

ETHICS MATTER

CARNEGIE COUNCIL | ANNUAL REPORT 2011

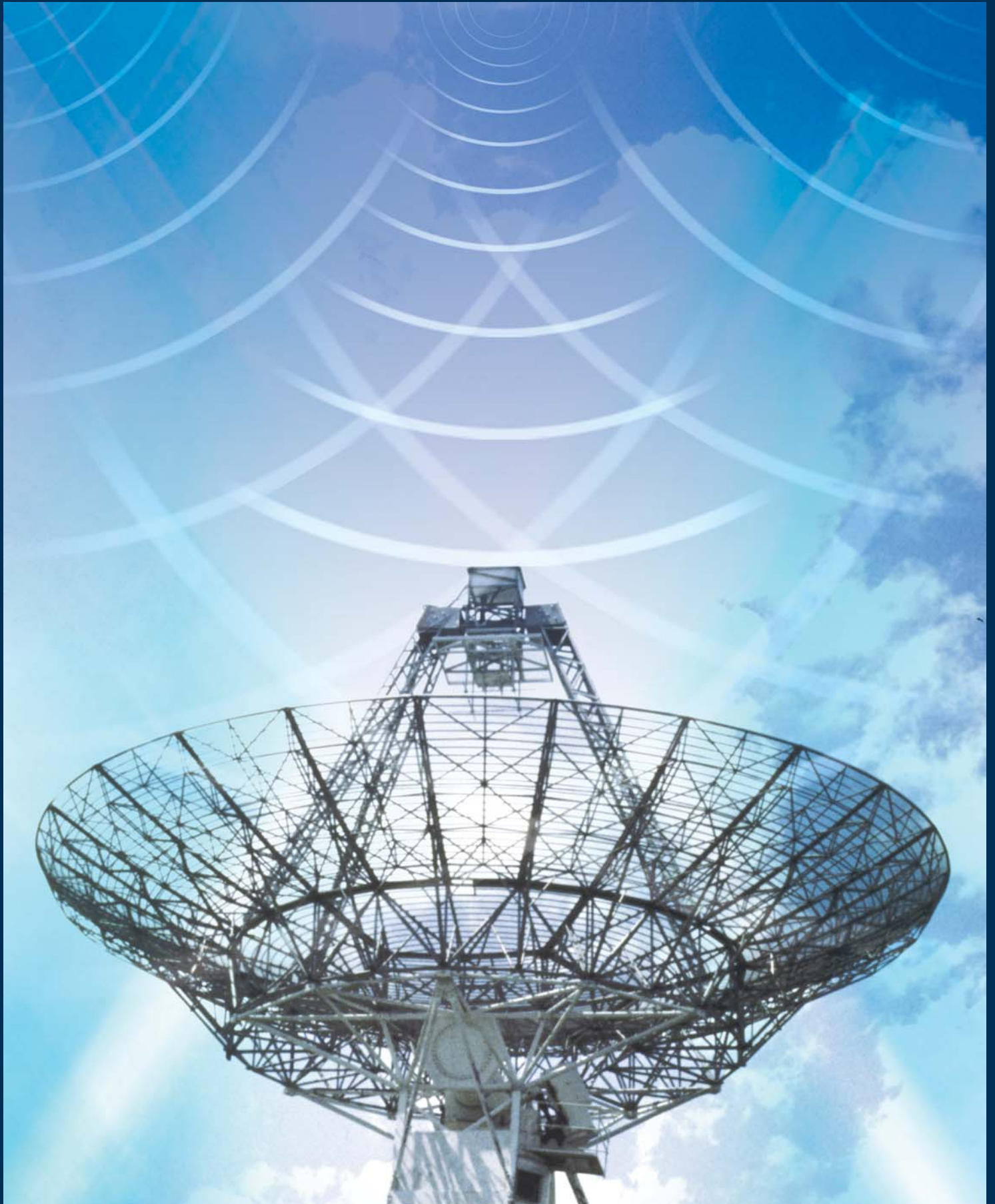




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Dear Friends,

Few years in recent memory have been as momentous as 2011. Like the rest of the world, Carnegie Council was both transfixed and inspired by the acts of bravery, selflessness, and self-empowerment that took the world by storm. In our coverage of the Arab Spring, we went beyond the headlines to grapple with the underlying moral issues that lay at the heart of these groundbreaking events. As always, with our material on this and other topics, we strove to ensure that you had the information you needed to make informed opinions about the current state of ethics and international affairs.

And what a year it was! Highlights from the September 2010–June 2011 program year include thoughtful analysis on the Arab Spring, such as a first-hand account from former Carnegie Council trustee Lisa Anderson, president of the American University of Cairo; *Ethics & International Affairs* roundtables on Libya and Afghanistan; a series of conference papers focusing on Russia, NATO, and arms control; materials on climate change and sustainability; interviews on ethics in business; and much more.

We are heartened to find that there is a growing global audience for such materials. Through our websites and, our presence on iTunes, iTunes U, YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, we are now reaching more people than ever before. And the good news keeps coming! We receive frequent, positive feedback through our social media platforms and websites; from the viewers who tune into our weekly television programs on public TV station MHz and CUNY TV; and also via our long list of online partners, which now includes the PBS/ NPR website Forum Network, and the global debating platform Intelligence Squared.

This year was remarkable in another respect as well: In 2011, we celebrated the 25th anniversary of our peer-reviewed journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*. We are honored to say that this journal is now being published by Cambridge University Press.

With successes such as these, we have more reason than ever to look towards the future with hope and optimism. As we approach Carnegie Council's Centennial in 2014, we have been laying the groundwork for an ambitious multi-year project entitled, *In Search of a Global Ethic*. Like our great founder, Andrew Carnegie, we believe that everyone's fate is intertwined. Unless we work towards mutual understanding of our shared aspirations and moral duties, the world will be the weaker for it. That is why the time has come for a new understanding of ethics—a global ethic—that will shape how we think and teach about ethics in international affairs for years to come. We hope you will join us in undertaking this momentous effort.

Thank you for your support.

Joel H. Rosenthal
President, Carnegie Council



JOEL H. ROSENTHAL

As we approach Carnegie Council's Centennial in 2014, we have been laying the groundwork for an ambitious multi-year project entitled, *In Search of a Global Ethic*.

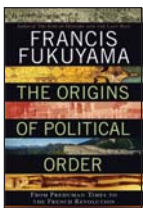


Under the leadership of director **Joanne Myers**, the Council's Public Affairs Program maintained its

impressive track record of hosting some of the world's most distinguished names in international relations—many of them repeat visitors. What follows are just a few of the highlights from this year's nearly fifty events, featuring thought leaders, states-people, historians, and regional experts who addressed everything from long-term trends to breaking news. For full videos, audios, podcasts, and transcripts of all this year's Public Affairs lectures and Q&A exchanges, along with many speakers from previous years, go to www.carnegiecouncil.org.

THE FORCES OF HISTORY

What are the long-term shifts that shape our world? In his third Public Affairs appearance, political scientist **Francis Fukuyama** started at the very beginning of time and presented *The*



Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution, the first volume of what will be a major two-volume work. The three components needed for a durable political order, he explained, were a strong and capable state, the rule of law, and accountability.

Fukuyama concluded with some thoughts on China and the United States. Which system is going to be more sustainable? Since China is authoritarian and centralized, it can act quickly, while at present, the U.S. is frequently deadlocked. Nevertheless, said Fukuyama, he is betting on

American democracy and its system of checks and balances, something that China sorely lacks.

In previous Public Affairs talks, international relations scholar **Joseph Nye** introduced his groundbreaking concepts of “soft power” and “smart power.” This year he discussed his new book, *The Future of Power*, which examines not only how the nature of power is changing in the twenty-first century, but also how those changes will affect America's role in the world. Like Fukuyama, he too declared that China was not about to overtake the United States any time soon. It cannot equal the United States in soft power and smart power, said Nye, until there are real changes in China's political system.



However, **Ian Morris**, Willard Professor of Classics and History at Stanford, does see a profound, long-term shift from West to East in power and wealth over the course of the twenty-first century. But, he asked, will this be such a bad thing? A hundred years ago, the British worried about their loss of power in just the same way, and yet today Europeans have better, longer lives than they did a century ago. Dr. Morris cautioned that the twenty-first century could unfold in a number of ways, some of which are simply unimaginable to us right now. By the time Eastern social development catches up with that of the West, he concluded, it may no longer matter very much which of the two is more powerful.



Certainly, the developing countries are catching up with the West, a process that **Michael Spence**, one of the recipients of the 2001 Nobel Prize in

economics, describes in his book *The Next Convergence: The Future of Economic Growth in a Multispeed World*. In the next twenty years, he pointed out, 75 to 80 percent of the world's population will have the same standard of living as today's advanced countries, putting extraordinary pressure on natural resources and the environment.

Lord Mark Malloch Brown, British minister of state for Africa, Asia, and the United Nations from 2007 to 2009, called for more international collaboration at all levels. National politicians are losing control to impersonal global forces, he said, and therefore we must make global institutions more effective. Meanwhile, he was encouraged to see that activists, nonprofits, and even the private sector are increasingly working together on issues ranging from human rights to climate change.

For the third year running, the Public Affairs Program began the new year with a forecast from geopolitical strategist **George Friedman**. This time he focused on what he saw as the challenge of the next decade: America's role in the world. To be effective, he declared, America must face up to the fact that it's an empire—one that, he said provocatively, is “highly disorganized, completely unfocused, and quite destabilizing in the world because it really doesn't know what it's doing.”



THE MIDDLE EAST

In December 2010, **Rami Khouri**, of the American University of Beirut, gave a stirring speech about his fears of an impending confrontation between Middle Eastern nations over

the 2005 assassination of former prime minister of Lebanon, Rafik Hariri. And one of the year's most moving events was a talk by Dr. **Izzeldin Abuelaish**. Born and raised in a Palestinian refugee camp, Dr. Abuelaish has devoted his life to medicine and to reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians, even though his three daughters and a niece were killed by Israeli shelling.



FLAGS OF EGYPT ALL OVER TAHRIR SQUARE. RAMY RAOOF WWW.FLICKR.COM

In March 2011, Carnegie Council was privileged to hear a first-hand, expert analysis of the unfolding of the Arab Spring from president of the American University of Cairo and former Carnegie Council trustee **Lisa Anderson**. While noting that all the upheavals had one thing in common—aging autocrats who had not lived up to their responsibilities—she warned that we need to understand that the patterns are quite different country to country. Also discussing this part of the world, in June, **Colin Kahl**, deputy assistant secretary of defense for the Middle East, delivered a candid, off-the-record talk to a capacity audience entitled “The Arab Spring: Implications for U.S. Defense Policy.”

BEYOND THE HEADLINES

Many give a lot of credit to Facebook and Twitter for the rapid spread of the Arab Spring. But amid the euphoria, **Evgeny Morozov** sounded a note of

caution. Morozov, originally from Belarus, is a contributing editor to *Foreign Policy* and runs the magazine's *Net Effect* blog. He noted that the Internet and social media can also entrench dictators, threaten dissidents, and make it harder—not easier—to promote democracy.

With its toxic mix of militants, nuclear weapons, and chronic domestic unrest, Pakistan's problems have implications for the entire world. The Public Affairs program is fortunate to have hosted acclaimed Pakistani journalist **Ahmed Rashid** many times over the years, and in March 2011 he gave a chilling account of the current situation in his homeland.

Lieutenant General **Roméo Dallaire** has given several memorable speeches at the Council, most notably about his experiences in Rwanda

during the 1994 genocide. He came back in May 2011 to deplore the use of child soldiers, which he described as “a weapons system that is effective, cheap, and complete.” “How do we counter that?” he asked. “How do we make the use of children a liability?”

The Honorable **Louise Arbour** served as chief prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda. Drawing on the watershed judgment on the legality of Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, she examined the pursuit of self-determination across a range of situations, focusing particular attention on the January 2011 referendum in South Sudan, which was due to take place soon after her talk.

CIVILITY IN AMERICA SERIES

This special lecture series, in conjunction with **The Dilenschneider Group**, a strategic communications

firm, kicked off with radio/television commentator and author **Charles Osgood**, who discussed the importance of civility in the media. He was followed by Common Good founder **Philip K. Howard**, who argued that an excess of government regulations and lawsuits has corroded America's institutions of authority, along with Americans' sense of ethics and civility. Next came a discussion between two distinguished former politicians, Democrat **John Brademas**, president emeritus of New York University, and Republican **Mickey Edwards**, visiting lecturer in public and international affairs at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School. Both agreed on concrete proposals for improving U.S. politics, including campaign finance reform and abolishing gerrymandering. Financial guru **Henry Kaufman** spoke eloquently about integrity on Wall Street, asking: What is the underlying source of the current financial turmoil? “It stems mainly from behavioral and ethical shortcomings, from regulatory failures, and from historical amnesia,” he declared. The last speaker was businessman and politician **Steve Forbes**, who asserted that “Economic uncertainty is a source of incivility.” In a wide-ranging and erudite address, he touched on education, politics, history, and free markets.

ADDITIONAL HIGHLIGHTS

Other highlights from this year included journalist **Timothy Garton Ash** on the European Union; historian **Robert Dallek** on the world leaders of the post-World War II years; author **Peter Godwin** on Zimbabwe; British philosopher **A. C. Grayling** on his compendium, *The Good Book*, a secular Bible that draws from both Western and Eastern traditions; and critic **Simon Schama** on American politics.

The Public Affairs Program gratefully acknowledges support from its subscribers and from Carnegie Council supporters.



Since 2008, the U.S. Global Engagement program (USGE), founded by its current director, **David C. Speedie**, has served as a

nonpartisan platform for international affairs experts to define constructive U.S. engagement in the twenty-first century. Through public lectures, panel discussions, workshops, interviews, and policy papers, USGE strives to achieve three primary goals: raise public awareness on the importance of constructive U.S. global engagement; conduct substantive research on U.S. foreign policy; and promote ethics-based policies by U.S. foreign policy-makers.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THIS YEAR'S EVENTS AND INTERVIEWS

Middle East

In October 2010, **Shibley Telhami**, Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland, College Park, gave an impassioned and rather pessimistic address entitled “Can Obama Please Both Arabs and Israelis? What the Polls and History Tell Us.” Despite Obama's rhetoric, declared Telhami, the majority of Arabs and Israelis no longer believe peace is possible. Both the Arab and the Israeli leadership need to put public opinion aside and get to work on building an agreement, he said, although he was not optimistic that this would happen.

Long before the events of the Arab Spring, it was clear that the large number of unemployed youth across the Middle East was a major problem. Indeed, it was one of the factors that sparked the protests of 2011. In December 2010, **Ron Bruder** and **Jasmine Nahhas di Florio** introduced

the Council to the Education for Employment Foundation (EFE), an NGO that creates employment opportunities for youth in the Middle East and North Africa. After identifying critical skill gaps in the local economy, EFE develops and manages training programs that ensure job placement through partnerships with local universities and employers.

In June 2011, David Speedie invited back Mr. Bruder, founder and CEO of EFE, for an interview to discuss the turbulent six months since his previous visit. EFE was about to start programs in Tunisia, the birthplace of the Arab Spring, reported Bruder, and although Egypt had suffered economically as a result of the government overthrow, he was optimistic about its long-term future. One of the consequences of the Arab Spring was that universities in Egypt—and, he hoped, across the region—were finally beginning to realize that they had to move away from rote learning and teach critical thinking and skills relevant to the 21st century job market.

Pakistan

Anatol Lieven is chair of International Relations and Terrorism Studies at King's College London, and author of *Pakistan: A Hard Country*. In a September 2010 in-depth interview with David Speedie, he discussed Pakistan's surprising degree of stability; the recent floods; the role of the army and ISI (Pakistan's intelligence agency); the drug trade; and Pakistan's relationship with the United States, Afghanistan, and other countries, including India, China, and Russia. The conversation was continued in a second interview on Pakistan in April 2011. Osama bin Laden was killed on May 2, 2011, and on May 3, Carnegie Council received

a note from Professor Lieven on what this meant for U.S.-Pakistan relations. The interviews and the note are available on our website. For all contributions from Professor Lieven, go to

http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/people/data/anatol_lieven.html

Media in Contemporary Russia

What is the current situation of journalism in Russia today, given that 70 percent of media is still owned by the state? In March 2011, ten senior figures from major Russian print, broadcast, and Internet media outlets gave a briefing to the USGE audience. In addition to representatives from government agencies, the group also included Mr. **Azer Mursaliev**, editor-in-chief of Russia's first private publishing house, Kommersant, established two decades ago, and Ms. **Nargiz Asadova**, a well-known journalist from Echo of Moscow, Russia's first independent radio station, launched in 1990. The presentations and subsequent question and answer session were remarkably frank, as the speakers discussed how far Russian media has come, but also how much further it has to go.



RUSSIAN PAVILION MEDIA SHOWER AT VENICE BIENNALE. CARL GUDERIAN WWW.FLICKR.COM

“THE END OF THE COLD WAR” PROJECT

In late 2010 and early 2011, David Speedie launched a series of interviews in Moscow with Russian parliamentary “reformers” and aides to Boris Yeltsin who took part in the momentous events leading to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Back in the United States, he talked with Americans who also played a role—two U.S. diplomats and one private citizen. In Moscow, the interviewees were: **Gennady Burbulis**, a close associate of Boris Yeltsin and one of the most influential Russian political figures in the late 1980s and early 1990s; **Alexandr Uрманov**, Yeltsin’s campaign manager; **Gavriil Popov**, mayor of Moscow from 1990 to 1992; **Evgeny Savostyanov**, former head of the Moscow KGB; **Arkady Murashev**, former Moscow police chief and a leading light of the Inter-Regional Group of the USSR Congress of People’s Deputies (the first democratically elected Soviet Parliament); and **Mikhail Reznikov**, campaign manager for Murashev and field representative for the Kriebler Institute, an American conservative organization. The Americans were **Jack F. Matlock**, former U.S. ambassador to the USSR from 1987-1991; **Thomas E. Graham**, now of Kissinger Associates, Inc., who was head of the political/internal unit of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, from 1987 to 1990; and **John Exnicios**, former vice president of the Kriebler Institute. Exnicios and his colleagues played a leading role in training Russian dissidents throughout the final years of the Soviet Union.

Along with an outpouring of interest in the interviews, the Council has received requests from educators in the United States and Eastern Europe to further disseminate the project’s findings. Encouraged by this response, the Council’s in-house

Carnegie Ethics Studio is building on Mr. Speedie’s original interview material, using it as a base for an hour-long special that will tell the inside story of the Soviet Union’s dissolution and the U.S. role therein. The special, which will include both public and private footage and images from those tumultuous years, will be shown on MHz public television, as part of the Council’s weekly Global Ethics Forum series. *USGE gratefully acknowledges support for this project from the Alfred and Jane Ross Foundation and Donald M. Kendall.*



INTERNATIONAL USGE CONFERENCE
ILLUSTRATION: DENNIS DOYLE

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: “U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT: REPORT OF TWO YEARS OF ACTIVITIES”

From June 1 to June 3, 2011, USGE convened a high-level international conference at the Pocantico Center of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Organized by Carnegie Council in cooperation with the **U.S. Army War College**, the conference served to review and report on two years of program activity, and to generate new ideas and resources among an international group of leading scholars and practitioners from North America, Russia, and Europe. Many of the papers and keynote speeches are available online, at:

www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/picks/0029.html.

The topics covered include the Treaty of Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), with papers from three perspectives—American, British, and Russian. Respectively, the authors were Carnegie Council Senior Fellow Col. **Jeffrey D. McCausland** (Ret.); Professor **Paul Schulte** of University of London’s School of Oriental and African Studies; and **Sergey Rogov**, director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. There were also two papers on cooperation and competition in the Arctic region, one from Russian **Pavel Baev**, who is currently a research professor at the Peace Research Institute, Oslo, and another from Canadian **Michael Byers** of the University of British Columbia. In addition, **Andrew Kuchins** of the Center for Strategic and International Studies contributed a paper examining the differences and similarities between the Soviet and the U.S./NATO experience in Afghanistan; **Stephen J. Blank** of the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College wrote on arms control and proliferation challenges to the Reset Policy; and **Alexandra I. Toma**, of the Connect U.S. Fund, wrote on the ethics of the Nuclear Security Summit Process. The Carnegie Council website also features keynote speeches by **Angela Stent**, of Georgetown University, and former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR **Jack F. Matlock**, along with wrap-up speeches from **Thomas E. Graham** of Kissinger Associates, Inc., and **Nikolas K. Gvosdev** of the U.S. Naval War College.

The U.S. Global Engagement program gratefully acknowledges support from Alfred and Jane Ross Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Donald M. Kendall, Rockefeller Family & Associates, Booz & Company, and Enzo Viscusi.



Updated each week, *Policy Innovations* online magazine (*PI*), edited by **Evan O'Neil**, provides a lively

mix of articles, videos, briefings, and policy papers on how ethical innovations are shaping our global society. In addition to commissioning original material, *PI* also publishes resources from a core network of hundreds of global partners, including such news outlets as Project Syndicate, Global Post, and CSRwire, the corporate social responsibility newswire. The network also encompasses a wide range of organizations, such as the Business & Human Rights Resource Centre; Ashoka, which fosters social entrepreneurship; and the Tufts University Global Development and Environment Institute.

The following is a small sample of the many original articles and interviews that *PI* commissioned this year.

A DIRTY STORY: OIL FROM THE ALBERTA TAR SANDS

One of the most contentious environmental issues in North America at present is the proposed Keystone XL extension, an additional pipeline that TransCanada wants to build between the tar sands of northern Alberta and refineries on the U.S. Gulf Coast. In a fascinating first-person account, *PI* editor O'Neil delves into the complex, controversial, and highly energy-intensive tar sands extraction process, which currently consumes large quantities of natural gas. To make the situation even more volatile, O'Neil tells us that Canada is now considering using nuclear power rather than natural gas, despite the dangers.



OIL PIPELINES IN CANADA. LOOZRBOY WWW.FLICKR.COM

O'Neil also discusses the industry's devastating effects on the environment; its economics (including a counter-argument to the conventional wisdom that oil consumption must inevitably keep increasing); and the tangled politics of this so-called "ethical oil." In a follow-up article, O'Neil focused on the proposed pipeline extension, which, he contends, far from benefiting Americans, would actually result in higher gas prices, negligible energy security, risks to the environment, and increased global warming. The decision on the pipeline, first scheduled for 2010, has been postponed until 2013.

"MORE LIKE THIS: PROFILES OF CLEAN ENERGY LEADERS IN CHINA"

No one can deny that China has a worsening pollution crisis, yet the last few years have also seen dramatic changes in the country's green policies along with many innovations, says **John Haffner**, a China-based businessman engaged in clean energy projects in Asia. In this interview series, Haffner talks to clean energy pioneers in China, including multi-millionaire **Zhang Yue**, founder and CEO of Broad, which specializes in non-electric air conditioning, air purifiers, energy efficiency, and sustainable buildings.

Broad has been the global leader in sales of non-electric chillers since 1996, now boasting more than 25,000 installations around the world. As Mr. Zhang explained, just when he had earned more money than he could ever spend in a lifetime, he also realized that excessive energy consumption had caused global warming, threatening the survival of all our children. Thereafter, he had "only one motive: to save energy and reduce greenhouse emissions."

The series also features China's leading landscape architect, **Yu Kongjian**, who is creating energy efficient and spiritually enriching designs to reconnect China's rapid urbanization to the land. In addition to running his company, Turenscape, Mr. Yu is also dean of the Graduate School of Landscape Architecture at Peking University. His company and the university form a virtuous circle of theory and practice: many students work for Turenscape after they graduate, and the firm in turn has donated millions of renminbi to support the school's research.

INTERVIEWS

In October 2010, O'Neil interviewed **Jeb Brugmann**, a business and development expert, whose company, the Next Practice, serves major corporations, local governments, and non-profit organizations worldwide. Brugmann's book, *Welcome to the Revolution*, combines detailed street-level research with analysis of the city system on a global scale to explain the forces that are shaping our urban future. In April 2011, as part of the *Just Business* series (see page 12), O'Neil talked with **Alexis Madrigal**, a senior editor at *The Atlantic* magazine, whose book, *Powering the Dream: The History and Promise of Green Technology*, recounts how the evolution of green technologies have been entangled with culture, ethics, and government policy.



ISTOCKPHOTO / THINKSTOCK

Workshops for Ethics in Business (WEB) is the Carnegie Council program

specifically designed for the corporate sphere. These workshops provide an interdisciplinary forum for business leaders, policymakers, nonprofit representatives, and academics to explore the ethical dilemmas confronting the business community. By providing examples of best practices, the program helps address the often thorny ethical problems that corporations and organizations face.

Military leaders have identified climate change as a threat to global stability, and therefore to U.S. security. Thus, to mark the Council's second annual **September Sustainability Month** (see page 14), the first WEB event of the program year was a panel of representatives from the Navy, the Marines, and the Army Corps of Engineers, organized in cooperation with the **Truman Security Project**. Appearing under the title **Leading by Example**, these officers illustrated how the U.S. military is at the forefront of efforts to develop and implement renewable, clean energy sources.

Sustainability Month also featured a WEB panel on various aspects of creating sustainable societies: Booz & Company's **Sartaz Ahmed**, who works with clients in the energy and infrastructure sectors, discussed building sustainable cities; **Larry Burns** (formerly of GM) talked about clean vehicles and a future where cars, equipped with sophisticated GPS systems, drive themselves and never crash; and architect **Joan Krevlin** talked about the LEED (Leadership in Energy Environmental Design) ranking system and the energy savings

that green buildings can bring. Continuing the sustainability theme, in November the Council was privileged to host Secretary of the Navy **Ray Mabus**. Mr. Mabus explained how he is working to chart a new course for the Navy and Marine Corps, which will dramatically reduce the Navy's consumption of fossil fuels by 2020.

In January 2011, the program held the third annual "Top Risks and Ethical Decisions" panel, inspired by Eurasia Group's yearly list of the top ten global risks. This year's panel consisted of economist **Daniel Altman**, political scientist/risk expert **Ian Bremmer**, and economic and political analyst **Zachary Karabell**. Their concerns included the vacuum in international politics or, put another way, a multi-polar world; the dramatic shift in world powers and the resultant demand on food supplies and natural resources; and—perhaps most presciently—the fact that Europe was breaking up and following different tracks, and the difficulties of maintaining the euro under these circumstances.

In May, for the fourth year running, WEB, together with the Council's U.S. Global Engagement program (see page 4), organized a panel entitled **Rise of the Rest**. Optimistic and bleak by turns, the speakers analyzed the dilemmas facing both the rising and the reigning powers—from protests across the Middle East, to the disaster in Japan, to rising food and oil prices across the world. Panelists were **Nikolas K. Gvosdev**, of the U.S. Naval War College; **Devin Stewart**, creator and former Carnegie Council director of WEB (now of Japan Society), who remains a Carnegie Council senior fellow; and **Dov Waxman**, professor of international relations and Middle East politics at Baruch College.

Is it possible to grow a company to \$1 billion in revenue in Russia without giving a single bribe? Alcoa's former vice president **Bill O'Rourke** is living proof that it can be done. In an event entitled **Confronting Corruption and Ethics in Emerging Markets**, O'Rourke and Carnegie Council program officer **Julia Taylor Kennedy** used his experiences in Russia as the basis of a series of case studies. They began with concrete examples of challenging circumstances and decisions that he and Alcoa faced and asked the group what their response would be. O'Rourke then explained how he had handled these problems, and he and the group went on to discuss how these examples could be applicable to other situations.



CONFRONTING CORRUPTION AND ETHICS IN EMERGING MARKETS WITH BILL O'ROURKE OF ALCOA

This workshop was the first of a new, more interactive and hands-on format, in which a small group of private-sector participants work through real and hypothetical cases to identify principals and develop leadership and workplace strategies.

Workshops for Ethics in Business gratefully acknowledges support from Booz & Company and HP.

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

Launched in January 2011, the Ethics Matter Series began as a one-on-one interview program, selecting some of the world's most influential thinkers for in-depth discussions of their life's work and ideas. The inaugural interview was a conversation between Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **William Vocke** and **Chris Brown**, professor of international relations and vice-chair of the academic board at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Professor Brown traced the roots of his current thinking, and discussed his views on Marxism, humanitarian intervention, and more.

In March, Vocke sat down with **Joseph Nye**, who *Foreign Policy* magazine named as one of the top global thinkers of 2011. Professor Nye explained his major concepts, such as his now famous theory of "soft power," and shared his thoughts on the information revolution.



DR. FRANCIS FUKUYAMA AND COUNCIL PRESIDENT JOEL H. ROSENTHAL

In May, Carnegie Council President **Joel Rosenthal** talked with distinguished political scientist **Francis Fukuyama**. In a wide-ranging conversation, they discussed the trajectory of Fukuyama's work and ideas from his seminal book, *The End of History*, to his most recent volume, *The Origins of Political Order*.

In June, to share the opportunity to talk with thinkers and practitioners of this caliber, the format was changed to that of a town hall-style meeting open to the

general public. The initial conversations are kept quite short, leaving ample time for additional discussion prompted by questions from the audience. Hosted by Carnegie Council Program Officer **Julia Taylor Kennedy**, the first speaker was microfinance pioneer **Susan Davis**, founder and current president and CEO of the U.S. arm of BRAC, an international development organization founded in Bangladesh in 1972. Microfinance started as a movement for social justice and women's equality, said Davis, and is now a large-scale industry, serving over 150 million of the world's poorest households.

CARNEGIE ETHICS ONLINE

This monthly online column, edited by communications director **Madeleine Lynn**, is yet another piece of the Council's multidimensional communications, information, and outreach programs—in this case, designed to highlight issues in short articles of 1,000–3,000 words. Among the highly eclectic subjects:

- **Patricia Lynne Duffy**, an instructor in the UN Language and Communications Programme, contributed a first-hand account of a development success story in the Ugandan village of Kitengesa, where a "mini-grant" to fund a community library led to more small grants for self-sustaining, inter-related projects—a factory, vegetable beds, and a chair rental business—all initiated by villagers themselves or by people who had lived there and who thus understood the needs of their neighbors.

- On February 1, 2011, immediately after the January referendum in favor of independence for South Sudan, Sudan expert **Dr. Eric Reeves**, author of *A Long Day's Dying: Critical Moments in the*

Darfur Genocide, gave us an analysis of what this might bring. "Many ask, 'Will the newly independent South Sudan become a failed state?'" he wrote. "But the real question is, 'Can North Sudan remain a viable state without the South?'" Peace is far from guaranteed and both states face staggering challenges, he concluded.

- **Dov Waxman** a professor of international relations and Middle East politics at Baruch College, commented on President Obama's eagerly awaited May 19 speech on the Arab Spring. Waxman noted that although the speech pledged U.S. support, ultimately it will be Obama's actions, not his words, that will determine whether the U.S. will be seen as truly supporting the Arab Spring—and so far the actual record has been decidedly mixed. Actions rather than words will also decide what happens in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he warned.

- Indicted for war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity in 1995, former Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic was finally brought to The Hague in late May 2011. But has this prompted genuine self-reflection for Serbians? In a thought-provoking article, **Marlene Spoorri**, Ph.D. candidate at the University of Amsterdam, and Carnegie Council grant writer and researcher **Mladen Joksić** argued that it has not. "To the contrary, when it comes to the crimes committed in their name, most Serbs remain skeptical, ill-informed, and even disinterested. Where they support Serbia's cooperation with the tribunal, they do so for material—rather than ethical—concerns. Indeed, the desire to see justice done and past wrongs righted plays remarkably little role in Serbs' desire to deal with the past."



One of the most rewarding ways that Carnegie Council reaches out to younger people is through the Carnegie New Leaders (CNL)

program, a membership program for young professionals. Through a series of on- and off-the record programming, social events, and a dedicated Facebook site, CNL members explore and debate how to apply ethical principles—not only to international affairs but also to issues in their own private and professional lives. Members are encouraged to take an active role in running the program: the group has a steering committee, and members propose many of the speakers. This year, CNL chose to focus on **leadership development** and how to apply ethical leadership principles across a variety of fields.

In September 1970, Milton Friedman published an article entitled “The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase Its Profits.” So the 2010 fall season kicked off with an event entitled: **Forty Years after Friedman: What is the Proper Role of Business in Society?***

Today, this question is urgent in ways that Friedman could never have imagined. Business has grown in scale and scope, lifting billions of people out of poverty; but, as we well know, it has also caused harm to people and the planet.

The event organizers were CNL member **Christine Bader** (formerly of BP and currently UN special representative of the secretary-general for business and human rights,) and CNL Steering Committee chair **Jeff Hittner**, an experienced social entrepreneur and corporate innovator. Together, they led the group in an interactive discussion about corporate social responsibility and sustainability.

Next up was an **event*** organized by CNL Steering Committee member **Robin van Puyenbroeck**, executive director at the Global Partnerships Forum. His guest speaker was **Gillian Sorensen**, senior advisor at the United Nations Foundation, who previously held a series of high-level positions at the UN. Among the questions explored were: What are the challenges and limitations of working through the UN system? How can we effectively engage our enemies? How can we transform agreements into action? Can we protect U.S. national interests while promoting the global good? “The UN is imperfect but indispensable,” concluded Sorensen. “Our challenge is to build upon its strengths and address its weaknesses in the most constructive way.”

In principle, businesses, NGOs, and governments realize that they can expand their impact by collaborating. In practice, however, the leadership skills needed to successfully navigate between all three types of organizations are rarely developed and even more rarely defined. In November, honorary Carnegie Council trustee **Zarinés Negrón**, director of strategic operations at the New York City Department of Small Business Services, organized an off-the record discussion to identify and address these skills gaps. The speakers on this occasion were **Caleb McClennen**, director of marine conservation at the Bronx Zoo, and **David Salpeter**, vice president, Citi export and agency finance, at Citigroup Corporate and Investment Bank.

In February, CNL members went on a field trip to Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn, one of the oldest U.S. Army bases in the United States. Following a tour of the base, the group met with military officers for an overview of the Army’s resources and organization, followed by an off-the-

record discussion. The primary goal of this engagement was to define the key elements required for strong military leadership, and then to figure out how those elements could work in other professional environments, such as the financial sector, nongovernmental organizations, or public service. The report of this trip is available on the Council website, along with PDFs of the Army’s powerpoint presentation.

According to Carnegie Council trustee **David P. Hunt**, “Trust, accountability, and high moral standards are essential in the workplace, both in the private sector and in government. And in the intelligence field these have particular significance, underlying virtually all activities.” Mr. Hunt should know: he had a distinguished thirty-two-year career as a senior officer in the CIA, including tours in Saigon, Mogadishu, Oslo, and Paris. In an off-the-record discussion in March, Hunt described for CNL members the overseas operational environment, the importance of trust in human source operations, and the need, always, for skepticism in a profession rife with fabricators.

What were the accomplishments and failures of the U.S. grassroots movements that responded to the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, and how do these lessons apply to grassroots movements in general? In May, CNL member **Rachel Davis**, an Australian attorney who spent five years as a senior legal advisor to special representative of the UN secretary-general for business and human rights, organized and led a discussion to examine these issues. The guest speaker was **Rebecca Hamilton**, a special correspondent on Sudan with *The Washington Post*, and author of *Fighting for Darfur: Public Action and the Struggle to Stop Genocide*.

***Part of September Sustainability Month. See page 14.**



HAPPY 25TH ANNIVERSARY!

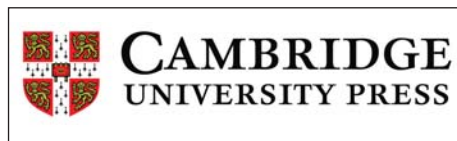
2011 was a landmark year for Carnegie Council's journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, which celebrated its 25th anniversary. In his introduction to the anniversary volume, the Council's president and *EIA* editor-in-chief, **Joel Rosenthal**, recalled the origins of the journal and reiterated its long-standing objective to "feature the best minds in the field, foster a multiplicity of views, engender vigorous debate, and all the while remain true to the Council's nonpartisan, nonideological tradition."

As we reflect on our history, we celebrate not simply the longevity of our publication but its vitality and continuing relevance. Where we were once a single voice, today we are part of a burgeoning research field. As Rosenthal noted:

"Perhaps the biggest testament to the journal's contribution is the fact that the question 'What does ethics have to do with international affairs?' no longer sounds quixotic. The principles of pluralism, rights, and fairness are increasingly

acknowledged as the standards against which international policies and actors are judged, not only in specialized academic writing but also in public discussion. The worldwide proliferation of academic programs, centers, and publications with an explicit focus on ethics is partially a result of a broad trend in which *EIA* was a pioneer."

Our anniversary year also coincided with the start of a new partnership with **Cambridge University Press**, the leading publisher in the area of international relations. The Press's broadly recognized expertise, its excellence in production, and its global distribution will be important elements in the journal's continuing success and development.



In addition, the upward trend in *EIA* usage and dissemination continues at a brisk rate, with more than 90,000 recorded downloads in 2010. Our contributors and readers hail from all parts of the world, while our articles are featured in hundreds of syllabi, reaching tens of thousands of students worldwide.

Many *EIA* articles are also freely accessible on the Carnegie Council website, where they remain among the Council's most popular resources. Contributions that elicited most reader interest over the last year include **Sridhar Venkatapuram's** "Global Justice and the Social Determinants of Health" (Summer 2010), **Thomas Pogge's** "World Poverty and Human Rights" (Spring 2005), and **Chris Brown's** review essay "On Amartya Sen and 'The Idea of Justice'" (Fall 2010).

FOCUS ON RTOP AND LIBYA

The adoption of the responsibility to protect doctrine (RtoP) by the UN General Assembly in 2005 has been one of the most significant recent developments in international relations, and *EIA* has published extensively on the evolution of this new norm over the last several years. In the 2010 Winter issue, **Edward C. Luck**, special advisor to the UN secretary-general on RtoP, responded to an earlier article on the topic by editorial board member **Alex Bellamy** evaluating the successes and shortcomings of the principle five years after its endorsement. Luck ended on an optimistic note, suggesting that "For all of RtoP's faults and frailties, time may well be on its side." Also writing on RtoP in the Winter issue, **Jennifer Welsh**, of Oxford University, was more reserved, arguing that "the requisite intellectual, financial, and diplomatic investments to realize [RtoP's] meaty agenda are not forthcoming" and that "the discussion of RtoP has revealed lingering controversy."

The journal revisited this groundbreaking topic in 2011 in a special roundtable on **Libya and RtoP**, organized by **James Pattison**, which was published online over the summer before appearing in print in the Fall issue. What are the implications of the Libyan intervention for the responsibility to protect principle? How should we judge the intervention in Libya morally and politically? What is the likelihood of future action under RtoP? Several eminent scholars, including **Simon Chesterman** and **Thomas Weiss**, tackled these crucial questions.



RECONNAISSANCE MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN. WWW.FLICKR.COM
U.S. ARMY PHOTO BY STAFF SGT. MICHAEL L. CASTEEL

AFGHANISTAN SYMPOSIUM

The ethics of the U.S. involvement in Afghanistan took center stage in a special roundtable published in the 2011 Summer issue. The debate kicked off with a lead article by **Richard W. Miller** of Cornell University, who argued that the United States has “a moral duty...actively to pursue negotiations with the Taliban,” and then went on to make a provocative case for conceding the Pashtun region to the Taliban and rapidly reducing the U.S. presence in the country as a whole. Five experts responded, all of whom took issue, to a smaller or greater extent, with Professor Miller’s premises and recommendations. **Fernando R. Tesón**, for example, went head-to-head with Miller’s thesis with a robust response entitled “Enabling Monsters: A Reply to Professor Miller.” Tesón asserted from the outset that “the United States would be perpetrating a major injustice if it enabled the Taliban to rule over any part of the territory and over any person.”

NEW APPROACHES TO INTERVENTION

EIA is proud to give voice to bold new proposals for policy reform. One such new vision for more effective international intervention was put forward by **Allen Buchanan** and **Robert Keohane** in their co-authored article, “Precommitment Regimes for Intervention: Supplementing the

Security Council” (Spring 2011). Concluding that the UN Security Council does not possess exclusive legitimacy when it comes to humanitarian intervention decisions, the authors argued that it is permissible to look for alternative institutional arrangements, and suggested a precommitment regime as a more effective tool for protecting fragile democracies. As they stated: “Under a precommitment regime for democracy protection, a set of democratic states could enter into a contract by which a democratic government would authorize intervention in its own territory in response to violence that the government was unable to control, either due to incapacity or to having been dislodged from power by force.”



SPREADING SMOKE. ALVEE WWW.FLICKR.COM

CLIMATE CHANGE

Climate change is surely one of the paramount global challenges of our time, and its complex nature generates a wide range of approaches among philosophers and policymakers. *EIA* has long looked at the many dimensions of this topic, and over the last year our contributors addressed several aspects of the problem from a variety of perspectives. **Robyn Eckersley** wrote about the fairness of border measures relating to “carbon leakage;” **Sujatha Byravan** and **Sudhir Chella Rajan** examined the

ethical implications of sea-level rise; and **Steve Vanderheiden** proposed a framework for assigning mitigation and adaptation duties to states. Clearly, this is a topic that will be with us for a long while, and *EIA* will continue to provide some of the best voices and ideas on this issue in the years ahead.

EIA INTERVIEWS

Under the auspices of the Carnegie Ethics Studio, *EIA* audio and video interviews, conducted by the journal’s editor, **John Tessitore**, complement our print resources by offering authors an alternative venue to present and expand on their arguments. This past year, Tessitore talked with philosopher and frequent contributor **Mathias Risse**, who discussed his concept of common ownership of the earth—the equal claim of each person to the planet and its resources—and what this means for worldwide immigration policies and for climate change refugees.

Tessitore also interviewed contributor and editorial board member **Leif Wenar** on the resource curse and clean trade policies—referring to the fact that the rich resources of many developing nations often fail to advance the welfare of the population-at-large (for example, conflict diamonds), and that wealthy importing countries have a responsibility to avoid supporting such corrupt practices. “Our own policies in importing states, including ones we take entirely for granted, help to drive the resource curse overseas,” argued Wenar. He proposed a Clean Trade Policy, consisting of three parts: control over domestic corporations and transparency in the contracts with foreign governments; a structure of incentives to encourage greater public accountability in exporting states; and the suspension of trade with “the most extreme authoritarian regimes and failed states.”



Under the leadership of executive producer **Deborah Carroll** and program officer

Julia Taylor Kennedy, the Carnegie Ethics Studio continues to expand and improve. Today the Council's in-house multimedia production facility creates and distributes hundreds of products every year, reaching millions of viewers and listeners. The Studio is constantly upgrading its facilities and honing its products. This year, for example, thanks to a generous grant from the **Dillon Fund**, the Studio was able to construct a new soundproof audio recording studio, which has greatly upgraded our broadcast quality.

STUDIO PRODUCTS

Online Event Recordings and Webcasts

With the exception of occasional off-the-record talks, the Studio produces full audio, video highlights, and transcripts of every Carnegie Council event—and all of these are available online at www.carnegiecouncil.org. You can also watch our events live at <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/live>.

Podcasts, RSS Feeds, and iTunes U

Available anytime, anywhere, and always free of charge, audio and video podcasts via iTunes and RSS feed are one of the most popular ways for our global audience to access Carnegie Council material. In 2010, Council podcasts received an average of over 50,000 downloads a month, and the audios regularly rank among iTunes' Top Ten most downloaded government and nonprofit audio podcasts. Building on this demand, in February 2010, the Studio launched a

site on **iTunes U**. A division of iTunes, iTunes U distributes materials from colleges and universities and also offers a "Beyond Campus" section, featuring museums, libraries, broadcasting stations, and educational institutions such as the Carnegie Council. The Council's iTunes U site features collections of the best of its resources on international affairs, and is regularly added to and updated. Topics include **Climate Change**, **Nuclear Proliferation**, and **Spotlight on the Arab Spring**. Find the site at www.carnegieitunesu.org or click through to it from our website.

iTunes U is also home to a new and highly innovative Studio project: an online, chapter-by-chapter glossary for the 2012 edition of the best-selling international relations textbook, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, by Carnegie Council trustee **Charles W. Kegley, Jr.** and **Shannon L. Blanton**.

The glossary, which is referenced in the textbook itself, consists of short videos of Carnegie Council speakers illustrating commonly used terms, such as Nobel Prize-winning economist **Joseph Stiglitz** on "remittances." Go to www.ir101.org/kb.

Global Ethics Forum Television

These half-hour television programs are edited versions of some of the Council's most fascinating events, and are currently airing every Sunday on MHz Worldview Channel—a Washington, D.C.-based public television network that reaches over 40 million households nationwide. They are also showing on CUNY TV in New York City.

Just Business Audio Interview Series

This new series was launched in February 2010 by Studio program officer **Julia Taylor Kennedy**, who twice a month interviews thought leaders from a wide spectrum of the business world—from large international corporations, to start-ups, to the financial and nonprofit sectors. A common thread running through most of these conversations is how business can be a force for good. For example, **Swan Paik** of **Nike Foundation** discussed the Foundation's support for the Girl Effect, a nonprofit foundation that works to create more opportunities for the 600 million adolescent girls living in poverty in the developing world. "Women and girls are a powerful accelerator for change," said Paik. "By allowing girls to fall



CARNEGIE COUNCIL'S ITUNES U WEBSITE

through irreversible trap doors in adolescence, the world is missing out on the tremendous potential that they have to offer.”

Author and eco-entrepreneur **Roo Rogers** introduced some of his latest ventures, such as an alternative town-car service that uses hybrid vehicles. His recent book, *What's Mine is Yours*, is about collaborative consumption—that is, the process of bartering, trading, and sharing on a massive scale, on sites such as eBay and Craigslist, for example.

Other speakers have focused on damages resulting from a lack of integrity. **Krishen Mehta** of **Global Financial Integrity** (GFI) talked about capital flight and the harm it causes, explaining that, in total, developing countries lose close to \$1 trillion every year, of which 65 percent is related to commercial tax evasion. To end the program year, journalist **Diana B. Henriques** discussed convicted financier Bernie Madoff, the subject of her book, *Wizard of Lies*. In her years of covering white collar crime, she said, she had found that there was not a huge gulf between these criminals and the rest of us. “It actually is really quite easy to slip over that line,” she remarked. “You lie to yourself that you’re going to make it up, you’re going to put the money back... and then you’re on that slippery slope.”

Advocates for Ethics in Business Audio Interview Series, June 2009–February 2010

Advocates for Ethics in Business series, also hosted by Julia Taylor Kennedy, was the forerunner of *Just Business*, described above. Highlights included a number of speakers who are working in their different ways toward a more sustainable world. Local examples were architect **Joan Krevlin***, whose Queens Botanical Garden

Visitor Center in New York City received a platinum LEED certificate (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design, an internationally recognized green building certification system); and Yale Professor **Alex Felson**, a landscape architect and urban ecologist, whose projects include the New York City Reforestation Plan and the East River Marsh. **Ian Yolles*** is chief marketing officer at an innovative company called RecycleBank, which already has over two million members. With a rewards system similar to a frequent flyer program, members get points for “everyday green actions,” such as recycling household items, and can redeem them for discounts and merchandise in stores. “You can think of it, in a sense, as a form of behavioral economics, a carrot-versus-stick approach,” said Yolles.

Other memorable interviews include a talk with **Susan Aryeetey**, who has spent the last eight years working in Ghana for the International Federation of Women Lawyers [FIDA], which provides women in need with legal aid; and another with **Colette Lespinasse**, executive director of the Haitian NGO Groupe d’Appui aux Rapatriés et aux Réfugiés [Group of Support to Returnees and Refugees]. In addition to explaining her work with Haitian migrants on the Haitian-Dominican border, Lespinasse discussed the 2010 earthquake and subsequent cholera outbreak.

Ethics & International Affairs Audio and Video Interviews

The Studio also produces occasional interviews with contributors to the journal, hosted by *EIA* editor **John Tessitore**. Please see page 10.

Global Ethics Corner

Created and written by Senior Fellow **William Vocke**, these popular weekly two-minute videos

are devoted to examining the ethical dimensions of current issues and events. The goal of each segment is to present all sides of an issue, asking viewers (with special attention to students) to weigh the information and make up their own minds. Among the thorny topics examined this year were WikiLeaks, Sudan, and the Arab Spring.

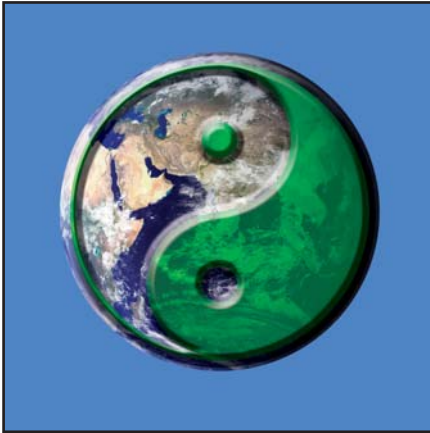
One of the most popular of our offerings on YouTube in 2010 was a Global Ethics Corner on aircraft carriers and anti-ship missiles. It asked: “Have aircraft carriers lost their place as core naval assets for projecting force? For instance, would you risk U.S. carriers in a conflict across the Taiwan Strait?” Global Ethics Corner is featured on the Carnegie Council’s website and on our principal YouTube channel. For the convenience of educators, there is also a YouTube channel solely dedicated to Global Ethics Corner: <http://www.youtube.com/carnegienetwork>.

YouTube Clips

Educators tell us that the Studio’s two-to-four minute clips from Council events are excellent teaching tools to illustrate specific points or to spark debate in the classroom. Find them on the Council’s YouTube page: <http://www.youtube.com/carnegiecouncil>. The most viewed include historian **Niall Ferguson** on the supposed decline of the United States; economist **Paul Krugman** on the global financial crisis; and journalist **Ahmed Rashid** on terrorist sanctuaries in Pakistan.

Carnegie Ethics Studio productions are made possible in part by generous funding from Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Dillon Fund, the Uehiro Foundation on Ethics and Education, and by individual donations from Carnegie Council supporters.

***Part of September Sustainability Month. See page 14.**



A SUSTAINABLE WORLD. ILLUSTRATION: DENNIS DOYLE

SECOND ANNUAL SEPTEMBER SUSTAINABILITY MONTH

Once again Carnegie Council began its new program year in September with Sustainability Month, coming together across departments to focus on this all-important and complex issue. The result was a wide range of activities and resources, including events, articles, *Advocates for Ethics in Business* audio interviews, Global Ethics Corner videos, and an international student/teacher essay contest.

Sustainability programming consisted of two Workshops for Ethics in Business and two Carnegie New Leader (CNL) events (see pages 7 and 9). In addition, the Fall issue of *Ethics & International Affairs* featured **Sujatha Byravan**, of Chennai's Institute for Financial Management and Research, who wrote about the ethical implications of sea level rise due to climate change; social entrepreneur and CNL Chairperson **Jeff Hittner** contributed September's Carnegie Ethics Online column, arguing that sustainability can be an engine for business growth; and in *Policy Innovations* online magazine, **Christina Madden** of GovernanceMetrics International reported on the worldwide push to drill for shale gas, using the controversial process known as "fracking."

Advocates for Ethics in Business contributed interviews with three sustainability innovators: **Ian Yolles**, chief marketing officer at RecycleBank; **Christoph Lueneburger**, leader of the sustainability practice and the U.S. private equity practice at Egon Zehnder International, a human capital advisory firm; and prize-winning "green" architect **Joan Krevlin**. And **Global Ethics Corners**—the Council's weekly two-minute videos on ethical questions—addressed the topics of deep-water drilling and fossil fuels; whether there should be a global ethic for protecting endangered species; the problem of declining fish stocks; and the sustainability of cities.



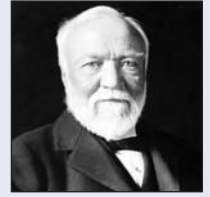
STUDENT/TEACHER INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION "MAKING A DIFFERENCE". LOLLY KNIT WWW.FLICKR.COM

This year's essay contest question was: **How would you improve your school so that it prepares future leaders to protect the planet?** There were five winners, one each from Canada, Nigeria, and Trinidad & Tobago, and two from the United States. Find links to all the resources produced by this initiative, including the winning essay entries, at: <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/picks/0023.html>

Thanks to generous funding from **Hewlett-Packard** and **Booz & Company**, this year's **September Sustainability Month** launched a full year of sustainability programming, from September 2010 to June 2011.

LOOKING TOWARDS OUR CENTENNIAL

In celebration of our Centennial in 2014, Carnegie Council will invite the world's leading thinkers and educational institutions to clarify the rights and responsibilities of what we call a "Global Ethic for the 21st Century."



ANDREW CARNEGIE

This multi-year project, extending from 2012 to 2014, is comprised of interconnected components: programs with global thought leaders; student and local community activities; and an educational digital platform.

Global Ethics Network

As part of our mission to serve as a global voice for ethics, Carnegie Council is developing a Global Ethics Network. This hands-on educational platform will connect educational institutions from around the world, enabling them to create innovative pedagogical tools, original university-level curricula, and lasting cross-border partnerships.

Through in-person faculty meetings and web-based collaboration, this initiative will provide a platform for students and educators to engage in intercultural dialogue and educational programming. With the support of the Carnegie Ethics Studio, the Global Ethics Network will reach beyond the university setting and redefine the place of ethics in regional and international relations.

THANK YOU!

Every year, Carnegie Council reaches out to members and viewers like you. In return for our thoughtful exchanges with global opinion makers and unique ethics-based international affairs coverage, we ask that you lend your support to the Council in whatever way you can. As always, we are humbled both by your generosity and your commitment to the work that we do. Thank you.

Thanks to the generosity of our supporters, the Council's 2010-2011 program year was a resounding success. Through a combination of innovative outreach strategies and prominent speakers, we developed and shared new insights into topics ranging from breaking news stories like the Arab Spring and the death of Osama bin Laden, to discussions on how to promote ethics in business. With your help, we developed first-class educational materials and were able to distribute these free of charge to students and educators around the world. This year, we not only built upon past achievements, but we moved in new and exciting directions. We could not have done this without you.

Among other achievements, your donations contributed to our:

■ **Free Virtual Library:** All lectures, debates, and workshops organized by the Council this program year were added to our growing "virtual library" of video and audio files, podcasts, and transcripts. Thanks to your support, we were able to make these products available free of charge to viewers and listeners across the globe. Over the years, this library has become an invaluable educational resource for teachers and students alike.

■ **New Partners:** Since September 2010, an hour of Carnegie Council programming has been broadcast every week on MHz Worldview Channel, a Washington, D.C.-based public television network that reaches over 40 million households nationwide. A recent partnership with iTunes U expanded the Council's reach yet further, bringing us access to millions of students around the world. Finally, as of January 2011, our renowned journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, is published by Cambridge University Press, the world's foremost publishing house.

■ **Larger Audience:** This year, Carnegie Council events frequently ranked among iTunes' top ten most downloaded government and nonprofit audio podcasts. The Council's website received an average of 80,000 unique visitors each month, and our Journal articles were downloaded some 90,000 times.

HOW TO SUPPORT THE COUNCIL

To maintain the standards of excellence our global audience has come to expect, we rely on the generosity and support of viewers and listeners like you. It is thanks to your commitment to our mission and confidence in our work that we have succeeded in mounting the call for ethics for close to a hundred years. Going forward, your support remains critical to the work that we do. Below are some of the ways you can lend your support to the Council in the 2012 season.

Donate to Our Fund Drives

Contributions to our Spring and Fall fund drives provide the Council with unrestricted support for our work and general operating costs. Fund drive support allows us to continue

providing our educational resources free of charge, and helps sustain the record of excellence our audience has come to expect.

Join Our Friends Committee

Carnegie Council's Friends Committee is an exclusive group of advisors and investors. It plays a critical role in raising the visibility of the Council's work and deepening our impact.

Become a Corporate Member

Built around Workshops for Ethics in Business, Carnegie Council's Corporate Membership offers the corporate community a one-of-a-kind forum to gain new perspectives on the intersection between ethics, business, and international affairs. Our Corporate Members gain exclusive access to a diverse array of global affairs and educational corporate programs. They also network with business leaders and policymakers, discuss regional trends with the Council's pool of distinguished experts, and enjoy global brand exposure via the Carnegie Ethics Studio.

Support Our Studio

Each year, Carnegie Ethics Studio creates and distributes hundreds of multimedia products. Thanks to these products, the Council has become a truly global voice for ethics, reaching millions of viewers and listeners in every part of the world. Studio supporters receive prominent acknowledgement on all of the Studio's multimedia educational products.

For more information on how you can get involved, please contact: Eva Becker, vice president for finance and administration, at (212) 838-4120 or ebecker@cceia.org.

CALENDAR EVENTS 2010–2011



Hemera / Thinkstock

“It’s not always might that makes right. Sometimes people do things that surprise us because of an ethical concern. People who burn themselves in protest against authoritarian unjust government, as we just saw recently in Tunisia, have an enormous impact in terms of a moral position.

Ethics is tremendously important. That’s why the work of **Carnegie Council** is so important, to get us to think carefully and rigorously about how we can introduce ethics into this... We can’t always live as though it was a perfect world in which we could live ethically. We sometimes have to make hard choices. But it doesn’t excuse us from thinking about ethics. We ought to know what we’re doing if we make such choices.”

—Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Harvard University, Carnegie Council Ethics Matter Interview, February 2011

JULY 2010

7/13/10

Taiwan: Building Partnerships for Asia-Pacific Economic Integration
Johnny C. Chiang

GLOBAL ETHICS FORUM PRESENTATION

SEPTEMBER 2010

9/08/10

Facing the Crises of Our Time: The United Nations and the United States in the 21st Century
Gillian Sorensen

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

9/13/10

Eco Innovations: Small Sparks, Big Impact
Shakeel Avadhany, Richard A. Cook, Peter Hartwell, Niko Canner

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

9/13/10

40 Years After Friedman: What is the Proper Role of Business in Society?
Christine Bader, Jeffrey Hittner

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

9/20/10

The Tenth Parallel: Dispatches from the Fault Line between Christianity and Islam

Eliza Griswold

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

9/22/10

Self-Determination and Conflict Resolution: From Kosovo to Sudan
Louise Arbour

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

9/22/10

Leading by Example
Colonel Bob “Brutus” Charette, Jr. (USMC), Rear Admiral Philip Cullom (USN), Brigadier General Peter A. “Duke” DeLuca (U.S. Army), Jonathan Powers

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

9/24/10

Washington Rules: America’s Path to Permanent War
Andrew J. Bacevich

FRIENDS COMMITTEE PROGRAM

HOSTED BY ROBERT G. JAMES

9/29/10

Grand Strategies: Literature, Statecraft, and World Order
Charles Hill

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

9/30/10

The Frugal Superpower: America’s Global Leadership in a Cash-Strapped Era

Michael Mandelbaum

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

OCTOBER 2010

10/05/10

Sustainable Societies
Sartaz Ahmed, Larry Burns, Joan Krevlin, Thomas Stewart

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

10/06/10

Can Obama Please Both Arabs and Israelis? What the Polls and History Tell Us

Shibley Telhami

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

10/07/10

Welcome Reception
Joel H. Rosenthal

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

10/14/10

Facts are Subversive:
Political Writing from a Decade
Without a Name

Timothy Garton Ash

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/15/10

One Nation Under Contract:
The Outsourcing of American Power
and the Future of Foreign Policy

Allison Stanger

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/18/10

What Technology Wants

Kevin Kelly

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/20/10

The Lost Peace:
Leadership in a Time of Horror and
Hope, 1945-1953

Robert Dallek

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/21/10

A Call for Judgment:
Sensible Finance for a Dynamic
Economy

Amar Bhidé

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/28/10

Why the West Rules—For Now:
The Patterns of History, and What
They Reveal About the Future

Ian Morris

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

NOVEMBER 2010

11/01/10

Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the
Future of American Power

Robert D. Kaplan

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

11/03/10

Philanthrocapitalism:
How Giving Can Save the World

Matthew Bishop

FRIENDS COMMITTEE PROGRAM

HOSTED BY ROBERT L. DILENSCHNEIDER

11/04/10

Afghanistan Update: Report from
Recent Visit

Jeffrey D. McCausland

FRIENDS COMMITTEE PROGRAM

11/09/10

The U.S. Navy's New Energy
Revolution

Ray Mabus

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

11/11/10

Atlantic: Great Sea Battles, Heroic
Discoveries, Titanic Storms, and a
Vast Ocean of a Million Stories

Simon Winchester

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

11/18/10

Foundations for Change: Businesses,
Governments and NGOs Scaling
Impact Together

**Caleb McClennan, Scott Kaufman,
Zarínés Negrón**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

11/30/10

Hero: The Life and Legend of
Lawrence of Arabia

Michael Korda

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

DECEMBER 2010

12/02/10

The Bed of Procrustes:
Philosophical and Practical Aphorisms

Nassim Nicholas Taleb

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

12/06/10

Philanthropy and Non-Profits:
A 21st Century Agenda

Michael Göring, Joel H. Rosenthal

FRIENDS COMMITTEE PROGRAM IN

CONJUNCTION WITH THE AMERICAN FRIENDS
OF BUCERIUS

12/07/10

Negotiating with Evil:
When to Talk to Terrorists

Mitchell B. Reiss

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

HOSTED BY DAVID P. HUNT

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FEBRUARY 2011

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MARCH 2011

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STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR BEGINNING JULY 1, 2010 AND ENDING JUNE 30, 2011

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.

REVENUE AND SUPPORT

Grants for Programs	\$ 909,350
Trustee and Individual Contributions	\$ 313,223
Program and Membership Fees	\$ 233,132
Investment Income	\$ 898,515
SUBTOTAL	\$ 2,354,220
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	\$ 1,538,875
TOTAL REVENUE AND SUPPORT	\$ 3,893,095

EXPENSES

Education	\$ 665,145
Public Affairs Programs	\$ 563,425
Internet and Studio	\$ 876,243
Print Publications	\$ 395,491
SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	\$ 2,500,304
Management and General Support	\$ 844,064
Fundraising and Development	\$ 548,727
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$ 3,893,095

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