

CARNEGIE COUNCIL

ANNUAL REPORT 2012



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CARNEGIE COUNCIL PRESIDENT JOEL H. ROSENTHAL



FILMING PUBLIC AFFAIRS EVENT WITH SPEAKER MARTIN WOLF



THOUGHT LEADER: GRAND MUFTI MUSTAFA CERIC



CARNEGIE UK TRUST ROUNDTABLE EVENT



MOVING TOWARD A GLOBAL ETHIC

Dear Friends,

The past twelve months have been truly momentous for us as we embarked on our three-year Centennial project, “Ethics for a Connected World,” culminating in 2014. Our founder, Andrew Carnegie, was a pioneer, an internationalist, and a visionary. He was proud of the fact that our institution, which he established in 1914 on the eve of World War I, was the very first peace organization to draw on members from three major faiths—Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Carnegie charged the trustees of what was then called the Church Peace Union “with the holy task of abolishing war”—something that he was convinced would come to pass in his lifetime. Of course, that was not to be. In the words of his widow, “Optimist though he always was and tried to be, even in the face of the failure of his hopes, the world disaster was too much. His heart was broken.”

So what would I say to Mr. Carnegie if he were here with us today? I would begin by telling him that we view the future with the same strong sense of energy and optimism that he personified. I would say that, despite the world’s many intractable conflicts and its vast inequalities and injustices, there are vital common interests that humankind can build upon—and that the global conversation to help us better understand each other has expanded beyond his imagining. In Mr. Carnegie’s time, the conversation about world peace was mainly limited to a small number of powerful people—most of them men—in the United States and Europe. Today it has become a truly worldwide exchange, and Carnegie Council’s mission is to foster this global dialogue.

This past year, for example, our guest speakers included **Anne-Marie Slaughter**, a noted scholar and former U.S. policymaker; **Mary Ellen Iskenderian**, CEO of Women’s World Banking, a microfinance institution that works to empower poor women around the world; **Ahmed Rashid**, a Pakistani journalist and best-selling foreign policy author; and **Mohammad Javad Ardashir Larijani**, a high-ranking Iranian government official. Similarly, our distinguished group of **Global Ethics Fellows** includes men and women from all over the world. Indeed, Mr. Carnegie would be pleased to discover that today there is a worldwide audience that is hungry for high-quality materials on ethics and international affairs, and that we at the Council are reaching out to it with every means at our disposal—from our peer-reviewed academic journal to YouTube and Twitter.

In this rapidly globalizing world, we have more opportunities than ever to work toward harmonizing norms and standards to make the world a less militaristic and more peaceful place. It is reasonable to think that the days of large-scale industrial war may be numbered. Perhaps the concept of war itself might evolve into something that looks more like cooperative policing than the total-war scenarios we have witnessed over the past 100 years. We have a lot of work to do—especially in the area of reducing nuclear weapons—but we believe it is feasible, if we base our efforts on a common ethic. Our Centennial project is a step along this road, and the conversations that it generates will continue long after 2014.

Thank you for your support.

Joel H. Rosenthal
President, Carnegie Council

HIGHLIGHTS 2011—2012

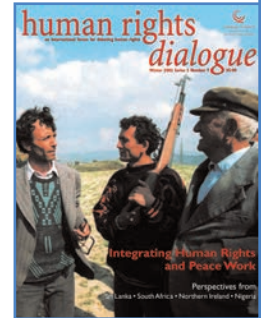
Honors and Acknowledgments

■ Carnegie Council Website Selected by the Library of Congress

In 2012, Carnegie Council's website was selected by the U.S. Library of Congress for inclusion in its historic collection of public policy Internet materials. This will ensure that future researchers and policymakers have access to the Council's web resources for centuries to come.

■ Human Rights Dialogue Added to Virtual Library of Refugee, Asylum, and International Operations Directorate (RAIO)

Human Rights Dialogue magazine, which was published quarterly by the Council from 1994 to 2005, has been added to RAIO's Virtual Library, which serves U.S. government officers who adjudge asylum and refugee applications. *HRD* articles are also used in many college syllabi. Find the entire archive online at www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/archive/dialogue/index.html.



■ Carnegie Council Ranked No. 29 in list of Top 50 Think Tanks in the United States

This ranking appears in the “2011 Global Go To Think Tank Rankings,” prepared by the University of Pennsylvania's Think Tanks and Civil Societies program—a particular honor given that most other ranked organizations are much larger. And the Council is moving up, having been No. 32 in 2010.

New Projects

■ Launch of Three-year Centennial Project “Ethics for a Connected World”

This multi-faceted project will connect public intellectuals, business leaders, policymakers, religious leaders, students, and educators from across the globe in the joint pursuit of Carnegie's vision for global responsibility—what we call a “global ethic.” Its initiatives and impact will continue long after 2014.

■ America in the 21st Century: Views from Around the World

Sponsored by an anonymous donor, this four-part lecture series featured economist **Martin Wolf** from Europe; statesman **Marwan Muasher** from the Middle East; diplomat and scholar **Kishore Mahbubani** from Asia; and lastly, financial journalist **Gillian Tett**, with a U.S. perspective.

Website and Social Media Updates

■ New *Ethics & International Affairs* Website and Blog Launched ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org

■ Global Ethics Network Website Launched www.globalethicsnetwork.org

■ Carnegie Council Website Redesigned www.carnegiecouncil.org



■ Facebook Fans Increase from 3,000 to Over 48,000

Thanks to a Facebook campaign, the number of fans increased from roughly 3,000 in total for the Carnegie Council and Policy Innovations Facebook pages at the beginning of 2012, to over 48,000 by the end of December 2012. Statistically, the top countries where fans are located are Pakistan and Egypt, and the largest age group is 18–24.

New Partnerships

■ Carnegie Council Partners with Bestselling Textbook

The 2012–2013 edition of the highly popular college text *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* contains a multimedia glossary provided by Carnegie Council. This glossary is also freely available to all on the Council's iTunesU site: www.carnegieitunesu.org.

■ Giving Voice to Values (GVV)

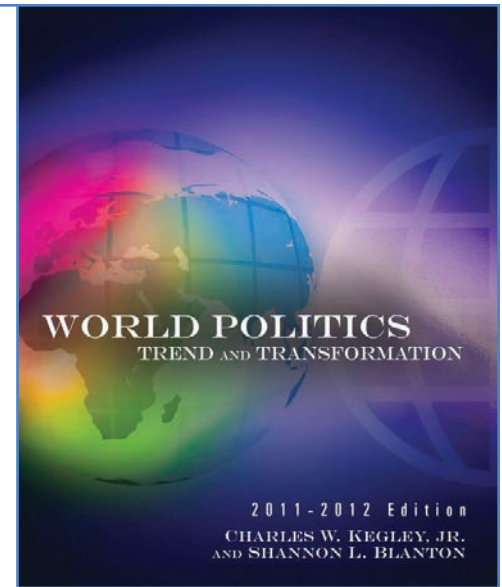
GVV is a cross-disciplinary business curriculum that teaches how to develop values-based leadership. Carnegie Ethics Studio worked with its creator, **Mary Gentile** of Babson College, to produce a series of business case studies for iTunesU: www.carnegieitunesu.org.

■ VideoLectures.NET

Based in Slovenia, VideoLectures.NET is an award-winning, free, and open-access educational video lectures repository, which features a selection of Carnegie Council videos. www.videolectures.net

■ Stitcher

Stitcher is a major Internet radio provider, which now features two of the Council's podcast series. www.stitcher.com



Television

■ For the past five years, Council programming has aired weekly on CUNY TV (City University Television) in New York, which reaches two million households; and for the past three years, Global Ethics Forum has been broadcast weekly on MHz public television, which reaches over 42 million households across the United States.

■ Carnegie Ethics Studio and the U.S. Global Engagement program produced the Council's first documentary, an hour-long program entitled: *Playing for Power: The Agents Who Derailed the Soviet Union*. It aired on CUNY TV in May 2012 and on MHz in June 2012.

Grants Awarded to Carnegie Council

■ Uehiro Foundation on Ethics and Education, Japan

Three-year grant to support Centennial projects.

■ Carnegie Corporation of New York

Two-year grant for promoting ethics through global education.

■ Henry Luce Foundation

Three-year grant to support education collaboration between students from Asia and the United States.

■ Richard Lounsbery Foundation

One-time grant for Centennial projects.

CENTENNIAL PROJECT: ETHICS FOR A CONNECTED WORLD

Are there universal norms for how governments should treat their citizens? Should states intervene to prevent injustice abroad? How can the pursuit of peace best be realized? A

century ago, Andrew Carnegie wrestled with such questions, decades ahead of his time. On the eve of World War I, he advocated not simply for peace but for a “peace policy” forged upon multilateral engagement and the recognition of a common morality shared by all.

Building on our founder’s bold vision for peace and a common good, Carnegie Council proposes to assess Carnegie’s legacy in the context of the twenty-first century’s most pressing ethical challenges. As part of our Centennial celebration, we are undertaking an ambitious three-year project that connects public intellectuals, business leaders, policymakers, religious leaders, educators, and students from across the globe in the joint pursuit of Carnegie’s vision for global responsibility—what we are calling a “global ethic.” Together, this diverse group of individuals will tackle difficult moral questions and think creatively about the application of Andrew Carnegie’s legacy to contemporary issues, such as climate change and global financial instability.

Through seminars, interviews, publications, multimedia, and collaborative educational projects, this transnational conversation will shed new light on how shared ethical and moral values can be incorporated into



action to confront international challenges. Like the work of Andrew Carnegie a century ago, our Centennial will help to redefine what it means to live in a truly global community.

To spearhead this multifaceted project, we are delighted to welcome back an old friend and colleague, **Devin Stewart**. A Carnegie Council program director, Stewart briefly left the Council to direct three major programs at Japan Society, the leading Japan-focused nonprofit in North America.

In 2012, its first year, “Ethics for a Connected World” has already had several significant accomplishments, notably:

Thought Leaders Forum

Thought leaders are identified by Carnegie Council as people who influence global opinion on ethical issues and contribute positively to human development. Recognition by third parties, such as awards, mainstream press, and prominent institutions, helps to verify their status as thought leaders and they represent views from a diversity of regions and backgrounds.

Over the course of this three-year project, Devin Stewart is asking selected thought leaders to identify the greatest ethical questions facing the planet and to describe how, in their opinion, individuals, organizations, and countries should respond. In alphabetical order, those interviewed during this program year were: philosopher **Kwame Anthony Appiah** of Princeton University; **Ian Bremmer**, president of the global

political risk research and consulting firm Eurasia Group and a Carnegie Council Trustee; Grand Mufti **Mustafa Ceric** of Bosnia-Herzegovina; **Victor Cha** of Georgetown University; **Steve Coll**, president of New America Foundation and a staff writer at *The New Yorker*; **Pankaj Ghemawat**, the Anselmo Rubiralta Professor of Global Strategy at IESE Business School in Barcelona; **Mary Ellen Iskenderian**, president and CEO of Women’s World Banking; **Parag Khanna**, a senior research fellow at the New America Foundation; Hong Kong politician



DAMBISA MOYO

Emily Lau; **Syd Mead**, a “visual futurist” and concept artist, best known for his designs for science-fiction films; Zambian economist and bestselling author **Dambisa Moyo**; **Enrique Peñalosa**, former mayor of Bogotá, Colombia; **David Shinn**, former U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia; U.S. policymaker and scholar **Anne-Marie Slaughter** of Princeton; former British diplomat **Carne Ross**, founder and executive director of Independent Diplomat, a diplomatic advisory group; **Nobuo Tanaka** of Japan, former executive director of the International Energy Agency; and Pakistani journalist and author **Ahmed Rashid**.

The questions asked of each thought leader include:

- Is world peace possible?
- What does moral leadership mean to you?
- How do you define a global ethic?
- Where do you see future conflicts emanating?
- What is the greatest ethical challenge or dilemma facing the planet?
- What issues are being ignored?
- How can the world reach its potential and what are the structural roadblocks?
- Who is ultimately accountable for the problems you have outlined?

“Taken together, these interviews will give individuals around the world a sense of the ethical priorities shared by some of the greatest thinkers of our time,” said Stewart. “And we’ve already noticed a series of common themes, such as inequality, and global interconnectedness. A forthcoming report will showcase some of these topics.”

Find transcripts of all these in-depth conversations on the Council’s website. In addition, three-to-four minute highlights from these talks are being broadcast as a new weekly podcast series entitled **Point B**.



Global Ethics Network and Global Ethics Fellows

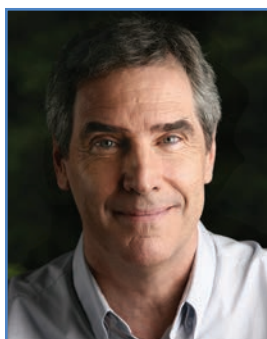
Launched in November 2011, the Global Ethics Network provides a platform for educational institutions around the world to create and share interactive multimedia resources that explore the ethical dimensions of international affairs. Now in its initial stages, this Network will continue to grow long after 2014.

Our Global Ethics Fellows and their home institutions form the heart of the Network. Chosen for their expertise in ethics and interest in the Network, these Fellows head their universities’ involvement in the Network, organize events at their home institutions, and collaborate with other Fellows, students, and Council staff to develop joint research, publications, and multimedia projects. To date, the Global Ethics Network consists of more than thirty Global Ethics Fellows from Asia, Australia, Europe, the Greater Middle East, Latin America, and North America—and the number will continue to grow.

The first three-day workshop for Global Ethics Fellows was held in November 2011—a series of strategy sessions on how to create virtual and face-to-face educational programming, along with academic discussions on the meaning of a global ethic.

Distinguished Canadian scholar, human rights authority, and political leader

Michael Ignatieff delivered the keynote address, “Re-imagining a Global Ethic,” which marked the beginning of the Council’s



MICHAEL IGNATIEFF

Centennial activities. Ignatieff holds joint appointments as professor at the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto and at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Based on this talk, the Spring 2012 issue of the Council’s quarterly journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, published the first Global Ethics symposium, with a lead article by Ignatieff and responses from five Ethics Fellows (see page 14). And in October 2012, the Council was delighted to announce that Dr. Ignatieff will chair the “Ethics for a

Connected World” project, serving as its chief public spokesperson. As Centennial chair, Dr. Ignatieff will lead the Council’s “Ethical Dialogues”—site visits and interviews at fellows’ institutions, starting in early 2013.

In early 2012, the Network officially launched www.globoethicsnetwork.org. Open to everyone, the goal of this social network is to connect students, teachers, and professionals anywhere in the world, giving them a space to share their ideas and research findings, post videos and blogs, and to carry on conversations. To date, this log-in site has already attracted over 600 members.

Collaborations

The Council will also collaborate with sister institutions in the Carnegie family as they mark their Centennials around the world. For example, in June 2012, the Council hosted a Carnegie UK Trust roundtable in New York City to introduce the Trust’s work to an American audience, and to discuss its latest research findings. Born in Scotland, Andrew Carnegie founded the UK Trust in 1913 for the purpose of improving the well-being of the masses in the United Kingdom and Ireland. To celebrate their 2013 Centennial, the Trust launched **Global Rules, Local Rulers**, a policy project on the relationship between advocacy groups, citizens, and international organizations that regulate trade, markets, and consumer policy. The project studied public attitudes in Britain, using the World Trade Organization (WTO) as a test case. It also measured citizen awareness of the organizations that influence the WTO and identified best practices from the leading organizations in the field. The project findings are vital for any professional working in advocacy, consumer policy, or citizen engagement.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

Featuring world-renowned speakers and with close to fifty events over its ten-month season, the Public Affairs Program, hosted by director **Joanne Myers**, provides expert analysis on current international affairs and pressing global issues. And as with all our programs, its impact reaches far beyond the live audiences that assemble at Council headquarters. Carnegie Ethics Studio produces audios, videos, YouTube clips, podcasts, and transcripts from each event, and many are also chosen to become Global Ethics Forum TV shows. (See page 18.)

The State of the Union and the U.S. Role in the World

There's no doubt that the United States is facing painful new realities, both at home and abroad, and these shifts in the geopolitical landscape were the subject of many of our speakers this year. *New York Times* columnist **Thomas L. Friedman** and Johns Hopkins Professor **Michael Mandelbaum** launched the season with a discussion of their new book, whose title says it all: *That Used to Be Us: How America Fell Behind in the World It Invented and How We Can Come Back*. "We are risking not dramatic decline but slow decline, and slow decline is in some ways more insidious, a more formidable threat,

simply because it is not so easily recognized," said Mandelbaum. The co-authors proposed that the way back is to regain America's old formula for success: education, infrastructure, investment in R&D, encouraging migration, and creating appropriate financial regulation.

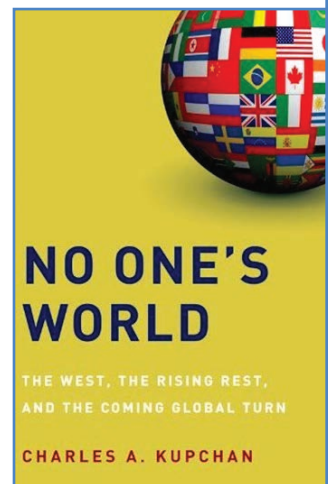
Introducing his book, *America the Vulnerable*, global security expert **Joel Brenner** warned that our data is constantly at risk—from the personal to the corporate to the national. But risk is like gravity, says Brenner, there's not much we can do about it. We just have to learn to live with the situation, stay alert, and limit potential damage. On the other hand, **David Unger**, a senior editorial writer for the *New York Times*, argued that because of fears over national security, the U.S. has bypassed its Constitution, creating an "emergency state." The result, he declared, is excessive military spending, a series of unconstitutional wars, and skewed global trade policies.

Despite America's difficulties, Supreme Court Justice **Steven Breyer** saw reason for optimism. One of the nation's problems, he remarked, is how cynical people are about their government. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court works. The public accepts the Court's decisions as legitimate, even when its decisions are highly unpopular.

Several speakers addressed the challenges of living in what Eurasia Group President and Carnegie Council Trustee **Ian Bremmer** described as a "G-zero world"—that is, a world "when no one takes a global leadership role, when no one is willing to, and no one is capable of doing it." How will the United States

fare? It's not such a bad thing, according to Professor **John G. Ikenberry** of Princeton University. The U.S. may no longer be a unipolar power, but the world order it helped create is alive and well, he asserted. The rise of other nations and the deepening of economic and security interdependence have resulted from the success and expansion of the postwar liberal order, not its breakdown. **Charles A. Kupchan** of Georgetown University argued that America's best strategy is to recover its own domestic political and economic strength, and not insist that the "rising rest" acquiesce to Western values and institutions. "We need to find a happy medium between demonstrating respect for and a willingness to work with countries even if we don't agree with their nature of governance, while at the same time being unabashed in expressing our disapproval for violations of what we would consider to be moral standards of behavior."

Coming from a European perspective, **Martin Wolf** of the *Financial Times* predicted that the U.S. will most likely cease to be the world's largest economic power by not later than the 2020s. However, it will probably remain a center of world innovation in research, technology, and business—with the caveat that this will depend on U.S. policy choices. Wolf's talk



THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN AND MICHAEL MANDELBAUM



was the first in a four-part lecture series entitled “America in the 21st Century:

Views from Around the World.”

Carnegie Council thanks the anonymous donor who made this series possible.

Economics and the Common Good

Perhaps because of the ongoing global financial crisis, several speakers this year questioned conventional economic assumptions and government priorities. “Why pretend that economics is value free?” asked **Tomas Sedlacek**, former economic advisor to Czech President Vaclav Havel. It’s a product of our civilization and riddled with moral judgments, he said. By separating economics from ethics we have created a zombie, a monster without a soul, and the two have to be reunited.

According to Cornell University Professor **Robert H. Frank**, it’s time to reassess Adam Smith’s theory of the market’s “invisible hand,” which claims that unbridled competition channels self-interest for the common good. We need to recognize that Darwin’s concept of “survival of the fittest” is a much more accurate description of economic realities. Frank argued that “a simple change in the tax system could free up two, three, even four trillion dollars a year of additional resources, way more than enough to pay down debt, rebuild crumbling infrastructure, and the like, all without anybody having to give up anything that he or she cares deeply about—no required sacrifice in cherished political freedoms, no downside.”

Best-selling author **Robert Shiller** of Yale University made a powerful case for recognizing that finance should be

defined not merely as a manipulation of money or the management of risk, but as the stewardship of society’s assets. Far from being a parasite on society, he asserted, finance is one of the strongest tools we have for solving our common troubles. He noted that historically, finance has contributed to the good of society—for example, insurance, savings accounts, and pensions. We just need to harness it for the greater good.

Lastly, towards the end of the program year economic historian Lord **Robert Skidelsky** and his son **Edward Skidelsky** of Exeter University introduced their book *How Much is Enough?*. Our obsession with amassing ever more wealth is actually robbing us of the good life, they declared. The Skidelskys identified seven basic needs that together make up the good life and laid out some radical social proposals to achieve them.

Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran



IRAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND PAKISTAN ON A MAP, SEEN THROUGH A MAGNIFYING GLASS. PHOTOS.COM - JUAN BERNAL

Former U.S. Foreign Service officer **John Schmidt** explained how the complex and dangerous relationship between the leaders of Pakistan and various jihadist groups came about, and how it all began to unravel after 9/11. Journalist and best-selling author **Ahmed Rashid** discussed the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan as the U.S. approaches its scheduled

withdrawal in 2014. He went on to analyze the deepening crisis in Pakistan, which he considers to be even worse than that of Afghanistan. Iran expert **Trita Parsi** recounted the previously unknown story of American and Iranian negotiations during Obama’s early years as president, and the real reasons for their current stalemate. Contrary to prevailing opinion, Parsi contends that diplomacy didn’t fail; it was simply abandoned. He prescribes long-term, patient diplomacy on matters of concern, which should include human rights.

More Highlights in Brief

“The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing,” said Isaiah Berlin, and in *Justice for Hedgehogs*, legal scholar and philosopher **Ronald Dworkin** argues for one big thing: the unity of value. Dworkin asserts that value is what makes sense of how we act as individuals, how we relate to others, and how we construct our lives.

Other memorable speakers included International Crisis Group’s **Robert Malley** on the Arab Spring; **John Lewis Gaddis** on George F. Kennan; Mexican historian **Enrique Krauze** on Latin America; scholar **Ezra Vogel** on China; Canadian diplomat **David M. Malone** on India; Korea expert **Victor Cha** on North Korea; global finance expert **James G. Rickards** on his book, *Currency Wars: The Making of the Next Global Crisis*; physicist **Michael Nielsen** on “networked science;” British journalist **Misha Glenny** on hackers; and former British diplomat **Carne Ross**, founder of the advisory group Independent Diplomat, on what he calls “the leaderless revolution.”

For resources from all these talks and many more, go to www.carnegiecouncil.org.

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

“Here at the Council one of our guiding voices is that of the great political theorist **Hans Morgenthau**,” declared program director and senior fellow **David Speedie**. “Under his nine fundamental rules for diplomacy, Morgenthau writes that ‘diplomacy must look at the political scene from the point of view of other nations.’”

This precept runs through all the work of the U.S. Global Engagement program (USGE), which promotes constructive dialogue not only with traditional U.S. allies but also with “problematic allies” (such as Russia) and countries of deep concern to the U.S. (such as Iran). According to Speedie, “Diplomatic engagement with these countries is not only morally right, it is strategically smart.”

Russia

The season began with a panel, in cooperation with the **EastWest Institute**, featuring **Randi Levinas**, executive vice president for the U.S.-Russia Business Council; **Jack F. Matlock**, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union; and Professor **Stephen Sestanovich** of Columbia University. The topic was the Jackson-Vanik Amendment (J-V), a Cold War relic dating back to 1974, which places trade restrictions on certain countries that restrict emigration. It was principally aimed at the Soviet Union, which at that time was making it difficult for Soviet Jews to emigrate. The USSR no longer exists, and Russia has been in full compliance with J-V for decades, yet for Russia (though not for China and many other “post-communist” countries) the law remained in place.



LEFT TO RIGHT: DAVID SPEEDIE, JACK F. MATLOCK, RANDI LEVINAS, AND STEPHEN SESTANOVICH

After discussing the bill’s tangled history, all panelists agreed that repeal for Russia was long overdue. In addition to harming the U.S.-Russia diplomatic relationship, J-V harmed American business interests, said Levinas, and this will be even worse once Russia joins the World Trade Organization (WTO). She warned that because of J-V, the U.S. will be in violation of WTO rules requiring members to grant each other unconditional free trade, and it will not be able to take advantage of trade concessions that Russia can offer as a WTO member. This will mean higher tariffs for American exports to Russia. *[Editor’s note: Russia entered the WTO on August 22, 2012, and J-V against Russia was finally repealed on December 6, 2012.]*

In January 2012, David Speedie launched the online **Russia Bulletin**, which examines current issues in U.S.-Russia relations. As he pointed out in the inaugural article, U.S. policies toward Russia fluctuate and the divisions often run deep, yet for a host of reasons it is essential for the U.S. to engage with Russia. After all, the United States and Russia still

possess more than 90 percent of the world’s strategic nuclear warheads; Russia is the eleventh largest economy in the world; and Russia borders virtually every trouble spot on the planet, from the Middle East to North Korea.

In the bulletin and in occasional articles, such as “Putin and his Russia Don’t Deserve the Bad Rap,” first published in the *Christian Science Monitor* (print and online, November 2011), Speedie has often come to President Putin’s defense, arguing that many in the West are too quick to condemn him. For most Russians, says Speedie, life is much better under Putin, and we should judge him by how far Russia has come since the chaotic days of Yeltsin. Putin’s economic policies are sound, he is interested in peaceful inter-regional partnerships, and average life expectancy has increased to 70 years old after plummeting to 57 under Yeltsin. Find the bulletin and other articles by David Speedie on www.carnegiecouncil.org.

“Playing for Power: The Agents Who Derailed the Soviet Union”

What led to the fall of the Soviet Union? It did not collapse overnight; instead, a complex series of events led to its eventual implosion. A little-known piece of this history took place in 1989–1990, when a small group of American conservative activists visited the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries. Their aim was to spread their views of free-market capitalism, and to train individuals they perceived as potential leaders.

In the winter of 2010–2011, Speedie conducted interviews in Moscow with Russian parliamentary “reformers,” including former aides to Boris Yeltsin, some of whom were trained by or met with these unofficial American envoys. Back in the U.S., Speedie talked to Americans involved in these events, including influential U.S. foreign policymakers who were stationed in Moscow at the time. These interviews formed the basis of Carnegie Ethics Studio’s first TV documentary, “**Playing for Power**,” which aired on CUNY TV and MHz Worldwide Channel in May and June 2012, respectively.

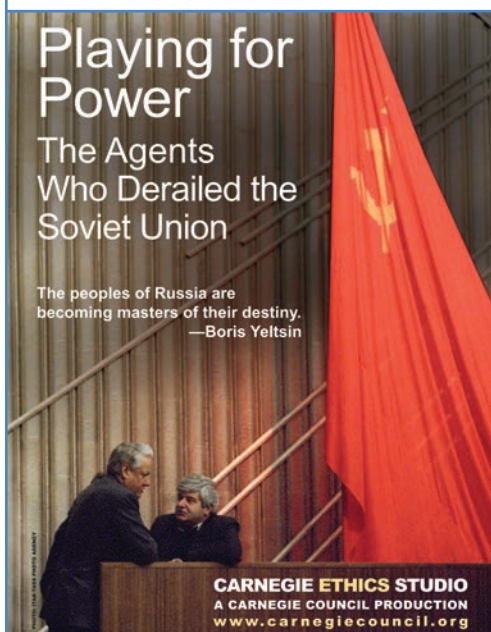


PHOTO: ITAR-TASS PHOTO AGENCY
POSTER DESIGN: DENNIS DOYLE

USGE hosted a private screening at Carnegie Council’s headquarters in New York, which was attended by some of the film’s interviewees, including former Ambassador Jack Matlock, and long-time Soviet Union and Russia expert **Thomas E. Graham**, who is now a senior director at Kissinger Associates, Inc.

The Middle East

While USGE focused mainly on Russia this year, the Middle East was, of course, also high on its agenda. In an October 2011 talk, **Jon B. Alterman**, director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, described the principal challenges for the Arab Middle East states as “developing human capital and strengthening public policy environments,” and called for patience and a long-haul commitment from Western aid donors. In March 2012, USGE hosted an off-the-record talk by leading banker and civil servant **John C. Whitehead**, deputy secretary of state, 1985–1989, who recalled his meeting with Syria’s President al-Assad in 2008.

Understanding Iran

In November 2011, the Program hosted **Mohammad Javad Ardashir Larijani**, a senior advisor to the head of the Judiciary and secretary general of the High Council for Human Rights of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This was a rare opportunity for an American audience to engage directly with a representative of the Iranian government. Larijani described his country’s system as a “democratic structure based on Islamic rationality,” and engaged in a sometimes heated discussion with the audience on nuclear weapons and human rights in Iran. Read the full transcript online or listen to the audio.

In March 2012, former ambassador and under-secretary of state **Thomas R. Pickering** argued for a diplomatic

solution to the rising tensions between the U.S. and Iran. “We had 32 years of separation and, with the rare exception perhaps in setting up the Kharia government at Bonn in 2001, we’ve had almost no cooperation with the Iranians on issues of importance to both of us,” he remarked. “We have had a set of relationships which in many ways is a fertile field for psychology Ph.D.s in the area of mistrust and misunderstanding.”

Ambassador Pickering’s knowledgeable and detailed talk cut through the current hysteria about Iran, and stressed that in his view it was not too late for constructive talks between the two countries—in fact, he declared, it might finally be the right moment for both sides.

Terrorism

One of the year’s most memorable events was a talk on terrorism and counterterrorism by **Louise Richardson**, principal and vice-chancellor of the University of St Andrews in Scotland. “It’s time that we got ourselves out of this false sense of insecurity and realize that terrorism is here to stay. It will never pose an existential threat to this country, and the biggest threat it poses to us is that we will work ourselves into overreacting to the threat,” declared Richardson. This event was co-sponsored by the University of St Andrews.



The U.S. Global Engagement program gratefully acknowledges the support for its work from the Alfred and Jane Ross Foundation, Donald M. Kendall, Rockefeller Family & Associates, and Morse Family Foundation.

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

What's the most effective way to teach business ethics? It's all too easy to talk in generalities, but sometimes the right thing to do is not so clear-cut—and even when it is, it's not always easy to speak up or to create the most ethical outcomes. Inspired by educator **Mary Gentile's** Giving Voice to Values (GVV) program, now based at Babson College, many of Program Officer **Julia Taylor Kennedy's** workshops this year were practical exercises in problem-solving. The participants invited to these closed workshops were chosen because of their professional interest in the topic to be discussed. Gathering at Council headquarters in New York City, businesspeople presented the participants with real-life moral issues that their company had confronted, and the group then brainstormed to come up with ethical solutions. At the end of each session the speaker revealed the actual solution implemented by his or her company. The following are some of this year's highlights.

How do media companies decide when to ban potentially harmful material from their websites? Are their company guidelines adequate? Are there universal standards they can turn to? An October 2011 workshop began with attorney **Rachel Davis**, who co-wrote the "**Guiding Principles on Human Rights and Business**" now adopted by the UN Human Rights Council. Next came **Susan Morgan** of the Global Network Initiative, which works with companies such as **Yahoo!** on compliance with these principles. **Ebele Okobi-Harris** of Yahoo! described how an Egyptian activist seized photos of secret policemen and posted them on Flickr, a Yahoo!-owned photo-sharing site, thus



LEFT TO RIGHT: SUSAN MORGAN, RACHEL DAVIS, JULIA TAYLOR KENNEDY, EBEBE OKOBI-HARRIS, AND ABBI TATTON

“outing” these men and possibly putting their lives in danger. **YouTube's Abbi Tatton** introduced two cases: a video on how to commit suicide and another showing the death of Neda, an Iranian woman who was killed during a protest. What did the companies do in these difficult cases, and why? Go to our website and find out!

Ashok Vasudevan is the cofounder of three food businesses in the United States, Australia, and India. These companies manufacture and market **Tasty Bite**—all-natural foods sold in the U.S. and Australia. Vasudevan shared how he bought a failing Indian company and turned it into an ethical, innovative, and highly successful business. First, however, he presented the workshop participants with specific challenges he encountered in India, such as how to overcome cynicism and low morale within the company and how to confront instances of bribes, which were deeply engrained not only in the company but in the culture at large. Although these cases took place in India, he pointed out that the ethical issues are universal.

In a workshop entitled **Responsible Oversight: How Boards Can Promote Profitable and Ethical Organizations**, participants examined two case studies, one concerning a for-profit organization and the other a

non-profit one: **Kimberly-Clark**, parent company of Kleenex and Huggies, among other brands, and **iMentor**, a youth-mentoring program that helps students graduate from high school.

Another memorable event was with **Mary Gentile** herself on the troubled

topic of business ethics in the financial sector. Prompted by the public resignation letter of Goldman Sachs executive Greg Smith, which lamented “the decline in the firm’s moral fiber,” the group discussed what practical steps a financial manager can take to strengthen the ethical backbone of an organization, and what junior-level employees can do to influence their firm’s direction. Today, many businesses are moving beyond the traditional philanthropic model of charitable donations and investing in specific projects, while also promoting their company’s business values and agendas.

A workshop entitled **Beyond the Checkbook** discussed these new initiatives. Jointly organized with **Carnegie New Leaders**, representatives from **Citi Foundation**, **Thomson Reuters Foundation**, and **Liquidnet for Good**, led a group discussion on new trends and challenges in modern philanthropy.

In addition to transcripts, audios, podcasts, and video clips available on our website, Carnegie Council partnered with GVV to produce case studies for **iTunes University** (a division of iTunes) based on some of these sessions. Find them at www.carnegieitunesu.org.

ETHICS MATTER TOWN HALL SERIES

Organized by Program Officer **Julia Taylor Kennedy**, this monthly series explores how the program's various speakers have developed their ideas and moral principles. After a short conversation with the host, the floor is opened to questions from the audience, and these lively, in-depth sessions often provide personal insights not found in more formal lectures and presentations. Designed specifically with a television audience in mind, the series has been broadcast as part of the Council's Global Ethics Forum programming.



The new season began with economist **William Easterly**, who spoke with guest host **Devin Stewart** (then at Japan Society). Easterly

explained that his moral touchstone was quite simple: honesty. He described a defining point in his life—a confrontation with his employer, the World Bank—when his research findings led him to publicly criticize the Bank's record on fighting poverty. According to Easterly, the best system for discovering new ways to improve people's lives is not to have one planner at the top, but to have many people at the bottom experimenting and finding their own innovations. For his pains, he was "gently eased out of the Bank" and now teaches at New York University.



Moral philosopher and Princeton professor **Peter Singer** has always thought for himself. He explained that he had become drawn to the

utilitarianism school of ethics when taking his first ethics course at Oxford, although his professor was hostile to it. Utilitarianism—the idea that we

should act according to the greater good—is actually a "very straightforward, down-to-earth sort of view," said Singer. And he never flinches from its logical conclusions, including assisted suicide and, in certain cases, abortion. What's more, Singer lives up to his beliefs. As he explained, he gives away 25–30 percent of his income to alleviate extreme poverty, and is a prominent defender of animal rights.

Throughout his career, economist **Jeffrey Sachs** has sought to address global poverty, but his primary focus for



Ethics Matter was the United States. "We obviously have a deep economic crisis. The moral crisis is that we are not taking the economic crisis seriously and we are not taking seriously the lives that are impaired, the suffering that is real in this country, and the fact that we have a country that has such wealth, such capacity, but seemingly so little taste to solve problems right now," he declared. He also forcefully expressed his dismay regarding Washington's lack of interest in global poverty and the paucity of U.S. foreign aid.



All of political philosopher **Thomas Pogge's** work is concerned with aspects of justice, and his 2005 article

"World Poverty and Human Rights" remains one of *Ethics & International Affairs'* most widely-read essays (read it at www.carnegiecouncil.org). For *Ethics Matter*, Professor Pogge described how growing up in post-war Germany first awakened him to injustice. He provided a fascinating

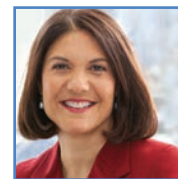
account of what it was like to study under philosopher John Rawls, and how his focus on global poverty and inequality grew out of their long discussions and disagreements. Pogge also laid out in clear layman's terms his plan for reforming the pharmaceutical industry.

Policymaker and scholar **Anne-Marie Slaughter** discussed

her career trajectory, starting with her early work in international litigation, and how she developed her views on the importance of values in foreign policy. "I believe in a values-based foreign policy and looking to cooperate as often as I can," said Slaughter. "I also think that's basic self-interest. We don't do well when we go in without the support of other nations."



Mary Ellen Iskenderian is president and CEO of Women's World Banking (WWB), the world's largest network of microfinance institutions and



banks, and the only financial network with an explicit focus on women. WWB provides technical services and strategic support to thirty-nine microfinance institutions and banks in twenty-seven countries throughout Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. For *Ethics Matter*, Iskenderian explained why investing in women makes so much sense. She forcefully addressed recent critiques of microfinance and talked optimistically about its future.

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS (CNL)



CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS ATTEND A FILM SCREENING AND RECEPTION AT CARNEGIE COUNCIL

This program for aspiring leaders under 40 years of age gives its members an opportunity for networking and discussions in an informal setting, both with their peers and with seasoned businesspeople, policymakers, social innovators, and scholars. Many CNL members do more than just attend—they take an active role in inviting speakers and moderating events. In addition to the talks listed below, members also take part in social mixers to get to know each other better. In addition, this year Program Officer **Julia Taylor Kennedy** added a special feature: three private, informal dinners with distinguished Carnegie Council speakers. The special guests at these events were: Women’s World Banking president and CEO **Mary Iskenderian**; **Dov Seidman**, founder, chairman, and CEO of LRN, a firm that advises companies on ethics in business; and Princeton professor and former U.S. Director of Policy Planning **Anne-Marie Slaughter**.

Slaughter later told the Council’s **Devin Stewart** that two conversations at Carnegie Council—one with women of an older generation at an Ethics Matter event (see previous page) and another “fabulous

conversation with two young 30-something professionals” at the subsequent CNL dinner—helped crystallize her thinking when writing her hotly-discussed article, “Why Women Still Can’t Have It All,” which appeared in the July/August 2012 issue of *The Atlantic* magazine.

For a transcript of Stewart’s interview with Slaughter, go to the Thought Leader series on our website or watch the YouTube clip at: www.youtube.com/carnegiecouncil.

The tenth anniversary of 9/11 was the impetus for the CNL season’s opening event, which took place on September 9, 2011. It was led by **Sam Speedie**, currently a defense and security policy advisor, who took part in the relief efforts after the Towers collapsed. This life-changing experience prompted Speedie to go into public service. His talk led to an inspiring group discussion on how to help other young people to make a difference—whether in government, business, or the nonprofit sector.

In November, veteran *New York Times* journalist and Carnegie Council Trustee **Barbara Crossette** discussed how international reporting has

changed dramatically over the last few decades. She was followed by the young writer **Brian Michael Till**, who talked about his book, *Conversations with Power*—interviews with former world leaders he most admired, including Bill Clinton and Vaclav Havel—and what Gen Y’ers could learn from them.

We hear so much about “Responsibility to Protect,” (R2P) but what is it exactly? In March 2012, Dutch Ambassador **Herman Schaper** gave a talk on how R2P developed, how it is defined, how it was implemented in Libya, and what are the implications for the future.

How can you explain the European debt crisis so that ordinary Americans can understand—and what’s more, care? One of the program year’s liveliest events was with radio reporters **Caitlin Kenney** and **Zoe Chace** from NPR’s *Planet Money*, who used story-telling techniques and interview excerpts to tell the complex saga of sovereign debt.

In June, **Tibi Galis**, executive director of the Auschwitz Institute for Peace and Reconciliation, gave a talk on preventing genocide. It is essential to understand that genocide is a process, not an event, he explained. Genocide doesn’t just happen out of the blue. There are chances to step in and change the course of this process.

CNL’s last event of the program year was hosted in conjunction with Workshops for Ethics in Business and entitled “Beyond the Checkbook: New Models for Corporate Philanthropy” (see page 10).

“Good ideas are from anywhere, and should travel everywhere,” writes *Policy Innovations* Editor **Evan O’Neil**.

With that in mind, this acclaimed online magazine posts multimedia materials from around the globe on ways to create a fairer, more sustainable world. In addition to specially commissioned articles, materials are selected from the output of the magazine’s extensive network of global partners, which includes Project Syndicate, Worldwatch Institute, Center for Global Development, TripleCrisis, International Institute for Environment and Development, and many more.” The following is a sampling of this year’s most popular articles.



Approaches to Development

The World Bank divides its member countries into four categories, from low to high income, and a country’s classification affects everything from eligibility for concessional lending from multilateral development banks to donor aid policies. But how accurate are these categories? Policy analyst **Seth Kaplan** argued that they are far too simplistic. “A gradualist approach, whereby countries would not jump abruptly to higher levels but would instead be grouped into multiple categories or be moved upward slowly over time, would better take into account the messiness of reality,” he wrote.

In an article entitled “Doing Development Better,” Harvard’s **Dani Rodrik** asked which approach to development works better: bottom-up

projects such as microfinance, or broad government-led reforms that affect the overall economic environment? “The good news is that there has been real progress in development policy, and, beneath the doctrinal differences, there is a certain convergence—not on what works, but on how we should think about and do

development policy,” Rodrik concluded. “The best of the recent work in the two traditions shares common predilections. Both favor diagnostic, pragmatic, experimental, and context-specific strategies.” In another article, Rodrik took a critical look at the successes and failures of the UN Millennium Development Goals, which nations pledged to achieve by 2015. What should come next? He argued that a new global compact should focus more directly on the responsibilities of wealthy nations, and should emphasize policies beyond aid and trade that have an equal, if not greater, impact on the development prospects of poorer countries. These include carbon taxes and other measures to ameliorate climate change and strict controls on arms sales to developing nations.

Kathryn Hochstetler, University of Waterloo, Canada, described how Brazil is practicing “solidarity diplomacy,” providing practical assistance and technology-sharing to poor countries. With more than 300 assistance projects underway or recently completed, the common thread is the effort to pass on Brazil’s developmental innovations—such as its biofuel technologies, AIDS strategy, and the government’s conditional cash transfer program called *Bolsa Familia*.

Rural Innovations in India

Raji Ajwani-Ramchandani, of the Symbiosis Centre for Management and Human Resource Development in Maharashtra, wrote about how microfinance groups have helped village women overcome the constraints of limited physical access to banks, lack of education, and social taboos. In another article, she described how cultivation of organic mango orchards has enabled Adivasi tribespeople in South Gujarat to build sustainable income and connect to the larger processed-food markets. And **Anukool Chavan** and **Girish Dixit** of Asmita Agribusiness, a commercial venture that provides holistic agricultural solutions to small farmers in rural India, explained how they helped farmers in the poverty-stricken Vidarbha region (Maharashtra) develop scientific crop management to boost yields.

Technology

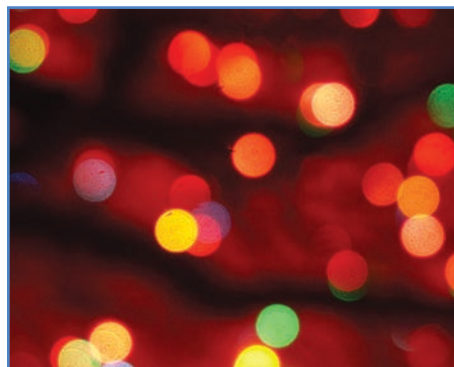
Drawing on his time in Vietnam, which ranked as the world’s fifth-worst jailer of bloggers and reporters in 2011, freelance reporter **Geoffrey Cain** reviewed *Consent of the Network* by journalist and digital activist **Rebecca MacKinnon**, recommending it as a must-read on how businesses and governments wield influence over the Internet. *Policy Innovations* editor Evan O’Neil talked with London-based designer **Alastair Parvin**, who is working on a radical idea to disrupt the traditional practice of housing design and production. Known as “WikiHouse” open-source construction set, users can download, modify, and share designs for small structures, which can then be quickly produced using computer-operated machine tools and assembled in about a day.



be unrealizable, if thought of at all, and yet today they are largely considered basic and fundamental.”

Through a series of special Centennial symposia—on the concept of peace, the idea of human rights, the future of nuclear nonproliferation, and more—*EIA* has commissioned leading scholars and practitioners to shed new light on the moral dimensions of pressing areas of international concern.

In Search of a Global Ethic



JASON SAMFIELD WWW.FLICKR.COM (CC)

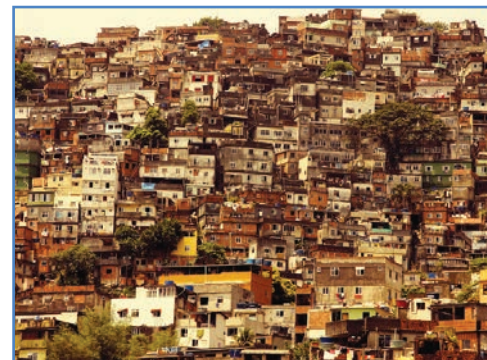
Is there such a thing as a “global ethic”—a singular universal ethical principle or set of principles that transcends all cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and national differences? In the first of the journal’s special Centennial symposia, “In Search of a Global Ethic” (Spring 2012), Centennial chair **Michael Ignatieff**—author, academic, and former head of Canada’s Liberal Party—sought to answer this question. As Ignatieff argues, the question is not merely academic but involves “finding common ground on large ethical matters and understanding more deeply why . . . we remain at odds with each other.” In this way, says Ignatieff, we “might further Andrew Carnegie’s original goal in founding the Council, which was to

reduce the amount of conflict and violence in the world.”

Completing the symposium, Global Ethics Fellows **Christian Barry** (Australian National University), **Nicholas Rengger** (St Andrews University, Scotland), **David Rodin** (Oxford), **Cheyney Ryan** (Oxford and University of Oregon), and **Michael Joseph Smith** (University of Virginia) all offered highly thoughtful responses to Ignatieff’s essay. For Rodin, the essential challenge of global ethics is “accommodating the tension between our universal and particular natures.” Smith argues that “to pursue a singular ethic we must always remember the pull of the particular, even as we seek to move beyond it.” And for Rengger, it is the “incommensurable character of global ethical views” that poses the greatest challenge to the idea of a global ethic.

Academics and Global Poverty

Global poverty, notably the inequality between the global North and South, is one of the most urgent and heart-rending issues in international affairs today. As such, *EIA* was proud to publish a special Summer 2012 issue on “Academics Stand Against Poverty” (ASAP), officially launching this innovative initiative aimed at



EFLON WWW.FLICKR.COM (CC)

This has been another momentous year for *Ethics & International Affairs*, Carnegie Council’s highly regarded quarterly journal, published by Cambridge University Press and used by scholars, students, and practitioners throughout the world. As the Council looks toward its Centennial in 2014, *EIA* will serve an integral role in facilitating discussion and debate on issues that exemplify “Ethics for a Connected World”—the topic of the Council’s three-year Centennial project. If the last 100 years showed us the dire need for such an ethos, it also revealed that in many cases “the arc of the universe bends toward justice,” to borrow Martin Luther King Jr.’s elegant phrase. As the Council’s president and *EIA* editor-in-chief **Joel Rosenthal** remarked in the journal’s Spring 2012 issue:

“While the twentieth century brought many horrors . . . it also brought amazing normative shifts. Standards have risen, expectations have changed. Universal education, the right to vote, social security, civil rights, women’s rights, the rights of minorities, environmental awareness—all were once thought to

helping scholars, teachers, and students enhance their impact on global inequality and poverty. In their contribution in the issue, ASAP co-founders **Thomas Pogge** (Yale) and **Luis Cabrera** (Birmingham) issued a clarion call for urgent and effective action, arguing in strong moral terms for why academics should use their expertise and unique social position to help in this fight. A distinguished group of scholars and practitioners joined Pogge and Cabrera in the journal, including **Martin Kirk**, head of UK Campaigns at Oxfam; **Roger C. Riddell**, non-executive director of Oxford Policy Management; and **Simon Caney** of Oxford University. For more information about ASAP, go to www.academicstand.org/.

Spotlight on International Institutions



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, BJØRN SMESTAD WWW.FLICKR.COM (CC)

As global politics becomes more integrated, we need strong and effective international institutions to help us solve a host of problems that transcend national borders. *EIA* has a long and distinguished tradition of publishing innovative analyses on the ethical dimensions of these institutions, and 2012 was no exception. In his essay on reform of the UN Security Council (Winter 2011), former UN under-secretary general **Shashi Tharoor** argued that the fate of the United Nations itself depends on the successful reformation of the Security Council to reflect changing geopolitical dynamics—in particular, the rise of countries such as

India, Brazil, and South Africa. In the journal's Spring 2012 issue, **Ian Hurd**, an *EIA* editorial board member and professor of political science at Northwestern University, examined the complicated politics and legal regime surrounding the International Whaling Commission, which, Hurd argues, seems close to collapsing from a lack of international consensus about its objectives. And in a special roundtable organized by **Antonio Franceschet** of the University of Calgary on "The Political Ethics of the International Criminal Court" (Spring 2012), **Kenneth A. Rodman** (Colby College), **Benjamin Schiff** (Oberlin University), **Michael J. Struett** (North Carolina State University), and Franceschet examined the many legal, institutional, practical, and ethical challenges facing the ICC today.

Intervention, Sanctions, and Drones

War and conflict are an old topic in international affairs—perhaps the oldest of all—but the legal, political, and technological conditions surrounding conflict are rapidly changing, as are the ways in which states attempt to prevent war or undesirable behavior by rogue countries. *EIA* was pleased to feature a series of articles this year that reflects these changing dynamics, and interrogates the ethical dimensions of these important issues. In her article on smart sanctions (Fall 2011), *EIA* editorial board member **Joy Gordon** (Fairfield University) forcefully argued against the idea that such sanctions are in fact "smart," pointing to the widespread humanitarian suffering they cause, and the effectiveness problems that plague them. **Ian Hurd** examined the legality of humanitarian intervention (Fall 2011), finding that, on this subject at least, international law suffers from irresolvable contradictions, and therefore that "the legality of



D-21 DRONE. JOE LOONG WWW.FLICKR.COM (CC)

humanitarian intervention is essentially indeterminate. No amount of debate over the law or recent cases will resolve its status; it is both legal and illegal at the same time." Also in the Fall 2011 issue, **Daniel Brunstetter** (University of California, Irvine) and **Megan Braun** (Oxford) examined the challenges that combat drones pose for the just war tradition, arguing that while drones can "serve as a coercive measure short of full-scale war and thus provide a more proportional response to certain security threats . . . they may encourage countries to act on just cause with an ease that is potentially worrisome."

New *EIA* Website

In April 2012, *Ethics & International Affairs* launched its new website, www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org. In addition to posting the Table of Contents for each issue along with abstracts and certain articles in full, the new site allows the journal to publish a larger amount of valuable and timely online-only content.

It also features an exciting new *EIA* blog. Recent contributors to the blog include **James Pattison** (University of the West of England) on Somali piracy; **Alex Bellamy** (Griffith University, Australia) and **Tim Dunne** (University of Queensland, Australia) on the Responsibility to Protect and Syria; and **Ian Hurd** on social science methods and James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*.

SEPTEMBER SUSTAINABILITY MONTH



MAGDA'S CAULDRON WWW.FLICKR.COM

Online Forums

The core of September Sustainability Month 2011 consisted of three online forums, which are available on both the Carnegie Council and *Policy Innovations* websites.

1) What Are the Limitations and Benefits of the Sustainability Approach?

Is sustainability the only, or even the most, desirable framework for environmental issues? What are the limitations and benefits of the sustainability approach, and what kinds of alternative conceptual approaches may be preferable?

- **What Do We Mean by Sustainability?:** *philosopher J. Baird Callicott, University of North Texas*
- **In Defense of “Sustainability”:** *philosopher Ronald Sandler, Northeastern University*
- **Using Sustainability to Tell Stories:** *Dale Jamieson and Christopher Schlottmann, New York University, Environmental Studies*
- **From Sustainability to a New Materialism:** *David Schlosberg, Professor of Government and International Relations, University of Sydney*

2) The Population and Sustainability Debate

According to UN projections, our world will be home to more than 9 billion people by 2050, increasing competition for livable space and critical resources, such as water. What ethical standards should guide the debate about reproduction and sustainability?

- **A Non-Growing Population Is Necessary for True Sustainability:** *Robert Engelman, Worldwatch Institute*
- **Family Planning Can Succeed Even in Very Traditional Societies:** *John Bongaarts, the Population Council; and population expert Steven Sinding*
- **Women’s Rights Are Key:** *Laurie Mazur, author and advocate on population and reproductive health and rights issues*
- **Millions of Poor Women are Still Waiting to Reap the Benefits of Cairo:** *Barbara Crossette, one of the lead authors of the UN Population Fund’s 2010 and 2011 reports*
- **Population Alarmism Is Dangerous:** *Betsy Hartman, the Population and Development Program*
- **Sustainability and Population: By the Numbers:** *Lisa Hymas, cofounder, Grist, an online environmental magazine*
- **New Reproductive Technologies Are Not a Panacea:** *Mara Hvistendahl, China-based correspondent for Science magazine.*

3) What Individuals Can Do

What is the most important thing a person can do to have a sustainable impact? From consumer purchases to political action, how should we prioritize solutions?

- **As Individuals We’ll Lose:** *Bill McKibben, author, educator, and environmentalist, founder of 350.org*
- **Get Out Your Electric Bill, Then Get Out and Vote:** *David Biello, Scientific American magazine*
- **Individual Responsibility Is a Trick Question:** *Josh Lasky, University of the District of Columbia*
- **Understanding the Expanded Self:** *Mat McDermott, Discovery Communication’s TreeHugger.com*
- **Start Building a Transition Ark:** *Christopher Mims, technology, environment, and science writer*
- **Tap the Power of Local Motion:** *Paul Steely White, Transportation Alternatives*
- **What You Measure Is What You Desire:** *Eric Zencey, novelist, essayist, and political economist*

International Essay Contest

“What does sustainability mean to you—in your own life, in your local community, and in the greater world?”

This is the question that was posed for the Council’s third annual international essay contest for students and teachers worldwide. In all, we received 81 entries from 25 countries. The youngest contestants were 14 and the oldest was 74. Winners hailed from Nepal, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States, with honorable mentions for essays from the U.S. and Kenya. Find the winning entries on www.carnegiecouncil.org.



ONLINE COLUMNS AND ARTICLES

Carnegie Ethics Online

Launched in 2006, this monthly column features articles that examine current ethical issues that require urgent discussion and examination, and that affect people in many parts of the world. For example, in October 2012, Professor **Dov Waxman**, author of *The Pursuit of Peace and the Crisis of Israeli Identity: Defending/Defining the Nation*, wrote a probing article about Gilad Shalit, the young Israeli soldier freed after being held by Hamas for more than five years. Waxman argued that the relief at this happy ending must be tempered by an acknowledgement that the deal Israel made with Hamas to secure Shalit's release was, at best, morally problematic, if not actually unethical. Indeed, the case involved difficult moral questions for both Israelis and Palestinians.

In February 2012, **Paul J. Scalise**, a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Foreign Research Fellow at Tokyo University, took a hard look at some of the difficult questions facing Japan after the Fukushima disaster. The meltdown naturally caused a backlash against nuclear power, wrote Scalise, but can Japan actually maintain a nuclear-free society without risk of rolling blackouts? Are energy security, economic efficiency, and environmental sustainability fundamentally compatible or mutually exclusive?

In a paper entitled “‘Enablers’ in Mass Atrocities: A New Human Rights Concept Takes Shape,” Professor **George A. Lopez**, University of Notre Dame, argued that governments need to consider measures that they can take before adopting drastic sanctions or armed intervention. Wrote Lopez,

“Because mass atrocities are organized crimes, crippling the means to organize and sustain them—money, communications networks, and other resources—can disrupt their execution.”

One of our most emailed resources this year was an Ethics Online piece by Professor **S. Prakash Sethi** of Baruch and Yale, entitled “Two Faces of Apple,” which contrasted the multinational company's stellar consumer track record with its dark history of labor violations in China—a revelation that subsequently became mainstream news.

21st Century War and Ethics

If you're looking for an expert run-down on current security issues, Colonel **Jeffrey D. McCausland** (ret.) is your man. A Carnegie Council senior fellow since 2006, Dr. McCausland is the founder and CEO of Diamond6 Leadership and Strategy, a leadership consulting company, and is a frequent military commentator on CBS television and radio.

Over the course of the program year, his column covered numerous hot-button topics, including: the ongoing debate over U.S. defense budget cuts, including possible Base Realignment and Closure; security threats from North Korea; China's significant increase in defense spending; the 2012 NATO Summit in Chicago; the tumult in the Middle East; the growing crisis between Iran and Israel; and the worsening situations in Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria.

Additional Articles

Carnegie Council's website serves as a forum for occasional articles, papers, and reports—both from our staff and from guest writers. Carnegie Council President **Joel Rosenthal** contributed two pieces this year, entitled “Ethics and War in Homer's *Iliad*” and “Common Good and the Crisis of Globalization.” Program Director **David Speedie** wrote three pieces—on President Putin, on U.S.-Iran relations, and on Senator Richard Lugar's departure from Congress. Program Director **Devin Stewart** reviewed Ian Bremmer's book “In a G-Zero World It's Every Nation for Itself”; and **Zach Dorfman**, assistant editor of *Ethics & International Affairs*, provided “What We Talk About When We Talk About Isolationism,” a version of which first appeared in *Dissent* magazine. **Marlene Spoorri**, who recently completed her Ph.D. at the University of Amsterdam, writes many of our weekly Global Ethics Corners (see page 18), and as of October 2012, she became program officer for the Ethics Matter series (see page 11). She contributed “Why Are We Surprised at Egypt's Backlash against Foreign NGOs?” along with an article co-written with Carnegie Council Grant Writer **Mladen Joksic**, entitled “Europe's Far Right Goes Mainstream: The Failure of Multiculturalism?”

Other notable articles this year include two by Africa analyst **Steven Costello**: “‘Blood Ore’ in Sierra Leone?” and “Blind to Reality: Invisible Children and the LRA.” And **Robert Park**, a Korean-American human rights activist, gave us “North Korea: The World's Principal Violator of Responsibility to Protect.”



For almost a hundred years now influential policymakers, religious leaders, scholars, and international affairs experts have come to speak at the Council. Without a doubt, many of these talks would have been of lasting historical interest had they been preserved in their entirety, but many have left no record behind beyond their names. In 2007–2008, however, that shortcoming was addressed when the Council made the decision to launch the Carnegie Ethics Studio and began investing in state-of-the-art studio equipment in order to capture events on a regular basis. Today, the Studio not only records our work for future generations but also, thanks to modern technology, serves as a worldwide broadcasting platform—truly a global voice for ethics. Under the leadership of Executive Producer **Deborah Carroll**, all the Council’s eighty or more annual lectures, panels, and interviews are filmed and then edited in-house. The Studio also produces original material, such as the weekly Global Ethics Corner (described below). The sum total of its products, from hour-long podcasts to two-minute YouTube video clips, is over 700 resources a year. And all these are provided to our growing global audience free of charge.

Global Ethics Forum TV Series

At the end of this program year, our weekly half-hour TV series celebrated three years of broadcasting on public television stations across the United States. Each Sunday an episode of *Global Ethics Forum (GEF)* airs on Washington D.C.-based MHz Worldwide, which broadcasts through a wide network of affiliates, including cable and satellite, reaching over 42 million households nationwide. In addition, MHz streams *GEF* live for online viewers, and New Yorkers can also watch it on CUNY TV (City University of New York), which reaches about two million households. These shows are selected from our many events, and are specially edited for television. A sampling of this year’s programs illustrates the wide range of speakers and topics covered, including: philosopher **A.C. Grayling** on “The Good Book: A Humanist Bible”; capital markets expert **James Rickards** on “Currency Wars: The Making of the Next Global Crisis”; and Mexican historian, essayist, and publisher **Enrique Krauze** on “Redeemers: Ideas and Power in Latin America.” One of the Studio’s major achievements this year was our first-ever documentary, **Playing for Power** (see page 9), which ran on MHz as an hour-long special.

Global Ethics Corner

Launched in 2008, this popular weekly series examines current global issues from an ethical perspective. Written and produced by a Carnegie Council team, these two-minute videos frame a specific topic and then ask the audience to make up their own minds. For example, this year’s broadcasts included such probing

questions as “How Should the U.S. Handle Islamic Terrorists?”; “The Ethics of ‘Citizens United’: Does Corporate Cash Threaten Democracy?”; and “Should the International Community Intervene in Syria?” Of all the Council’s many YouTube clips, the most viewed YouTube video over the past year was a Global Ethics Corner entitled: “Should Seal Team Six Have Killed bin Laden?” At the time of writing, this thought-provoking episode has been viewed over 62,000 times.

Global Ethics Corner appears on our website, on our YouTube site, and as audio and video podcasts. For the convenience of educators, there is also a second YouTube channel devoted solely to Global Ethics Corners at www.youtube.com/carnegienetwork.

Just Business Podcasts

Is commerce “just business,” with no interests beyond the bottom line? Surely its scope can and should be more than that, encompassing concerns of justice and common humanity? Hence, the pun in the name of this twice-monthly audio interview series, hosted by Program Officer **Julia Taylor Kennedy**. In addition to being available on iTunes and on the Council’s website, *Just Business* is broadcast on New School Radio in New York City and via our new podcast partner, Stitcher, a major internet radio provider that offers programming from thousands of content providers, including NPR and CNN. *Just Business* installments are available free of charge to university and public radio stations, via Public Radio Exchange (PRX), an online marketplace for distribution of public radio programming.

Here are some the year's highlights: In "China, Africa, and Supply Chains," Ambassador **David Shinn** and New York University's Professor **Joshua Eisenman** discussed China's economic interests in Africa, and the ethical questions these raise. Then came U.S. hedge fund manager **Philippe Burke**, who believes we should get rid of overseas supply chains altogether and return to "Made in the USA." In "The Intersection of Global Health and Business," PepsiCo executive **Derek Yach** spoke about the positive changes corporations are making, and global health expert Professor **Yanzhong Huang** of Seton Hall University discussed China's health care challenges. In "Creating an Ethical Business Culture," Professor **Adlai Wertman**, of the University of Southern California Marshall School of Business, and **Alex Plinio**, of the Institute for Ethical Leadership at Rutgers Business School, discussed ways that different schools are injecting business ethics into their curricula. And to learn more about how these issues are really dealt with in the workplace, the Council's Taylor Kennedy interviewed **Ken Kraft**, of Bank of New York Mellon, who works with bank employees in 36 countries to promote a culture of leadership and ethics within the organization.

EIA (Ethics & International Affairs) Interviews

In this occasional series, **John Tessitore**, executive editor of the Council's quarterly journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, speaks to journal authors about today's most pressing issues of moral concern and their intersection with international life. This year's interviews featured an informative talk with Professor **Antonio Franceschet**, of the University of Calgary, who organized a special journal roundtable on the International Criminal Court (see page 15). He and Tessitore discussed the evolution of the ICC; its basic

structure and function; and its current and future challenges. Tessitore also spoke with **Ian Hurd** of Northwestern University on the topic of international law and security. "I would disagree with those who suggest international law doesn't really matter," declared Dr. Hurd. "If we look at what states do, they work very hard to marshal legal resources behind their foreign policy choices. They clearly care very much about being seen as following international law."

Public Ethics Radio

Public Ethics Radio podcasts are a production of the Centre for Moral, Social, and Political Theory (CMSPT) in Canberra, Australia—the world's largest concentration of applied philosophers—in association with Carnegie Council. The series is hosted by Carnegie Council Global Ethics Fellow **Christian Barry**, director of CMSPT, and produced by **Matt Peterson**, managing editor of *World Politics Review*. Among the questions pursued: Why is it that a woman can lead a country, yet women are slower to be served in coffee shops? In the West, women and men share equal status under the law, but in countless practical ways, women experience inequality on a daily basis. Political philosopher Professor **Samantha Brennan** of Western Ontario University discussed what she calls the pervasive "micro-inequalities" that women must deal with. Also asked was: Does all killing in war come down to self-defense? At first glance, this view seems to make intuitive sense, but on closer inspection this view poses a serious challenge to the traditional view of just war theory. What, for example, is the role of civilian support staff (cooks, factory workers, and the like) in warfare? Philosopher **Seth Lazar** of Australian National University explored this complex issue.



iTunes and iTunes U

Audio podcasts remain one of our most popular products, and as more people use hand-held devices, the number of video podcast downloads is also growing. Find all our materials on iTunes—and don't miss our iTunes U site, which features continually updated collections on specific topics, such as **Islam and the West** and **Security and Technology**. iTunes U also features the Council's multimedia supplement to the 2012–2013 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**. Students will find Council materials referenced on many pages of the book, and these materials are available to everyone, free of charge, on the Council's iTunes U site. For a shortcut, please go directly to www.ir101.org/kb. Carnegie-produced resources include more than 100 short video clips from today's leading thinkers that illustrate key terms in international relations. For example, watch Princeton economist **Paul Krugman** on protectionism and Nobel Prize-winning author **Wole Soyinka** on decolonization. There are also links to scholarly articles from the Council's journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, along with a wealth of texts and videos from the Council's vast virtual library of online resources.

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



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September 2011

9/07/11

That Used to Be Us: How America Fell Behind in the World It Invented and How We Can Come Back

Thomas L. Friedman,
Michael Mandelbaum

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9/07/11

Decision Points:
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Jackson-Vanik:
Time for Reconsideration?

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9/15/11

Ethics Matter:
A Conversation with William Easterly

William Easterly

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

9/20/11

Yahoo! and YouTube:
Balancing Human Rights and
Business

Rachel Davis, Susan Morgan,
Ebele Okobi-Harris, Abbi Tatton

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9/21/11

The Quest: Energy, Security, and the
Remaking of the Modern World

Daniel Yergin

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAMS

9/22/11

The Unraveling:
Pakistan in the Age of Jihad

John R. Schmidt

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October 2011

10/05/11

Economics of Good and Evil:
The Quest for Economic Meaning
from Gilgamesh to Wall Street

Tomas Sedlacek

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10/06/11

Ethics Matter:
A Conversation with Peter Singer

Peter Singer

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10/11/11

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Espionage, Crime, and Warfare

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10/12/11

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and Transformation of the
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10/13/11

Entering India:
Creating an Ethical Multicultural
Business

Ashok Vasudevan

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10/25/11

But Will the Planet Notice?:
How Smart Economics Can Save the
World

Gernot Wagner

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10/27/11

Illusions of Terrorism and Counter-
Terrorism

Louise Richardson

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM
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10/31/11

Towards a More Robust Public Policy
Environment in the Middle East

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November 2011

11/02/11

The Darwin Economy:
Liberty, Competition, and the
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11/02/11

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11/03/11

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Barbara Crossette

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11/09/11

Nature vs. Nurture

James D. Watson

ANNUAL CARNEGIE-UEHIRO-OXFORD CONFERENCE

11/10/11

Re-Imagining a Global Ethic

Michael Ignatieff

GLOBAL ETHICS FELLOWS EVENT

11/10–12/11

First Annual Global Ethics Fellows Meeting

GLOBAL ETHICS FELLOWS EVENT

11/15/11

George F. Kennan: An American Life

John Lewis Gaddis

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11/15/11

Report from Iran

Mohammad Javad Ardashir Larijani

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

11/18/11

The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade

Andrew Feinstein

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11/21/11

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The Story of Economic Genius

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Ethics Matter: A Conversation with Jeffrey D. Sachs

Jeffrey D. Sachs

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

December 2011

12/01/11

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1/10/12

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2/28/12

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Statement of Activities for the Fiscal Year beginning July 1, 2011 and ending June 30, 2012

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	\$ 975,893
Trustee and Individual Contributions	\$ 226,039
Program and Membership Fees	\$ 160,090
Investment Income	\$ 985,109
Subtotal	\$ 2,347,131
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	\$ 1,375,706
Total Revenue and Support	\$ 3,722,837

Expenses

Education	\$ 707,168
Public Affairs Programs	\$ 513,810
Internet and Studio	\$ 891,757
Print Publications	\$ 394,351
Subtotal Program Expenses	\$ 2,507,086
Management and General Support	\$ 898,850
Fundraising and Development	\$ 316,901
Total Expenses	\$ 3,722,837

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Thank You!

We are delighted to have this opportunity to thank our donors, members, subscribers, and all our supporters around the world. As you reflect on the past year, we hope that Carnegie Council has helped shape your understanding of the ethical challenges in international affairs.

Income from subscriptions and our endowment defray only a fraction of the Council's expenses. To make up the balance, we depend on friends like you. Your contribution—no matter how small—helps ensure that Carnegie Council can continue its public service of providing free videos, audios, transcripts, and articles to millions of students, teachers, and concerned citizens worldwide. Please help us continue this important work. We can't do it without you!



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

Become a Subscriber to our Public Events

If you live in the New York City area, we invite you to purchase a season ticket to our Public Affairs Program (see page 6), which runs from September through June. Subscriptions are available at various levels.

Join our Friends Committee

The 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.

Support our Three-Year Centennial Project "Ethics for a Connected World"

Through seminars, interviews, publications, multimedia, and collaborative educational projects, this ambitious global initiative will shed light on how shared ethical and moral values can be incorporated into action to confront international challenges. And its work and impact will continue long after 2014. Sponsors receive prominent acknowledgement at the Centennial events and throughout all of the Centennial's multimedia educational resources.

Support a Lecture Series

We welcome funding for lecture series on topics pertaining to the Council's mission, such as this year's four-part series, "America in the 21st Century" (see page 2). Supporters receive full recognition on all multimedia outputs, our website, and the Council's Annual Report.

Support our Studio

Each year, Carnegie Ethics Studio creates and distributes hundreds of free multimedia products that reach millions of viewers and listeners across the world. Studio supporters receive prominent acknowledgement on all of the Studio's multimedia educational products.

For more information on these opportunities and more, please contact **Mladen Joksic**, grants manager, at mjoksic@cceia.org.



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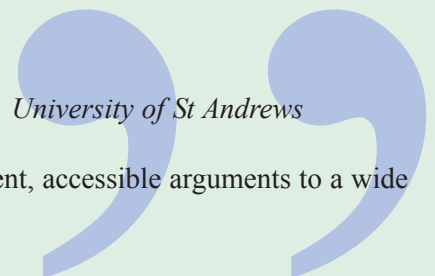
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