the power of that little country and its lack of universality, the Belgian draft universal jurisdiction law has had to be abandoned. As a result, the American courts have a monopoly on a universal jurisdiction of this kind.
 19. The conditions for lifting immunity are, however, highly restrictive. The law that allows this is the Federal Tort Claims Act, introduced in 1946.
 20. Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, pp. 135–138.
 21. Is the political initially anything other than the gathering around a collective need?
 22. Andrew, *Shylock's Rights*.
 23. “*Popular enlightenment* is the public instruction of the people upon their duties and rights towards the state to which they belong. Since this concerns only natural rights and rights which can be derived from ordinary common sense, their obvious exponents and interpreters among the people will not be officials appointed by the state, but **free teachers of right**, i.e. the philosophers. The latter, on account of the very freedom which they allow themselves, are a stumbling-block to the state, whose only wish is to rule; they are accordingly given the appellation of “**enlighteners**,” and decried as a menace to the state. And yet they do not address themselves **in familiar tones** to the *people* (who themselves take little or no notice of them and their writings), but **in respectful tones to the state, which is thereby implored** to take the **rightful needs** of the people to heart. And if a whole people wishes to present its grievance (*gravamen*), the only way in which this can be done is by publicity.” Kant, “The Contest of Faculties,” p. 186 [Section 8: “The Difficulty of Maxims Directed toward the World’s Progressive Improvement as Regards their Publicity”]. Italic in text, bold added by the author.
 24. The expression is attributed to Saint John Chrysostom (trans.).
 25. This is what deterrence is about.
 26. Among the works in this field, see French, “Morally Blaming Whole Populations,” pp. 266–285; Barry, “Do Countries Have Moral Obligations?” www.tannerlectures.utah.edu/abcd.html.
 27. Both on the part of a state and of a political and economic group associated with it.
 28. For some very illuminating thinking on these two notions in the contemporary international context, see Fletcher, *Romantics at War*. See chapter four: “The Guilt of Nations,” pp. 71–91 and chapter ten: “Living with Guilt,” 196 et seq.
 29. Wasserstrom, “The Responsibility of the Individual for War Crimes,” pp. 47–70.
 30. The question of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction would have had to have been dropped without, for all that, choosing to overlook the security dimension of the conflict.
 31. Thomas Aquinas examines the validity of an act that leads to the death of innocents. See *Summa Theologica*, Part II, II, Question 64, Article 6.
 32. It has been debated many times and very widely criticized. Among the most recent publications, see Kamm, “Failures of Just War Theory,” pp. 650–692.
 33. This intention is collective. John Searle speaks of a “we-intention.” Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, p. 24. In the present case, this collective intention is not necessarily good or bad; it is plural.

34. Robert Jervis (1970).
35. See chapter four.
36. This analysis is inspired by a meeting organized by British Petroleum in New York in November 2001 in which we participated. The aim of this session with NGOs, lawyers, and academics was to debate the societal responsibility of this multinational with regard to its future investments, particularly in Indonesia.
37. The legal and moral debates in the United States on the responsibilities of the airlines with respect to the terrorist acts of 9/11 are also very instructive.
38. If it is a criminal act that the managers of the power station could have done nothing about, they are exonerated of all responsibility.
39. Scheffler, *Problems of Justice*, pp. 34–38 (chapter two: “Responsibility in a Global Age”).
40. Some relatives of the victims of 9/11 sued the insurance companies and the City of New York after the Twin Towers collapsed.
41. Obviously, “offshoring” has to be profitable. Why move plant abroad if the costs are identical?
42. In the Swiss case, critics point out that, from mid-1943 onward, Germany was no longer a danger to Switzerland. The Swiss leaders were aware of this.
43. As we have mentioned before, the opposite question arises in the case of Auschwitz. Does one have the right not to bomb concentration camps?
44. Our analysis favors consequentialism and utilitarianism.
45. Let us again take the case of the bombing of Auschwitz: the intention there to harm the prisoners would have been nonexistent. If the Allies had bombed the railway lines leading to the camp and if the transporting of prisoners had been interrupted, that act would have been justified.
46. This is the case with economic sanctions against Iraq by virtue of their taking Iraqi civilians hostage and the humanitarian disaster linked to the maintenance of this embargo.
47. In the case of the war against Afghanistan, the chief military objective of the Americans was the Al-Qaeda network. Destroying the power of the Taliban was a consequence of this choice. The United States cannot be regarded as having a responsibility toward Afghanistan, despite the intention of the American army to destroy certain towns. The fact remains, however, that this act is the resultant of a geopolitical calculation, which is an act of vengeance, its aim being to deter the future enemies of America.
48. The consequences of this act have to be identified at three levels: the local, the national, and the global, account being taken of the extent of each.
49. Substantial efforts bear witness to the pursuit of new criteria for military intervention. These concerns find expression in unprecedented investment on the part of state or managerial institutions in the United States, Britain, and France, in workshops, seminars, and research on morality. In continental Europe, particularly France, this theme was regarded only a few years ago as a matter for amusement.
50. The thinking of G. E. Moore is illuminating here. He takes the view that an action is just if the agent could have done nothing else that would have produced better consequences. Moore, “Free Will,” p. 311.
51. See part two.
52. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1 (1976): 229. Cited in Hénaff, *Le Prix de la vérité*.
53. A “speech act” for Austin is a statement that constitutes an act, such as, e.g., “I apologize.” See Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*. [The term “act speeches” is in English in the original (trans.).]
54. This point has been much debated by historians and economists. Did the slave trade itself make the economic and political development of Africa more difficult? Durban had the effect of reviving this polemic involving both experts and ordinary citizens.
55. The expression “I apologize” clearly differs here from the injunction “forgive me.” Forgiveness has, in this case, a religious connotation, which African Americans requesting

- an apology wished to avoid. This moral demand has a religious foundation and is subsequently extended into a secular form. Apologies do not involve forgiveness, which cannot be demanded for acts such as slavery or genocide.
56. See Hénaff, Hénaff, *Le Prix de la vérité*.
 57. Every minority or victim is subject to discrimination. By displaying their stigmata, these persons are equipping themselves to overcome that discrimination. They prove its subjective nature by refusing to internalize it. This psychologism is very often accompanied by certain practices inspired by multiculturalism.
 58. Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, pp. 355–394 (chapter five: “The Money Equivalent of Personal Values”).
 59. As has been shown, unfortunately, by some high-profile lawsuits in the United States, recourse to prestigious and expensive lawyers affords rich people the possibility of escaping criminal proceedings. Acquittal of this kind is not incompatible with the obligation to pay compensation as part of civil actions.
 60. By contrast, when the victim is afraid to ask for reparation, the representatives of the institution potentially responsible for the damage have few reasons to feel shame.
 61. Though they escape the obligation to make payment, some companies sometimes undertake other, more symbolic compensation measures, such as historical research into their past or memorials to victims. Ford was suspected of having used forced labor during World War II, but was subsequently acquitted of those charges. It did, however, fund a very substantial program of historical investigation carried out by Simon Reich, professor of economics at the University of Pittsburgh. A grant of 1.5 million dollars was later made to that university to carry out research in the human rights field.
 62. Holsti, *Peace and War*.
 63. Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*.
 64. For an illustration of this concordance of histories with regard to the child Elian fleeing Cuba, then returning to the island after his boat capsized, see Colonomos (2000): pp. 23–27
 65. Rosenau, *Distant Proximities*.
 66. Freud, “Notes upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis,” p. 276.
 67. This principle and approach characterize the philosophy of Eliane Amado Lévy-Valensi.

Eight Does Cosmopolitanism Have a Future?

1. Kant, “The Contest of Faculties,” pp. 177–190; *Critique of Pure Reason*, pp. 30–31.
2. Archibugi and Held, *Cosmopolitan Democracy*.
3. Harris, “The Greek Origin of the Idea of Cosmopolitanism,” pp. 1–10.
4. Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*.
5. Hacking, *The Social Construction of What?*
6. For an example of the use of this metaphor, see www.ksg.harvard.edu/news/opeds/2002/nye_Uspower_economist032302.htm. Op ed Harvard, “The New Rome Meets the New Barbarians: How America Should Wield its Power” by Joseph Nye (by invitation), March 23, 2002. Reprinted from *The Economist*.
7. Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs,” pp. 205–235; and “Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs, part II,” pp. 325–353.
8. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*.
9. Liberals and Marxists are for once in agreement: Joseph Nye (1990b); Strange, *States and Markets*.
10. Hume, “Balance of Power.”
11. Kant. “The Metaphysics of Morals.” The Theory of Right, Part II: Public Right, Section III: Cosmopolitan Right. § 62. *Political Writings*: 172–3.

12. Kant, "Perpetual Peace. A Philosophical Sketch," pp. 94–95.
13. Kant, "First Supplement: On the Guarantee of a Perpetual Peace," p. 114.
14. "I do not blame anyone if political evils make him begin to despair of the welfare and progress of mankind. But I have confidence in the heroic medicine to which Hume refers, for it ought to produce a speedy cure." "When I now see the nations engaged in war," he says, "it is as if I witnessed two drunken wretches bludgeoning each other in a china-shop. For it is not just that the injuries they inflict on each other will be long in healing; they will also have to pay for all the damage they have caused. *Sero sapiunt Phryges*." See "The Contest of Faculties," p. 189.
15. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies*.
16. One finds these considerations in Strauss's commentaries on Platonic philosophy. See Strauss, *The City and Man*, pp. 56–137.
17. Athens may also succumb to an immoderate desire for conquest and such errors are fraught with consequences. Ibid., chapter III: "On Thucydides's War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians," pp. 139–241.
18. Several Washington hawks (modestly) opted for this new appellation.
19. See chapter two.
20. Buchanan and Keohane, "The Preventive Use of Force," pp. 1–22.
21. Teitel, "For Humanity," pp. 225–238.
22. Special issue on "world civility." *Journal of Human Rights*. 2004. 3(2).
23. Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* P. 42.
24. www.fas.harvard.edu/~asiactr/sino-japanese/minutes_2002.htm.
25. Noiriel, *Sur la crise de l'histoire*.
26. Its vice-chair was Dr. Sybil Milton (United States), its members Professor Voyame (a Swiss lawyer), Professor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski (Poland), Professor Saul Friedländer (Israel), Professor Harold James (United States), Professor Georg Kreis (Switzerland), Dr Jacques Picard (Switzerland), and Professor Jakob Tanner (Switzerland).
27. Saïd, *Orientalism*.
28. Lewis, *What Went Wrong?*
29. Saïd is one of the ten great scholars who have made "outstanding contributions" to the development of the discipline of Arab and Muslim studies, according to the Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA). Lewis's name does not figure in this list.
30. Alexander, "Professor of Terror," pp. 49–50.
31. Saïd, *Out of Place*.
32. "We are the Jews of the Arab world," Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, p. 182.
33. Silberstein, *Post-Zionist Debates*.
34. Her profile is staunchly cosmopolitan (Israel, America, Iraq). <http://members.aol.com/ehshohat/home/index.html>.
35. "The *Hofjuden*, like all still unspoiled upstarts, showed themselves, in their relations with the princes, to be proud of their dark background of misery, misfortune and pariah-existence. Against that background their glory as exceptions shone more brilliantly." Arendt, "Privileged Jews." p. 9.
36. Surprenant, *Freud's Mass Psychology*.
37. Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, p. 285 and following.
38. These kinds of enterprises, to which lawyers and complainants sometimes resort, are staffed by people with history degrees. www.historyassociates.com/.
39. There work consists mainly in studying the bones they recover from these mass graves. Clea Koff is one of the pioneering anthropologists in this field. She worked for the United Nations in various conflict zones—Rwanda, Bosnia, and Croatia—between 1996 and 2000. She has published a book on her experience in Rwanda: Koff, *The Bone Woman*. www.thebonewoman.com/.

Conclusion: Pragmatic Revolutionism

1. Rorty, "Human Rights, Rationality and Sentimentality," p. 119.
2. Wight, *International Theory*, 47 et seq.
3. The applied dimension of this philosophy has prompted thinking in international relations that introduces pragmatism to it, particularly Dewey, by drawing on his approach and thus combining scholarly analysis with participation by scholars in the democratic game. Cochran, "Deweyan Pragmatism and Post-positivist Social Science in IR," pp. 525–548.
4. Hawthorne, *Plausible Worlds*, p. 157.
5. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," pp. 1–36.
6. *The 9/11 Commission Report. Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2004. See, especially, chapter eleven, "Foresight—and Hindsight," pp. 339–360.
7. Many voices have been raised against the ironic philosophy of Richard Rorty. For one of the most interesting, see Williams, *Truth and Truthfulness*, p. 4.
8. Rorty (1999a), and (1999b), p. 82. A distinction has to be made between justification and truth. Rorty (1999a), p. 32.

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