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Dear Friends,

As we near our hundredth anniversary in 2014, I am glad to report that our three-year Centennial project, *Ethics for a Connected World*, is already yielding results. The **Global Ethics Network** has grown to over thirty fellows across five continents. Led by Centennial Chair **Michael Ignatieff**, the first **Global Ethics Dialogue**—a field trip to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil—took place in June 2013. Our **Thought Leaders Forum** has produced over fifty interviews, with a wide range of guests, including **Kenneth Roth**, executive director of Human Rights Watch, Nobel Prize-winning poet and playwright **Wole Soyinka**, and former security advisor under presidents Gerald Ford and George H. W. Bush, Lt. Gen. **Brent Scowcroft**. This year our journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, published special Centennial roundtables on “just war and its critics,” and international peace. Further Centennial plans include several publications, and a series of high-profile international symposia in Edinburgh, Sarajevo, and New York.

These initiatives, along with our regular programming, publications, and the broadcasting power of the **Carnegie Ethics Studio**, have succeeded in linking us both virtually and in person with millions of people around the globe. Thanks to the rapid expansion and advances of communications technology, it is now possible for us—a small New York-based organization of less than thirty people—to create and encourage a multi-directional global conversation. We are proud to be independent and non-partisan, and now more than ever, we are able to provide a forum where multiple voices can be heard.

Examples of this past year’s speakers show the diversity of these voices. They include Jordanian statesman and scholar **Marwan Muasher** on how the Arab world views the United States; Israeli statesman **Yoram Peri** on the elections in Israel; Zambian economist **Dambisa Moyo** on how development aid harms more than it helps; and American environmentalist **Bill McKibben** on climate change.

Andrew Carnegie believed fervently in the power of mass education. He called it “a sure destroyer of privilege” and the only foundation for “an enduring civilization.” At Carnegie Council, we strive to carry on his legacy, providing our global audience with an array of information and moral perspectives to ponder and question. While we do not accept that all norms are equally valid, neither do we accept that there is only one acceptable lens through which to view ethical questions. If we are ever to live together in peace as Carnegie hoped, global conversations on competing values and interests are essential. The Council’s mission is to facilitate and disseminate such discussions. In doing so, we continue to work towards Andrew Carnegie’s vision of a better world for all.

Thank you for your support.

Joel H. Rosenthal  
President, Carnegie Council



### CARNEGIE COUNCIL MOVES FROM NO. 29 TO 19 IN LIST OF TOP 50 U.S. THINK TANKS

**CARNEGIE  
COUNCIL**

**Ranked 19  
Among Top U.S.  
Think Tanks**

The ranking appears in the “2012 Global Go-To Think Tank Ratings,” prepared by the University of Pennsylvania’s Think Tanks and Civil Society Program. Based on an annual global peer and expert survey of scholars, policymakers, journalists, and regional and subject area experts, this index is the authoritative ranking of the world’s top think tanks. Carnegie Council ranked number 32 in 2010 and 29 in 2011.

### CENTENNIAL PROJECT: *ETHICS FOR A CONNECTED WORLD*

#### ■ Doubled the Number of Global Ethics Fellows (GEFs)

From fifteen GEFs in early 2012 to over thirty GEFs from five continents by July 2013.

#### ■ Increased the Members on Digital Platform [gloablethicsnetwork.org](http://gloablethicsnetwork.org) by 600 percent

The number of members (mainly students and teachers) rose from roughly 200 in June 2012 to over 1,200 members from eighty-three countries in June 2013.

#### ■ Established Ethics Fellows for the Future Program

#### ■ Undertook First Global Ethical Dialogues Site Visit to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil

#### ■ Completed over Fifty Thought Leader Interviews (Series launched in 2012) (See pages 4–7)

### EVENTS ORGANIZED BY OUR CORE PROGRAMS - PUBLIC AFFAIRS, U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT, ETHICS MATTER, AND CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS

#### ■ Over Sixty Public Events with Distinguished Speakers: Policymakers, Scholars, Journalists, and Scientists

Highlights included **Peter Bergen** on Afghanistan; **Robert Kaplan** and **Steven Pinker** on whether the world is becoming more peaceful; **Bill McKibben** on climate change; **Seyed Hossein Mousavian** on U.S.-Iran relations; **Andrew Nathan** on China; **Mary Robinson** on her life and work; **Ward Wilson** on nuclear weapons; and **Paul Root Wolpe** on bioethics. (See pages 8–14)

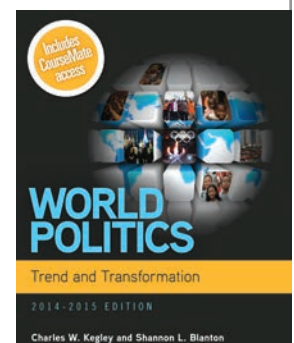
### CARNEGIE ETHICS STUDIO: BROADCASTING TO THE WORLD

#### ■ Television: *Global Ethics Forum*

*Global Ethics Forum* TV series continued its successful weekly broadcasts on MHz public television, reaching over 42 million households across the United States, and on CUNY TV (City University Television) in New York, which reaches two million households. This series is also available on YouTube and [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).

#### ■ Multimedia: Companion to Bestselling Textbook

The 2012-2013 edition of the popular college textbook *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. For a shortcut, go to: [www.ir101.org](http://www.ir101.org) (See pages 18 and 19)



## PUBLICATIONS:

### ***ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL AND POLICY INNOVATIONS ONLINE MAGAZINE***

#### ■ Shaping Academic Discourse

*Ethics & International Affairs Journal* highlights included: special sections on “Safeguarding Fairness in Climate Governance” and “Just War and Its Critics;” Centennial Roundtable, “Reflections on International Peace;” Ann Florini on the **global governance of energy**; Oran R. Young on **stewardship of the Arctic**; Shefa Siegel on the **missing ethics of mining**; and Nader Hashemi on the **Arab Spring** (See pages 16 and 17)

# Ethics & International Affairs



#### ■ Spreading the Best New Ideas in Sustainability, Development, and Business

*Policy Innovations* highlights included interviews on **3D printing** and **responsible mining**; articles on the use of **computer models** to assess efforts to combat sex trafficking; a new **currency exchange mechanism**; and the World Economic Forum’s **UN reform proposal**. (See page 15)

## IN THE NEWS:

### **A SELECTION OF PUBLISHED ARTICLES AND BROADCASTS BY CARNEGIE COUNCIL STAFF**

Examples included:

#### **President Joel Rosenthal:**

- *Christian Science Monitor*: “Drones: Legal, Ethical, and Wise?” This article was also picked up by [www.seattlepi.com](http://www.seattlepi.com)
- *San Jose Mercury News*: “Saddam’s Pistol, Ike’s Speeches and the Ethics of Gun Ownership”

#### **Senior Fellow Devin Stewart:**

- Frequent articles in *The Huffington Post*, including: “Is China Taking the Right Cues from History?” and “Mindsets May Hinder Progress in Myanmar”
- Two reports for Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (co-authored with Joshua Kurlantzick of Council on Foreign Relations): “Burma’s Reforms and Regional Cooperation in East Asia” and “Indonesia’s Lessons for the Middle East and North Africa and other Emerging Democracies”



STREET CORNER IN YANGON, MYANMAR

#### **Senior Fellow David Speedie:**

- *Christian Science Monitor*: “Seven Reasons U.S. Intervention in Syria is a Bad Idea”
- National Public Radio, *The Take Away with John Hockenberry*: European Union Ends Arms Embargo on Syrian Rebels

#### **Ethics & International Affairs Assistant Editor Zach Dorfman:**

- *Los Angeles Review of Books*: “The String in the Maze: On What It Means to Be Human—Review of *The Undivided Past: Humanity Beyond Our Differences*”
- *The National Interest*: “Hard Questions for Humanitarians”

#### **Grants Manager Mladen Joksic:**

- *Foreign Policy*: “Why Dictators Don’t Like Jokes,” co-authored with Srdja Popovic. This article was also picked up by *Slate*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *Heraldonline*, and *iPolitics*, and was translated into Vietnamese, Portuguese, and Serbian for various publications. A version also appeared on [www.movements.org](http://www.movements.org) entitled “Laughtivism—How Humor is Transforming Non-Violent Struggle.”

(For a complete list, go to [www.carnegiecouncil.org/news/media-mentions/index.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/news/media-mentions/index.html))

## CENTENNIAL PROJECT: *ETHICS FOR A CONNECTED WORLD*

“This is an adventure such as has never been tried before,” wrote Andrew Carnegie in 1914, when he founded our organization; and it is with the same sense of excitement that we mark our Centennial with *Ethics for a Connected World*. Launched in 2012, this multifaceted three-year project links public intellectuals, business leaders, policymakers, religious leaders, students, and educators around the world in the quest for a global ethic—shared values with which to tackle both local and transnational problems. The venture is led by Centennial Chair Dr. **Michael Ignatieff**, a distinguished academic, authority on human rights, and former Canadian political leader.

The work begun during this period will not end with the project. We expect many of its initiatives—in particular, the activities of the Global Ethics Network of scholars and students—to grow and flourish long after our Centennial year is over.

*Ethics for a Connected World* addresses six core themes:

**Corruption and Trust; Environment and Growth; Citizenship and Difference; War and Reconciliation; Democracy and its Challengers; and Technology and Risk.**

This program year, the project featured the following interconnected components, plus the *Ethics & International Affairs* Roundtables featured on pages 16–17. The program year of 2013/14 will also include a series of high-profile international symposia in Edinburgh, Sarajevo, and New York, and the advent of several Centennial publications.



THOUGHT LEADERS (FROM TOP CLOCKWISE) MICHAEL WALZER, MARY ROBINSON, BRENT SCOWCROFT, BINETA DIOP, ETHAN ZUCKERMAN, NANCY BIRDSALL, JONATHAN SACKS, AND LOUISE ARBOUR

### THOUGHT LEADERS FORUM

In this ongoing interview series, Senior Program Director and Senior Fellow **Devin Stewart** is inviting world-changing visionaries and role models from diverse professions, backgrounds, and countries to identify the planet’s greatest challenges and offer creative advice on how to respond to them. In May 2013, we reached the symbolic milestone of fifty interviews. “While shared themes are emerging, such as the challenges of inequality, technology, and climate change, the range of answers is fascinating,” said Stewart. “We hope that surveying influential people from a variety of backgrounds will yield practical insights for anyone trying to make sense of a complex world.”

The series’ ambition can be illustrated by just a small sample of the inspiring people interviewed this year: **Louise Arbour**, president and CEO of the International Crisis Group and former UN high commissioner for human rights; **Bineta Diop**, a native of Senegal, executive director and founder of Femmes Africa Solidarité, an NGO working on issues of gender, peace, and development; **Mary Robinson**, former president of Ireland, former UN high commissioner for human rights, currently chancellor of the University of Dublin (Trinity College) and

president of the Mary Robinson Foundation - Climate Justice; **Tariq Ramadan**, professor of contemporary Islamic studies at the Oriental Institute, St Antony’s College, Oxford University; **Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks**, former chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth and spiritual head of the United Synagogue, the largest synagogue body in the UK; Lt. General **Brent Scowcroft**, U.S. national security advisor under presidents Gerald Ford and George H. W. Bush; and researcher, naturalist, and author **E. O. Wilson**, regarded as the “father of sociobiology,” and founder of the E.O. Wilson Biodiversity Foundation.

Full transcripts, audios, and video clips are available on our website. The Forum is also producing successful spin-offs, such as our popular **Point B** audio podcast series, which features short interview highlights. Two influential websites are also working with Devin Stewart: Project Syndicate and *The Huffington Post*, which featured posts by Africa specialist Ambassador **David Shinn**; philosopher **Kwame Anthony Appiah**; political scientist **Ian Bremmer**; former Grand Mufti **Mustafa Cerić** of Bosnia-Herzegovina; social psychologist **Jonathan Haidt**; Singaporean diplomat and scholar **Kishore Mahbubani**; and China scholar **Andrew Nathan**. In addition,



Carnegie Council provided a display for the exhibition, “**Andrew Carnegie: The Legacy that Changed the World**,” held in the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh, from October 2013 to January 2014. Along with images that illustrate our history, such as a copy of our 1914 founding charter, the display features an interactive video made up of clips from eleven Thought Leader interviews answering the question “**Is World Peace Possible?**” The answers run the gamut, from founding president of the Center for Global Development **Nancy Birdsall**: “Absolutely. The world is so much more peaceful today than 100 years ago or 1,000 years ago. I think we’re really close. It’s a worthy goal,” to philosopher **Michael Walzer**: “I don’t think we will see world peace. But I do believe in the reality of preventable wars, unnecessary and preventable wars.” Exhibit visitors can vote on whether they think world peace is possible (“Yes,” “No,” “Don’t Know”) and the results are displayed on a frequently updated pie chart. We look forward to seeing the final tally!

## GLOBAL ETHICS NETWORK

While Thought Leaders Forum focuses on large global problems, our Centennial educational activities make the global local. They encourage students and scholars from around the world to explore the practical application of ethics within their respective communities, using the resources provided by Carnegie Council and by our Global Ethics Network—an international consortium of universities engaging students and educators in intercultural dialogue and ethics-based education. By the end of the program year, thirty-one institutions from Asia, Australia, North and South America, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East had joined the Network, with each appointing at least one faculty member to serve as a Carnegie Global Ethics Fellow (GEF).

The Network brings educators and students into conversation both virtually—through the social and professional network [www.globalethicsnetwork.org](http://www.globalethicsnetwork.org), run by *Policy Innovations* editor **Evan O’Neil**—and in person—via the annual Fellows meeting, a three-day series of workshops held at the Council’s New York City headquarters, as well as conferences and events at GEFs’ home institutions around the world.

The second annual Fellows meeting took place in November 2012. Together, the GEFs decided on the six core themes mentioned above, and organized panels on the following topics: culture and universal norms; political will and responsibilities; and managing systemic risk and crisis. **Kenneth Roth**, executive director of Human Rights Watch, gave the keynote speech, “Human Rights Watch: Promoting Ethical Behavior When It’s Contested,” which is available on our website, [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).

This year’s GEF events included the October 2012 Concerned Philosophers for Peace Conference, “Struggles for Recognition: Individuals, Peoples, and States,” at Mercer University in Macon, Georgia, organized by GEF **David Ritchie**; and the February 2013 USC Levan/Carnegie Global Ethics

Network Event Roundtable, “Rethinking the Responsibility to Protect,” organized by GEF **Lyn Boyd-Judson**, in which GEF **David Rodin** of Oxford University participated as a panelist.

A signal example of Global Ethics Network collaboration is the Carnegie Council Global Oregon Freshman Interest Group and learning community (CGO). Launched in 2011, it is overseen by three University of Oregon professors—Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Cheyney Ryan**, and GEFs **David Frank** and **Shaul Cohen**. CGO partners the University of Oregon with the Council to create a course-based and extracurricular “convocation to commencement” program for students to learn about and practice an ethical orientation in all that they do. In the first year they live together in a student dormitory, take a number of the same courses, and have extracurricular meetings and meals on a weekly basis with Professor Cohen and other staff. Together, they explore a range of ethical approaches and their application through dialogue, engagement with the broader campus, and volunteer work. They also have the opportunity to meet in small group settings with influential people from a variety of fields, and to explore with them the role ethics have played in their life and work.



KENNETH ROTH SPEAKING AT THE SECOND ANNUAL FELLOWS MEETING



DEVIN STEWART AND MICHAEL IGNATIEFF (FIRST TWO ON LEFT) AT UNIVERSITY OF BUENOS AIRES

## ETHICS FELLOWS FOR THE FUTURE

As student mentees of Global Ethics Fellows, Ethics Fellows for the Future (EFFs) represent the next generation of scholars, policymakers, and practitioners working to bridge ethics with international affairs. To ensure that GEFs chose the best possible candidates for this Fellowship, we encouraged them to invite all of their students to contribute to [www.globalethicsnetwork.org](http://www.globalethicsnetwork.org) from January to April 2013 and then select those students who were most active and substantive in their contributions to the site. Based on the quality of these projects and activities, the GEFs nominated a group of EFFs from Asia and the United States to attend the November 2013 annual Fellows workshop in New York.

## GLOBAL ETHICAL DIALOGUES

“How does an organization like Carnegie Council, with a global mandate but based in New York, contribute to meeting [the] challenge of generating egalitarian dialogue within and between unequal societies? Given that global dialogue on ethical issues is already going on in a thousand places, how can Carnegie make a distinctive contribution? By setting up dialogues that make an ethical commitment to equal voice:

whether by gender, race, origin, nationality, orientation, or language; by committing to the idea of a dialogue where there are no trumps—ideological, discursive, or religious; where we respect foundational differences and do not seek to reduce or eliminate them.” Thus begins Dr. Ignatieff’s concept paper for Global Ethical Dialogues. Read it in full at [www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles\\_papers\\_reports/0158](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles_papers_reports/0158).

Global Ethical Dialogues kicked off in June 2013 with a two-week long study trip to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. The focus was on corruption, the public trust, and environmental issues, and included meetings with government officials, lawyers, judges, scholars, and NGO representatives. In addition to Dr. Ignatieff and Devin Stewart, the team included Senior Fellow for Latin America **Valeria Silva**, and GEF **Evan Berry** of American University, Washington, D.C. Providing invaluable local expertise, planning, and support for this visit were GEFs **Emiliano J. Buis**, of the University of Buenos Aires Law School, and Federal Judge **Fernanda Duarte**, of the Fluminense Federal University in Rio de Janeiro, with assistance from EFFs **Nahuel Maisley** (Buenos Aires) and **Gabriel Lima de Almeida** (Rio de Janeiro). The interviews and site visits centered around two cases: the Mensalao (vote

buying) corruption case in Brazil and an environmental dispute between Argentina and Uruguay over a pulp mill in Fray Bentos, Uruguay, on the Uruguay River (known as the Papeleras case). The team spent a day interviewing community leaders in Gualeguaychú, Argentina, who claimed that the mill pollutes the river and therefore lacks the social license to operate. They also interviewed officials in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. To see a success story in action, they visited the Santa Marta favela in Rio de Janeiro, which is known as a model for “community policing.”

On the team’s first day in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil witnessed its largest public protests in twenty years. Although the spark for the protests was a rise in bus fares, the bigger issues were about ethics: political corruption, police brutality, and misguided government spending on sports stadiums rather than on hospitals and schools. Later in the week, the team saw an even larger protest of about 300,000 people, amid one million protesters nationwide. That afternoon, they interviewed protestors, including a librarian, a lawyer, and several students. In his rousing and eloquent public speech at Rio’s Universidade Estácio (with simultaneous translation), Dr. Ignatieff saluted the protestors’ “patriotic anger” and discussed ways to combat corruption, a 2,000-year-old problem common to societies worldwide. For more on this first Global Ethics Dialogue, including Dr. Ignatieff’s talk and a slide show of the trip, go to [www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/ged/resource.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/ged/resource.html).





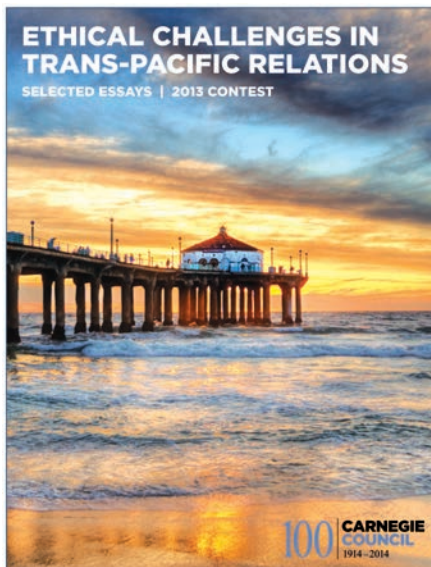
PUBLIC PROTEST IN RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

## CENTENNIAL COMPETITIONS

### FIRST TRANS-PACIFIC CONTEST

#### What is the greatest ethical challenge facing U.S.-Asia relations?

In this pioneering contest, we challenged American and East Asian students to partner together and submit a joint essay or video to answer this question—either about U.S.-Asia relations in general, or U.S. relations with a particular East Asian country.



The contest received entries by undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate students from the United States, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. In

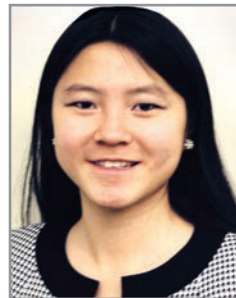
total, nearly one hundred students from the two regions paired up to publicly post their entries on [www.globalethicsnetwork.org](http://www.globalethicsnetwork.org). As one participant from China remarked, “[T]his competition is a wonderful experience and a great chance for us to deepen our understanding of the two countries.”

The winning essay by **Robert D. O’Brien** (United States) and **Shiran Shen** (China) was entitled “The U.S., China, and Cybersecurity: The Ethical Underpinnings of a Controversial

Geopolitical Issue.” Ms. Shen is a Ph.D. Candidate at Stanford University and Mr. O’Brien is a Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Oxford. Their prize was a trip to New York in November 2013 to attend the annual Global Ethics Fellows meeting and to discuss their work. “The topics that the students focused on really spoke to the most pressing issues of our time in U.S.-Asia relations, including the threat of cyberwar, sweatshops and



ROBERT D. O'BRIEN



SHIRAN SHEN

corporate responsibility, human rights and censorship, democratic change, the legacy of imperialism, and climate change and the environment,” said Devin Stewart. The essays were of such high quality that we published a booklet of the twelve best entries. Find it on our website, where you may read it in magazine format, or download it as a PDF.

### FOURTH ANNUAL STUDENT/TEACHER ESSAY CONTEST, 2012

**In your opinion, what is the greatest ethical challenge or dilemma facing the planet today?** This is one of the questions always asked in the Thought Leader Forum interviews, so we decided to pose it to students and teachers around the world as well.

In total we received 211 entries from twenty-six countries. The contestants’ ages ranged from fourteen to fifty. Essays tackled a multitude of challenges, including: environmental degradation and sustainability issues; climate change; tribalism, racism, and xenophobia; poverty and hunger; loss of religious morality; and selfishness and greed. The winners came from Finland, India, Japan, Nigeria, the Philippines, Sweden, and the United States, with honorable mentions for essays from Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, and the United States. Together with the Trans-Pacific booklet, all the winning essays are posted online, at [www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles\\_papers\\_reports/index.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles_papers_reports/index.html).

*Ethics for a Connected World is funded by generous multi-year grants from the Uehiro Foundation of Japan, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Henry Luce Foundation, as well as a one-time grant by the Richard Lounsbery Foundation.*

For over three decades, the Council's renowned Public Affairs Program has fostered awareness and deepened understanding of the most pressing issues affecting our world. Under the leadership of **Joanne Myers**, this program hosts over forty events a year, featuring a broad array of the world's most distinguished international affairs experts, including policymakers, scholars, and investigative journalists. Many of these talks go on to become classics and are accessed for reference year after year on our website. The best also become TV programs, as part of our *Global Ethics Forum* series.

### THE UNITED STATES

Speakers took a grim view of the U.S. situation this year, both on the domestic and foreign policy front. The *New Yorker's* **George Packer** contended that the structures that once helped ordinary Americans, from government to schools, have stopped working on their behalf. People have been left to fend for themselves, and while some have prospered, many have been left behind. New technologies are crucial to a vibrant economy, but these days innovations are often stalled, said venture capitalist **William Janeway**. He discussed how to get them moving again, arguing that the state needs to play a central role.

On national security, **Richard Haass**, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, claimed that we have been overreaching abroad and underachieving at home. Professor **Andrew J. Bacevich**, a retired Army officer, argued that militarism now permeates U.S. society, which threatens U.S. interests and its



RICHARD HAASS SPEAKING AT CARNEGIE COUNCIL

founding traditions. In an exercise in historical “what ifs,” political scientist **Joseph S. Nye, Jr.** asked whether individual twentieth century presidents had made a major difference in shaping events. Former general counsel of the Department of Defense **Jeh Johnson** described working on issues such as al-Qaeda and Guantanamo, and New York Police Commissioner **Raymond Kelly** talked about the delicate balance of keeping the city safe while preserving civil liberties.

### AMERICA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: VIEWS FROM AROUND THE WORLD



In this special series sponsored by an anonymous donor, Singaporean diplomat and scholar **Kishore Mahbubani** politely

but frankly discussed Asians' perceptions of Americans, warning that “The world that is coming is a world outside your comfort zones.” Jordanian statesman **Marwan Muasher**, now at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, declared that the key to U.S. relations with the Middle East lay in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The United States remains the only power that can bring the two sides together, and its

credibility rests on doing so, he said. For an insider/outside perspective, we welcomed New York-based **Gillian Tett**, a British author and award-winning finance journalist at the *Financial Times*, who discussed the current political gridlock in the United States.

### THE MIDDLE EAST

Professor **David W. Lesch** of Trinity University has traveled to Syria repeatedly since 1989 and knows President Bashar al-Assad well. In an October 2012 talk, he expressed disappointment that Assad had not lived up to his early promise as a leader. He went on to analyze the uprising and its causes, and explained why he believed American intervention was a dangerous idea. He also predicted—correctly—that the regime might stay in power for some time to come.

When Israeli voters went to the polls in January 2013, pundits predicted a dull election; the results were anything but. While Benjamin Netanyahu won reelection as prime minister, he did much worse than anticipated, leaving him without a clear path to form a coalition. In February 2013, former Israeli statesman Professor **Yoram Peri** explained why the results differed from our expectations and why the



main issues were domestic, with little attention paid to Iran or to the Palestinian situation.

Former U.S. diplomat **Ethan Chorin** was posted to Libya in 2004 and was in Benghazi when Ambassador Chris Stevens was killed. He discussed Libya's shifting relationship with the United States and the West, and the complex story of the Libyan Revolution, which began not with the Arab Spring, but in 2003, with the lifting of anti-Qaddafi sanctions. One of the problems for the United States in Libya and the Middle East in general has been lack of intelligence about what is happening on the ground, he declared, and now there is also the problem of follow-through. Libya was one of President Obama's major successes, Chorin asserted. "The danger is that as time goes on, as the political vacuum moves forward and grassroots processes move forward, if they don't move forward fast enough, you are going to have a major problem."

Drawing on over thirty years of reporting on Saudi Arabia, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist **Karen Elliott House** took us behind the scenes in this secretive kingdom—a country ruled by a coterie of princes with an average age of seventy-seven, where 60 percent of the population is under the age of twenty. "To me, Saudi Arabia is the one country with which we have a truly strategic interest, more than Egypt or Libya or Syria," she said. Therefore, she added, "While the United States has limited influence on who rules Saudi Arabia, I think we should use what limited influence we have."

## CHINA, MYANMAR, AND AFGHANISTAN

Among the multitude of books and articles on China, few written in English offer the Chinese point of view. This year, two eminent scholars

gave us just that. Professor **Andrew Nathan** of Columbia University explained China's security concerns in terms of four rings: inside China's territory, which includes national minority areas such as the restive Tibet and Xinjiang; its twenty-four surrounding countries; six regional systems; and the rest of the world. Prize-winning historian **Odd Arne Westad** of the London School of Economics took the long view and analyzed China's international relations over the last 250 years from a Chinese perspective, providing valuable insights into its current and future course.

In January 2013, veteran Asia correspondent **Barbara Crossette** reported on the complex situation in Myanmar, where, on a recent fact-finding trip, she saw a total lack of infrastructure, several serious religious ethnic conflicts, and simmering doubts about the leadership capabilities of icon Aung San Suu Kyi.

"Talibanistan" is the nickname for the



embattled territory from Kandahar in Afghanistan to Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province and

Federally Administered Tribal Areas. It is also the name of a book of essays edited by CNN's **Peter Bergen** (author of *The Osama bin Laden I Know*), which includes a chapter by **Anand Gopal**, a leading expert on the Taliban. In a December 2012 panel, Bergen remarked that contrary to common perceptions, America will not withdraw from Afghanistan completely in 2014. In fact, he said, the United States has negotiated a partnership agreement with the Afghans extending the U.S. presence in Afghanistan until 2024—and that's a good thing: "I think we have a moral obligation to the Afghans to not leave

their country in chaos after we've overthrown their government." Gopal followed up with an in-depth analysis of the Taliban, who, he believes, may be open to a negotiated settlement.

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The world has entered a second nuclear age, announced Yale University professor **Paul Bracken**, a leading national security strategist. During the Cold War, the path to nuclear war always led through Moscow and Washington. Now, however, the triggers to nuclear war are in Tel Aviv, Islamabad, Pyongyang, and potentially Tehran and other places too. Discussing his book, *Five Myths about Nuclear Weapons*, nuclear weapons policy analyst and award-winning writer **Ward Wilson** asked: What if everything we believe about nuclear weapons is wrong? "Reexamine the facts and you'll see that the arguments for nuclear weapons aren't powerful; they're preposterous. They are an unpersuasive collection of wishful thinking held together by nothing more than fear and rationalization."

## MORE HIGHLIGHTS IN BRIEF

Check out [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org) for these speakers and more: economist **Alan Blinder** on the financial crisis; historian **Sir David Cannadine** on how we look at history; author **Robert D. Kaplan** on the importance of geography in international affairs; anthropologist **T. M. Luhrmann** on the American evangelical relationship with God; **Evgeny Morozov** on the ethical pitfalls of big data; historian **Ian Morris** on how social development affects nations; Morgan Stanley's **Ruchir Sharma** on emerging markets; Nobel Prize-winner **Wole Soyinka** on Africa; former president of Ireland **Mary Robinson** on her extraordinary life so far; and **George Weigel** on the historic shift taking place in the Catholic Church.

## U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT

Program Director and Senior Fellow **David Speedie** is fond of quoting his favorite poet, fellow Scotsman Robert Burns, who famously wished that some divine power would give us the gift “to see ourselves as others see us.” This kind of perspective, says Speedie, is essential for successful diplomatic engagement with other nations. How can the United States promote its interests effectively if it doesn’t understand how other countries perceive America and its policies? Through events, interviews, and articles, the U.S. Global Engagement program (USGE) seeks to encourage constructive dialogue by shedding light on the viewpoints of countries of vital concern to the United States, whether they are allies or potential adversaries.



DAVID SPEEDIE (LEFT) MODERATING EVENT WITH HILARY MANN LEVERETT AND FLYNT LEVERETT ON U.S.-IRAN ENGAGEMENT

years has approached successive American presidents with the idea of a “grand bargain,” only to be rebuffed. There are misperceptions on both sides, said Mousavian. For example, neither nation truly understands the other’s political decision-making process. Iran and the United States have a long list of common interests, he continued, including Afghanistan, stability in Iraq, and ending drug trafficking. A good way to build trust between the two nations would be to cooperate on these issues, instead of focusing solely on divisive issues like nuclear capability.

The Ambassador was followed by **Flynt Leverett** of Penn State University and **Hilary Mann Leverett**, CEO of STRATEGA, a political risk consulting firm. Their latest book, *Going to Tehran: Prospects for U.S.-Iran Engagement*, argues that Americans’ view of Iran as an illegitimate system in imminent danger of overthrow is wrongheaded and wishful thinking. The United States needs to come to terms with Iran, not as a favor to Iran, but to save its own position in the Middle East and avert another war. Nixon went to China, and Obama needs to go to Iran, they declared. Echoing Mousavian, Flynt Leverett concluded, “Ayatollah Khamenei and the three Iranian presidents elected

over the course of Khamenei’s now twenty-two year tenure as supreme leader have all said repeatedly that Iran is open to better relations with America, but only on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and American acceptance of the Islamic Republic. Today, engaging Iran on this basis is Obama’s single biggest foreign policy challenge.”

### THE MIDDLE EAST

In February 2013, Speedie hosted **Charles D. Freilich**, who spent two decades in Israeli government positions and currently teaches at both Harvard and the University of Tel Aviv. He began by analyzing the outcome of the previous month’s Israeli elections and what it might mean for Israel’s foreign policy, in particular the Palestinian/Israeli peace process. He went on to look at the turmoil across the Middle East, which he feared boded ill for Israel. Predicting that Egypt was going to go through a prolonged period of chaos and instability, he remarked that for the first time in four decades, Israel had to take into account that it could soon be at war again with Egypt. He concluded by discussing his latest book, *Zion’s Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy*, remarking that it was “a work of both love and frustration,” as in his view, Israel had committed so



SEYED HOSSEIN MOUSAVIAN SPEAKING AT CARNEGIE COUNCIL

### U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS

In December 2012, USGE provided a rare opportunity to hear the Iranian view of U.S.-Iran relations. Currently at Princeton, Ambassador **Seyed Hossein Mousavian** has served as an Iranian policymaker, nuclear negotiator, diplomat, and journalist. Despite decades of hostilities between Iran and the United States, he asserted that Iran has always remained positive about a rapprochement. In fact, every Tehran administration for the last twenty



many avoidable policy mistakes. In June 2013, Dr. **Shibley Telhami**, of the University of Maryland and Brookings Institution, discussed his latest study, *The World through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East*. The book sprang from a ten-year project documenting Arab public opinion on foreign policy and domestic issues. Many observers have discounted the role of foreign policy in the popular discontent that led to the uprisings, said Telhami. But, he argued, while domestic injustices and the information revolution were key factors, it was impossible to understand the Arab uprisings without also referring to foreign policy. “The dignity that they sought to restore in these uprisings was not only about their relationship with the rulers, but was about their relationship with the rest of the world.”

## INVESTING IN AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND

The Council’s ties to Scotland are both deep and robust. Our founder Andrew Carnegie was born in Dunfermline, and although he was an ardent internationalist, he was also a proud Scottish patriot.



ALEX SALMOND

Today, the Council has close links with the Dunfermline-based Carnegie UK Trust, and is taking part in their 2013 Centennial

celebrations. Therefore it was a very special privilege to welcome First Minister **Alex Salmond**, leader of the government in Scotland. Scotland will have a referendum on independence from the United Kingdom in September 2014, and Salmond eloquently made the case for breaking away from Britain. In addition to compelling economic reasons, he argued that, “the best people to take decisions about Scotland are the people who choose to live and work in Scotland.”

## INTERVIEWS

### Richard Lugar

served as a Republican senator for Indiana from 1977 to January 2013. In an age of fierce political partisanship, he stands out for his bipartisan work on what he considers to be one of the most critical ethical issues of our time: nuclear proliferation. In an interview as part of the Thought Leader series (see pages 4–5), Lugar recounted the dramatic story of his work on the 1992 Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, which he sponsored together with Democratic senator Sam Nunn. This historic act provides funding and expertise for states in the former USSR nations to help them reduce nuclear weapons. He went on to work with then-senator Obama on the Lugar-Obama Proliferation and Threat Reduction Initiative, which was signed into law under President Bush in 2007.



RICHARD LUGAR

**Frank Vogl** is the cofounder of anti-corruption NGO Transparency International, which has independent, locally established and staffed chapters in over one hundred countries. Corruption is a universal problem, Vogl explained, and can only be tackled domestically, through the grassroots. The difficulty “is to move from elite-based organizations and organizations that stimulate investigative journalists and a few very active campaigners, to make it into a mass public movement. Only when you get to the grassroots can you start to bring the pressures that can produce sustainable change.” Vogl considers the Arab Spring to be an important landmark in the long journey to reduce corruption across the world. It has inspired mass campaigns in many countries, he said, although inevitably there will be a few steps forward and then some steps back. “But the degree to which we are seeing mass public engagement in many countries today in

this anti-corruption effort is unprecedented, and it has a momentum and an energy that I think the so-called Arab Spring helped to unleash.”

Speedie also interviewed **Donald Kendall**, former chairman and CEO of PepsiCo. Kendall recalled how in 1959, in the midst of the Cold War, he accompanied Vice President Richard Nixon to participate in the first ever U.S. trade exhibit in the Soviet Union. Many U.S. companies refused to go, including rival Coca Cola. The exhibit was opened by President Khrushchev, and at Kendall’s request, Nixon led Khrushchev to the Pepsi-Cola booth, where he was photographed drinking Pepsi—a huge advertising coup for the company. Six years later Kendall made a deal with Khrushchev’s successors, making Pepsi the first capitalist product to be sold in the USSR. Now in his nineties, Kendall still keeps abreast of Russian affairs and is an admirer of President Putin, who awarded him the Order of Friendship, Russia’s highest civilian honor.

## ARTICLES

Don’t miss David Speedie’s articles on U.S. foreign policy, which are all online at [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org). They include the following: a piece on the Boston Marathon bombing that decried the flurry of mutual recriminations between the intelligence services of the United States and Russia and called for both countries to work together against terrorism; a chilling essay asking why the U.S. State Department has removed the Iranian group Mujahedin-e Khalq [MEK] from its global terrorist list; and a prescient August 2012 piece entitled “Syria and the Arab Spring: Unintended Consequences?”

*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, Morse Family Foundation, and Krishen Mehta.*

## ETHICS MATTER INTERVIEW SERIES

This monthly series features speakers from different backgrounds, countries, and professions. What they share are strong moral convictions and a passionate commitment to their work. Programs begin with an interview that delves into the guest's life and career, followed by a general discussion with a live studio audience. All events are broadcast as part of Carnegie Council's *Global Ethics Forum TV series*, and full transcripts, audios, and videos are also available. Unless otherwise mentioned, this year's events were hosted by program officer **Marlene Spoerri**.



DAMBISA MOYO

The season began with Zambian economist and best-selling author **Dambisa Moyo**, whose rallying cry is “trade not aid.”

Her 2009 book *Dead Aid*, which caused quite a stir when it came out, argues that aid undermines democracy and discourages government accountability, giving those in power an incentive to cater to international donors instead of their citizens. As she told host **Julia Taylor Kennedy**, her impetus for writing the book was the realization that, unlike her African friends, many in the West did not understand “that their decisions to encourage aid, to support aid programs, were actually incredibly damaging and detrimental to hundreds of millions of people who are not just in Africa but across the emerging world.”

“Is the World Becoming More Peaceful?” This was the question posed by Carnegie Council President **Joel Rosenthal**, and discussed by Ethics Matter participants Harvard



ETHICS MATTER EVENT WITH STEVEN PINKER AND ROBERT D. KAPLAN DISCUSSING “IS THE WORLD BECOMING MORE PEACEFUL?”

professor **Steven Pinker**, a scholar of cognitive sciences, language, and moral psychology, and author **Robert D. Kaplan**, chief geopolitical analyst for the intelligence firm Stratfor. Pinker made a compelling case, arguing that contrary to popular perceptions, statistics prove that war is on the decline. He cited the following reasons: democratization; globalization and free trade; the rise of international institutions; and the increased costs of war. Kaplan, a veteran correspondent who has covered wars from the Balkans to Afghanistan, added that “foreign policy realism,” such as Nixon’s visit to China, has also contributed to a decrease in war. Nevertheless, he cautioned, there are serious threats on the horizon. In particular, he said, nationalism is on the rise throughout the Indo-Pacific, and as a result, “one of the greatest arms races in history” is taking place in East Asia. At the same time, more countries are acquiring nuclear weapons; tumult is worsening in the Middle East; and Central Asia could unravel. While Kaplan noted that these concerns did not disprove Pinker’s thesis, he warned that the threat to peace remained real.

Educator, author, and activist **Bill McKibben** was among the first to sound the alarm about global warming back in the 1980s. His marshalling of

the scientific evidence for climate change is all the more effective because of his matter-of-fact approach. In 2007, he co-founded 350.org, an organization dedicated to using grassroots activism to counteract climate change. Reality, not fear, is the best motivator to get people involved, said McKibben. “[A]t root the most central ethical duty we owe each other is simply to tell the truth about where we are.”

We think of ourselves as rational beings, but why do we do so many irrational and self-destructive things? In a funny and insightful talk, **Dan Ariely**, a behavioral economist, explored the hidden factors that shape our decisions and showed how emotions and peer pressure often dictate our behavior. Ariely’s work has important implications for ethics, as some of his most interesting experiments point to why honesty and professional ethics are in decline. For example, he found that when people have to look someone in the eye, they are more likely to stay honest. This is very worrying, said Ariely, since people are increasingly less likely to interact face-to-face. The key to creating ethical standards, he declared, is not punishment, but education and clear, strict rules, so that there are no “fuzzy boundaries.”



How can you create a successful, nonviolent mass movement? You need three things, said



SRDJA POPOVIC

**Srdja Popovic** in December 2012: the “cool” factor, so that everyone wants to join; memorable branding; and humor, which “melts fear.” Popovic co-founded the Serbian youth movement Otpor!, which played a major role in toppling Slobodan Milosevic. In 2004, he co-founded CANVAS, the Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategy. Based in Belgrade, CANVAS’s tiny staff is training activists from some of the world’s most authoritarian countries, including Iran and Myanmar, and its work with Tunisians and Egyptians is credited with inspiring young Arab Spring activists. When asked about Egypt’s future, Popovic replied that “getting rid of the bad guys” was only the beginning. There are several mistakes popular movements often make after tyrants are ousted: they lose sight of their vision; they fail to keep the new elites accountable; and in the absence of a common goal, they often fall apart.



IAN BREMMER

In January 2013, for the fifth year running, political scientist **Ian Bremmer**, founder of the Eurasia Group, presented his

company’s annual assessment of the top risks for the new year. “There are three big things happening right now in the world,” he told host **Devin Stewart**. “China rising, Middle East exploding, Europe muddling through. Those are the things that truly matter, in the sense that they have potentially very different kinds of trajectories and outcomes depending on where they go.” Bremmer then went beyond a traditional risk analysis to focus on the moral implications of world

developments—and in particular, the ethical imperative to publicly acknowledge uncomfortable truths: “It is unethical to not be realistic about China’s trajectory and the uncertainty around it. It is unethical not to understand that climate change is coming. It’s unethical not to say that global climate summits continue to fail and will continue to fail.”

In a remarkable conversation, bioethicist **Paul Root Wolpe** (of Emory University, NASA, and Planned Parenthood) discussed the ethical issues raised by advances in biotechnology and neuroscience. “We are confronting ethical quandaries that are new to the twenty-first century,” he said, such as “the ethics of speed.” In the past, animal and plant breeding took numerous steps, and there was time to correct mistakes. But genetic engineering can be done virtually overnight, often creating unforeseen negative consequences. Although people worry about genetic privacy, he continued, they should be more concerned about the privacy of their brains. Work on mind reading is moving remarkably quickly, and scientists are also learning to control the brain, which could be a boon for dictatorships. “So we have to engage in what I call prophylactic ethics,” he concluded—in other words, we need to decide how to handle these things in advance, before they become a reality.

**Zainab Salbi** is the founder of Women for Women International, which runs a job skills program for women in

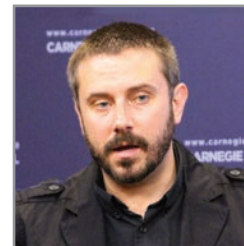


ZAINAB SALBI

countries devastated by war. In an April 2013 event, she described growing up in Iraq under Saddam Hussein, and the complicated realities of women’s lives in Iraq and across the Middle East. Salbi visited Iraq

recently and noted that although women have more political positions than ever before, they have regressed both socially and economically. In Hussein’s Iraq, she said, everyone lived in fear, yet women had more freedom than now: most women worked, they dressed as they pleased, and many drove cars. Today, she continued, there are few women in the workplace and many are afraid to go out in the streets. When asked how the West could help women in the Middle East, she replied that we should demand to see more women at the negotiating table; we should support women’s NGOs; and we should invest in placing more women in the media.

In the name of the “war on terror,” the United States is conducting covert warfare and targeted killings, from Iraq to Afghanistan, Yemen, and Somalia. Few have done more to expose the ethical and practical repercussions of these policies than *The Nation* magazine’s



JEREMY SCAHILL

national security correspondent **Jeremy Scahill**. His latest book and accompanying film are entitled, *Dirty Wars: The World Is a Battlefield*. “A lot of what I’ve tried to do over the years is to humanize people on the other side,” he told the Ethics Matter audience in June 2013. “I loathe the term ‘collateral damage.’ I just despise it. I think it makes war easier to wage when you don’t see the ‘other’ as a human being. So a lot of my reporting has been aimed at trying to humanize people on the other side, so that we have a real debate in this country, not an abstract one, about people who are categorized as ‘enemies’ or ‘collateral damage.’”

## CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS

The Carnegie New Leaders program (CNL) offers a forum to explore the ethical dimensions of global affairs and the challenges of moral leadership in a welcoming, informal environment. Open to a select group of young professionals under the age of forty, members have the chance to network with peers from a wide range of professions, including finance, nonprofit, government, and academia. Events range from roundtables and lectures to field trips and film screenings, and many activities are planned and moderated by CNLs themselves, using their contacts and knowledge to enrich the group's experience. In November 2012, **Jennifer Otterson Mollick** was appointed CNL program coordinator.

In conjunction with the **Ethics Matter** series, CNL began its program season with a memorable conversation between Harvard professor **Steven Pinker** and *Atlantic* correspondent **Robert D. Kaplan**, entitled: "Is the World Becoming more Peaceful?" (see page 12) This was followed in October by a roundtable discussion with Danish economist **Jacob Funk Kirkegaard**. Kirkegaard offered a contrarian take on the euro zone crisis, explaining that he believed the crisis was an opportunity from which Europe would emerge more integrated and resilient. Next came a session with National Public Radio's **Doug Mitchell**, who shared valuable tips with CNLs on how to make their internship and job applications stand out and how to best use social media to develop their leadership skills and mentor others. This hands-on workshop encouraged audience participation, giving CNLs an opportunity to learn both from Mitchell and each other.



CNL MEMBERS WITH MAJOR IAN FISHBACK AT WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY



A SCENE FROM *UPRISING*, A FILM BY FREDRIK STANTON. A ZEITGEIST FILMS RELEASE

In January, CNLs took part in an off-the-record discussion with **Randy Cohen**, host of the public radio show *Person Place Thing* and former writer of "The Ethicist" column for *The New York Times Magazine*. The audience greatly enjoyed Cohen's insightful and often humorous talk. Showcasing the talents of a CNL member, in February, the program hosted a film screening of *Uprising*, with its director and producer, CNL **Fredrik Stanton**. Stanton's film fascinated our audience with its never-before-seen footage of the events in Cairo and interviews with key organizers and leaders of the Egyptian revolution.

It's easy to talk about doing the right thing, but not so easy to do it in practice. In May, CNLs met with Independent Diplomat founder **Carne**

**Ross**, who gave a candid talk describing how he struggled with his conscience for years before leaving the British Foreign Service because of the Iraq War, and what he learned from this experience. In June, the program hosted an off-the-record, intimate roundtable with **Brendan McGuire**, assistant United States attorney for the Southern District of New York. In this discussion, CNLs had the opportunity to discuss the legal and ethical lessons to be learned from real-life examples of the challenges in combating corruption.

For its last event of the program year, CNLs went on a field trip to West Point Military Academy. After touring the historic grounds, CNLs engaged in a lengthy and frank discussion with Army Major **Ian Fishback** on issues such as the ethical dilemmas of war, the implications of new technology, and changes in America's military. "[Major Fishback] was an exceptional host and I was impressed by his candor and willingness to answer most questions directly," said one CNL. For details on how to become a CNL member and for audios, videos, and transcripts of all CNL's public events, along with a photo essay on the visit to West Point, go to <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/291/index.html>.



Innovators around the world are developing solutions to many important global issues—sustainability, energy, urbanization, refugees, women’s rights, wildlife, health, food—and *Policy Innovations* tells their stories. This stimulating online magazine features original articles as well as videos and research papers from a network of global partners. Here is a brief overview of some of the most popular items from the past year.

## INTERVIEWS

Printing in three dimensions promises to revolutionize manufacturing. *Policy Innovations* Editor **Evan O’Neil** interviewed **William Hoyle**, founding chief executive of techfortrade, about the potential of 3D printing in developing countries. Nowadays you can even “print” your own shelter using the WikiHouse open-source construction set developed by **Alastair Parvin** and his colleagues at the 00:/ architecture firm. Parvin explained to O’Neil that anyone can download, modify, and share designs for small structures. Cut from common materials on computer-controlled machines, the structural components can be assembled socially in about a day, barn-raising style. O’Neil also interviewed **Kenneth Porter** of the Alliance for Responsible Mining on efforts to bring ethical gold to the retail jewelry market through a new Fairtrade and Fairmined certification standard. Clean technology expert **John Haffner** spoke with Chinese environmentalist and activist **Ma Jun** about his more than two decades spent collecting data about air and water pollution in China. Researcher **Neha Bhat** interviewed **Rocco Nuri** of the UNHCR Innovation team on how information and communications



ALGERIA UNVEILS RENEWABLE ENERGY STRATEGY

technologies are playing a crucial role in engagement with refugee communities, informing them about health, hygiene, and available services.

## IDEAS AND INNOVATIONS

Many agencies that combat sex trafficking fail to systematically collect and analyze data that would help them judge how effective their programs are, wrote **Stephanie L. Bailey** of the Stanford University School of Medicine. She proposed modifying computer simulations (typically used for analyzing how pathogens spread) to assess and improve the impacts of various anti-trafficking policies. **Emma Stokes** of the Wildlife Conservation Society reported on how several major wildlife organizations have collaborated on a free, open-source Spatial Monitoring and Reporting Tool (SMART) to help park rangers improve their anti-poaching patrols. Data on where patrols go, what they see, and how they respond are fed into a central system back at park headquarters. This helps rangers assess their performance and allocate resources effectively. **Michael Olson** of the Global Currency Union described a new exchange rate mechanism developed by Danish innovator **Jesper Toft** that enables currencies to relate in a more stable manner, free from political influence.

## OPINION PIECES

We wouldn’t send salads as food relief to a poor country, wrote **Todd Moss** of the Center for Global Development, so why is the Overseas Private Investment Corporation doing the equivalent in the energy sector by imposing a carbon cap on electricity projects? In economic circles, a growing cadre wants to go “beyond GDP” and measure social well-being more directly. Novelist and professor **Eric Zencey** discussed the Genuine Progress Indicator, the Gross National Happiness Index, and Outcomes-Based Budgeting and suggested blending elements of all three to increase government efficiency. A key premise of the World Economic Forum (WEF) proposals for global governance is that multinational corporations, nation-states (including the UN), and select civil society organizations should partner together in “coalitions of the willing and able.” But **Harris Gleckman** of the University of Massachusetts Boston argued that the United Nations faces further erosion of authority if WEF gets its way. **Josh Lasky** of the U.S. Green Building Council wrote that we need to update our understanding of “sustainability.” In the wake of Hurricane Sandy he reflected on social resilience, antifragility, and cambiophilia—the love of change.



This program year, *Ethics & International Affairs (EIA)* continued to play a central role in the Council's three-year Centennial project, *Ethics for A Connected*

*World*, publishing a series of special sections and roundtables on the most exigent issues in international life and their intersection with the moral sphere. Since the launch of this Centennial series in 2012, the journal has featured some of the most innovative thinkers in philosophy, religion, international ethics, and political science on a wide variety of topics. From seeking to define the idea of a “global ethic” to asking what—if anything—makes a war just, from reflecting on international peace to examining the past and future of the nuclear nonproliferation regime, these rigorous but accessible essays have reinforced the journal's stated mission “to help close the gap between theory and practice (and between theorists and practitioners).”

In 2014, *EIA* looks forward to continuing this special series, with forthcoming Centennial roundtables on international law (spring), human rights (summer), and climate change (fall).

## JUST WAR AND ITS CRITICS

“What,” asked **Cian O’Driscoll** (Glasgow), “does it mean to think ethically about the use of force?” For, as O’Driscoll noted, “this beguilingly simple question is difficult to address. It challenges scholars to reflect upon



KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL ON THE NATIONAL MALL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

the assumptions that underpin their craft, as well as the purposes that guide it.” These assumptions and purposes were the focus of the 2013 spring issue’s special section on “Just War and Its Critics.” O’Driscoll, who served as the issue’s guest editor, contributed an article on differences between the “historical” and “analytical” traditions in just war theorizing. In his contribution, **James Turner Johnson** (Rutgers) asked, when it comes to the contemporary just war tradition, “Which Is Worse, to Have Friends or Critics?” Johnson took a historical approach, showing how “from the late twelfth century to the early seventeenth century a well-defined tradition on just war enjoyed broad cultural acceptance in the West,” only to break down because of centrifugal pressures, and how it was only around fifty years ago that scholars began to seriously engage with the just war idea again.

**John Kelsay** (Florida State) looked at the idea of just war as a kind of “social practice,” asking us to consider the basic ends of just war theorizing. Examining the case of the second Iraq war, Kelsay showed us that just war thinking is always a kind of praxis, and must be constantly reengaged in the run-up to a conflict and during it. Finally, in their contribution to the special section, **Daniel Brunstetter** (Irvine) and **Megan Braun** (Oxford), with an eye toward the future of warfare—and

especially drone warfare—developed an account of *jus ad vim*, or measures short of war, to help theorists and policymakers examine and judge the justness of interventions that may be categorized as more expansive than mere police actions, but less intensive than full-scale wars. They argued that potential *jus ad vim* interventions must be judged by their “probability of escalation,” that is, whether such an action may inflame a conflict further, contrary to its necessarily limited objectives.

## REFLECTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE

The summer 2013 issue of *EIA* featured a Centennial roundtable on international peace, delving into the history of peace movements and the concept of peace, as well as the future of the idea in the international realm.



SCULPTURE NON-VIOLENCE, UN HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK CITY



In his lead article for the roundtable, **David Hendrickson** (Colorado College) examined the role of the United States as a global peacekeeper, showing how since World War I the United States has developed a militarized foreign policy that has forsaken its earlier, more pacific ideals. In his contribution, **Akira Iriye** (Harvard) argued that we need to change our foundational concepts about peace entirely, trading “international” ideas for “transnational” ones—given that the latter concept focuses on “a sense of shared humanity, regardless of which country people happen to live in.” Thus, for Iriye, “to consider war and peace purely in the context of international relations . . . is insufficient, even anachronistic.”

**Nigel Young** (Colgate) contributed a wide-ranging historical account of international peace movements over the last century, arguing that the most important development in the theory and praxis of peace has been “a wider concept of peace,” involving “a peaceful methodology of action” best captured by the nonviolent resistance movements headed by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. And for **Laura Sjoberg** (Florida), questions of peace are inextricably related to questions of gender, as feminist work in international relations and peace studies “has encouraged us to see war as fought through and in the lives of ordinary people, and to understand that those experiences differ on the basis of sex.” She argued that once we acknowledge and understand the gendered nature of peace, we can help prevent systemic violence toward women—and men as well.

## SPOTLIGHT ON ESSAYS

The journal continues to publish innovative and timely work in our essays section, which features non-peer-reviewed articles of a more informal and polemical nature. In the fall 2012 issue, **Ann Florini** (Singapore) explored “The Peculiar Politics of Energy,” arguing that “an extraordinary array of the world’s most pressing problems flow from the current entrenched and dysfunctional energy system.” Florini identified the source of some of the problems related to energy, and suggested some critical improvements that need to be made in its global governance.



POLAR BEAR ON ICE FLOW IN WAGER BAY (UKKUSIKSALIK NATIONAL PARK, NUNAVUT, CANADA)

PHOTO ANSGAR WALK WWW.WIKIMEDIA.ORG

In the winter 2012 issue, **Oran Young** (Santa Barbara) delved into the issue of “Arctic stewardship,” an issue that has become particularly critical given the rapid shifts in environmental conditions due to global climate change. For Young, “what we need are safeguards capable of minimizing the threats to socio-ecological systems in the Arctic, providing early warning when things do start to go wrong, and establishing rapid response capabilities to address the resultant harms.” Only then, he wrote, will we be able to balance the concerns of Arctic residents with the desires of those who focus on resource extraction in the region.

In the spring 2013 issue, **Shefa Siegel** (Earth Institute) provided a passionate account of “The Missing Ethics of Mining,” based on his own on-the-

ground experience as a mining researcher in Africa. For Siegel, “a sane mining ethic would establish limits on prolonging extraction once the grade reaches an unsustainable level in an area, rather than continuing to expand as if the resource were infinite.” Alas, concluded Siegel, such a coordinated, scarcity-based approach to mining is “nowhere to be found.”

Finally, in our summer 2013 issue, Carnegie Council Global Ethics Fellow **Deen Chatterjee** (Utah) looked at the sometimes-uneasy relationship between liberalism and pluralism, arguing that liberalism’s struggle with accepting illiberal perspectives is based on “a false conundrum within liberalism itself.” What liberalism needs to do, argued Chatterjee, is move its focus away from the debate about universalism versus pluralism, and toward a focus on basic human rights and real-world justice concerns.

## UPDATES ON EIA WEBSITE

The *EIA* website, [www.eiajournal.org](http://www.eiajournal.org), has continued to grow exponentially. In the last year, the site was redesigned to increase readability and encourage higher visibility, and has begun to feature exciting online-exclusive content, most of which is published under the official aegis of the *EIA Blog*. The *EIA* site has featured online-exclusive essays by **Alex Bellamy** (Griffith) and **Tim Dunne** (Queensland) on elected Security Council members; **Claire Katz** (Texas A&M) and **John Kaag** (Lowell) on lessons from three seminal texts published in 1963 by Martin Luther King, Jr., Hannah Arendt, and Emmanuel Levinas; **Daniel Brunstetter** (Irvine) on Syria and the justness of measures short of war; and much more.

## CARNEGIE ETHICS STUDIO

From its very beginnings in the early twentieth century, our organization has used popular media to spread its message, printing pamphlets, papers, and even a comic book about the League of Nations. Today, the Carnegie Ethics Studio continues that tradition, using the latest digital technologies to reach more people than ever before. Now our programming is available far beyond the United States, reaching millions of people around the world, from Australia to Zimbabwe. Under the leadership of Executive Producer **Deborah Carroll**, the Studio team films and edits the Council's events and interviews, producing **over 500 products a year**. These include TV shows, audio and video podcasts, and YouTube clips. And thanks to the generous support from foundations and individuals, all are available on demand, free of charge.

### GLOBAL ETHICS FORUM SERIES, AVAILABLE ON TV AND ONLINE



At the end of this program year, *Global Ethics Forum*, the Council's weekly half-hour TV series featuring the world's top policymakers and scholars, celebrated four years of broadcasting. The series airs across the United States every Sunday on **MHz Worldview Channel**, via **more than 30 PBS stations**, and is



MARLENE SPOERRI (RIGHT) CONDUCTS AN ETHICS MATTER INTERVIEW WITH ZAINAB SALBI ON WOMEN, WAR, AND SELF-EMPOWERMENT

streamed live on the MHz website. The show is also broadcast on New York's **CUNY TV** on Mondays, Saturdays, and Sundays. For viewing anywhere, anytime, access all four years of programming online, at [www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/008/resource.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/008/resource.html).

A noted advance this year was the addition of **closed captioning**, which makes *Global Ethics Forum* programs accessible to the hard of hearing, and easier to follow for those whose native language is not English. Programming is drawn from the best of Carnegie Council events and edited for television, with additional photos and film footage. Highlights of Season Four included Professor **Charles Kupchan** of Georgetown University, discussing his latest book, *No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn*; Yale University's **Paul Bracken**, on what he ominously calls the second nuclear age; author and journalist **Steve Coll**, on the ExxonMobil empire; Singaporean scholar and diplomat **Kishore Mahbubani** on Asia's view of the United States; authors **Karl E. Meyer** and **Shareen Blair Brysac**, on places where diversity succeeds, from Kerala to Queens; and **Brian Leiter** of the University of Chicago Law School, discussing his book, *Why Tolerate Religion?*

### PUBLIC ETHICS RADIO

Launched in 2008, Public Ethics Radio is an online audio broadcast that features scholars and thinkers who engage with ethics in public life. Each episode connects debates in philosophy with real-world politics, on issues such as military intervention, international trade, and political corruption. A collaboration between the Centre for Moral, Social, and Political Theory (CMSPT) in Canberra, Australia and Carnegie Council, the series is hosted by Global Ethics Fellow **Christian Barry** and produced by **Matt Peterson**. Find it on Carnegie Council's iTunes site and on our website. Here are some of the year's highlights: **Kim Ferzan**, of the Rutgers University School of Law, aired a controversial proposal: the creation of a new class of preventive justice, separate from normal criminal law, to allow preventive detention for individuals who have shown that they might commit crimes in the future. **Corey Brettschneider**, a professor of political science at Brown University, tackled the thorny question of how states should deal with hate speech, while philosopher **Garrett Cullity** of the University of Adelaide discussed how to motivate individuals to do their share to combat climate change, given the blurry line between collective and individual responsibility in this case.



## GLOBAL ETHICS CORNER

Each week, this two-minute video examined a newsworthy issue—often taken from the week’s headlines—from an ethical perspective. Written and produced by a Carnegie Council team, photographs accompanied a commentary that presented different sides of the topic and asked the audience to make up its own mind. Topics this year included Syria, stem cell research, the legacy of Hugo Chavez, and Guantanamo.

Two of the most widely viewed discussed weighing privacy against national security, and whether the private sector had the right to fight back against cyber threats to intellectual property.

## LIVE WEBCASTS, VIDEO AND AUDIO PODCASTS

Only a lucky few can attend our public events in New York City; but everyone around the world can access them free of charge in a multitude of different formats. Events are streamed as live webcasts, and can be watched on our website and on [www.ustream.tv/channel/Carnegie-Council-Events](http://www.ustream.tv/channel/Carnegie-Council-Events). Full-length videos from September 2011 onwards are also archived on UStream, while earlier ones are on our website. The most popular way of accessing Council events and interviews is as audio podcasts, via iTunes, which is also the home of our short, edited video podcasts. In addition, full audios, transcripts, and edited videos are available on our website at [www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/index.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/index.html).

## ITUNESU

Our iTunesU site features collections of the Council’s best material on specific topics, such as **Genocide Prevention and Transitional Justice**;



BEWARE OF CYBER ATTACKS

**Ethics and Technology**; and **Immigrants, Migrants and Refugees**. It also features the **Thought Leaders Forum** interview series (see pages 4–5); **Workshops for Ethics in Business Case Studies**; and the multimedia companion to the 2012–2013 edition of the best-selling international relations textbook, *World Politics/ Trend and Transformation*, by former Carnegie Council Trustee **Charles W. Kegley, Jr.** and **Shannon L. Blanton**. For a shortcut, go to [www.ir101.org/kb](http://www.ir101.org/kb). Resources provided by Carnegie Council include more than one hundred short video clips that illustrate key terms in international relations. For example,

watch political scientist **Joseph S. Nye, Jr.** on his famous concept, “soft power,” and scholar and policymaker **Anne-Marie Slaughter** on multilateralism.

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



THOUGHT LEADERS FORUM INTERVIEW WITH PARAG KHANNA, SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW AT NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION



## CALENDAR EVENTS 2012–2013

### JULY 2012

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**7/19/12**

*Waste Land* Film Screening  
CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

### SEPTEMBER 2012

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**9/05/12**

The Power of Safety:  
How Safe Habits Triggered  
Responsibility at Alcoa  
**William O'Rourke, Jr.**  
WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

**9/12/12**

America in the Twenty-first  
Century: A View from the Arab  
World  
**Marwan Muasher**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM  
AMERICA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY  
SERIES

**9/14/12**

Restless Empire:  
China and the World Since 1750  
**Odd Arne Westad**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**9/18/12**

Dambisa Moyo on How Aid to  
Africa is Harmful  
**Dambisa Moyo**  
ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**9/19/12**

Balancing Security and Civil  
Liberties in the Post-9/11 Era  
**Raymond Kelly**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**9/20/12**

The Righteous Mind:  
Why Good People Are Divided by  
Politics and Religion  
**Jonathan Haidt**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**9/24/12**

From the Ruins of Empire:  
The Intellectuals Who Remade  
Asia  
**Pankaj Mishra**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**9/27/12**

Is the World Becoming More  
Peaceful?  
**Robert D. Kaplan, Steven Pinker**  
ETHICS MATTER SERIES  
CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

### OCTOBER 2012

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**10/01/12**

The Better Angels of Our Nature:  
Why Violence Has Declined  
**Steven Pinker**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**10/09/12**

Bill McKibben on Climate Change  
**Bill McKibben**  
ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**10/10/12**

America in the Twenty-first  
Century: A View from Asia  
**Kishore Mahbubani**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM  
AMERICA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY  
SERIES

**10/15/12**

Syria:  
The Fall of the House of Assad  
**David W. Lesch**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**10/16/12**

Why and How the Euro Zone  
Crisis Will Be Solved  
**Jacob Funk Kirkegaard**  
CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

**10/23/12**

Exit the Colonel:  
The Hidden History of the Libyan  
Revolution  
**Ethan Chorin**  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM



ETHAN CHORIN SPEAKING AT CARNEGIE COUNCIL





## NOVEMBER 2012

---

**11/08/12**

Promoting Ethical Behavior When It's Contested

**Kenneth Roth**

CENTENNIAL

**11/10/12**

Second Annual Global Ethics Fellows Meeting

GLOBAL ETHICS NETWORK

**11/12/12**

Innovation and Leadership in Twenty-first Century Media

**Doug Mitchell**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

**11/14/12**

America in the Twenty-first Century: A View from America

**Gillian Tett**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

AMERICA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY SERIES

**11/15/12**

Dan Ariely on the Hidden Forces that Shape our Decisions

**Dan Ariely**

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**11/26/12**

Of Africa

**Wole Soyinka**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**11/29/12**

On Saudi Arabia: Its People, Past, Religion, Fault Lines—and Future

**Karen Elliott House**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

## DECEMBER 2012

---

**12/03/12**

Srdja Popovic on Creating Successful Nonviolent Movements

**Srdja Popovic**

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**12/04/12**

Talibanistan: Negotiating the Borders Between Terror, Politics, and Religion

**Peter Bergen, Anand Gopal**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**12/06/12**

Why Tolerate Religion?

**Brian Leiter**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**12/11/12**

The Second Nuclear Age: Strategy, Danger, and the New Power Politics

**Paul Bracken**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**12/13/12**

Prospects for U.S.-Iran Relations

**Seyed Hossein Mousavian**

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

## JANUARY 2013

---

**1/10/13**

A Fragile New Burma

**Barbara Crossette**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**1/15/13**

Top Risks and Ethical Decisions 2013

**Ian Bremmer**

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**1/16/13**

Five Myths about Nuclear Weapons

**Ward Wilson**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**1/17/13**

Going to Tehran: Prospects for U.S.-Iranian Engagement

**Flynt Leverett, Hillary Mann**

**Leverett**

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

**1/23/12**

How to Be Good

**Randy Cohen**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

**1/24/13**

The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate

**Robert D. Kaplan**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM



## CALENDAR EVENTS 2012–2013

**1/31/13**

After the Music Stopped:  
The Financial Crisis, the  
Response, and the Work Ahead

**Alan S. Blinder**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

### FEBRUARY 2013

---

**2/06/13**

The Great Convergence:  
Asia, the West, and the Logic of  
One World

**Kishore Mahbubani**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**2/07/13**

Report from the Middle East

**Charles D. Freilich**

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

**2/14/13**

China's Search for Security

**Andrew J. Nathan**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**2/21/13**

Behind the Headlines—After the  
Israeli Elections: A New Chapter or  
More of the Same?

**Yoram Peri**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**2/27/13**

*Uprising* Film Screening

**Fredrik Stanton**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

### MARCH 2013

---

**3/04/13**

NASA's Paul Root Wolpe on  
Bioethics

**Paul Root Wolpe**

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**3/05/13**

Doing Capitalism in the Innovation  
Economy: Markets, Speculation,  
and the State

**William H. Janeway**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**3/11/13**

Everybody Matters:  
My Life Giving Voice

**Mary Robinson**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**3/15/13**

The Measure of Civilization:  
How Social Development Decides  
the Fate of Nations

**Ian Morris**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**3/18/13**

Antifragile:  
Things That Gain from Disorder

**Nassim Nicholas Taleb**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

### APRIL 2013

---

**4/03/13**

Zainab Salbi on Women, War, and  
Self-Empowerment

**Zainab Salbi**

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**4/05/13**

Investing in an Independent  
Scotland

**Alex Salmond**

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

**4/10/13**

Breakout Nations:  
In Pursuit of the Next Economic  
Miracles

**Ruchir Sharma**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**4/12/13**

To Save Everything, Click Here:  
The Folly of Technological  
Solutionism

**Evgeny Morozov**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**4/15/13**

The New American Militarism:  
How Americans Are Seduced by  
War

**Andrew J. Bacevich**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**4/25/13**

The Undivided Past:  
Humanity Beyond Our Differences

**Sir David Cannadine**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM





## MAY 2013

**5/08/13**

Evangelical Catholicism:  
Deep Reform in the 21st Century

**George Weigel**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**5/13/13**

Human Trafficking Around the  
World: Hidden in Plain Sight

**Stephanie Hepburn**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**5/16/13**

When God Talks Back:  
Understanding the American  
Evangelical Relationship with God

**T. M. Luhrmann**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**5/21/13**

Carne Ross on the Ethics of  
Diplomacy

**Carne Ross**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

**5/23/13**

Legal Reflections on the Past,  
Present, and Future of National  
Security

**Jeh Johnson**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

## JUNE 2013

**6/04/13**

Foreign Policy Begins at Home:  
The Case for Putting America's  
House in Order

**Richard N. Haass**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**6/05/13**

The World Through Arab Eyes:  
Arab Public Opinion and the  
Reshaping of the Middle East

**Shibley Telhami**

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

**6/06/13**

Presidential Leadership and the  
Creation of the American Era

**Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**6/10/13**

Jeremy Scahill on the World as a  
Battlefield

**Jeremy Scahill**

ETHICS MATTER SERIES

**6/12/13**

The Unwinding:  
An Inner History of the New  
America

**George Packer**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**6/13/13**

Democracy, Sovereignty,  
and Terror

**Sir Adam Roberts**

SPECIAL EVENT

**6/20/13**

Public Corruption in New York:  
What Have We Learned?

**Brendan R. McGuire**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM



DAVID SPEEDIE (LEFT) INTRODUCING SHIBLEY TELHAMI

For audios, videos, transcripts, and podcasts,  
please visit our website at

[www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).

# FINANCIAL SUMMARY

## Statement of Activities for the Fiscal Year beginning July 1, 2012 and ending June 30, 2013

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, NY 12231.

### REVENUE AND SUPPORT

---

Grants for Programs .....	\$ 1,187,355
Trustee and Individual Contributions .....	\$ 314,475
Program and Membership Fees .....	\$ 120,881
Investment Income .....	\$ 566,416
<b>Subtotal</b> .....	<b>\$ 2,189,127</b>
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions .....	\$ 1,879,396
<b>Total Revenue and Support</b> .....	<b>\$ 4,068,523</b>

### EXPENSES

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Education .....	\$ 800,093
Public Affairs Programs .....	\$ 453,137
Internet and Studio .....	\$ 1,107,288
Print Publications .....	\$ 406,238
<b>Subtotal Program Expenses</b> .....	<b>\$ 2,766,756</b>
Management and General Support .....	\$ 1,009,299
Fundraising and Development .....	\$ 292,468
<b>Total Expenses</b> .....	<b>\$ 4,068,523</b>





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## COMMENTS FROM AROUND THE WORLD

“Einstein has told us that not everything worth knowing is easy to measure, and not everything we can measure is worth knowing. I think this is why the work of Carnegie Council is important. Not enough institutions and not enough scholars think about the role of ethics and fairness and norms in international affairs.”

—*Hakan Altınay, Global Ethics Fellow, Istanbul*

“...intellectually and in many other ways, the Carnegie Council occupies an important space in the American public debate.”

—*Richard Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations, New York*

“Thank you guys for making the effort to organize the competition. It was an enriching experience to collaborate across borders for a meaningful exchange of ideas and thoughts.”

—*Jasper Wong, Trans-Pacific Contest Finalist, Singapore*

“Being in the Carnegie New Leaders program and participating in some of the Carnegie Council programs, I’ve discovered that it’s very important to consider the effects of our actions and the impacts of our decisions. So, I would say that it’s given me an ethical sixth sense, where I would consider why and how decisions that I make personally impact the world as a whole.”

—*Eddie Mandhry Carnegie New Leaders Member (from Kenya)*

“From its founding in 1914 as the then Church Peace Union, the Council has gone from strength to strength and I am certain that it will continue to grow as an influential global organization.”

—*Alex Salmond, First Minister of Scotland*

“Thank you for open honest intelligent debate.”

—*Comment on Carnegie Council Facebook Page*

“I think what the [Global Ethics] Fellowship has done is to provide a space where people from very different backgrounds, different professional backgrounds as well as from different nationalities and cultural backgrounds, can come together and talk to each other.”

—*Kei Hiruta, Global Ethics Fellow, Carnegie-Uehiro Fellow (from Japan, now at University of Oxford)*

“It’s been a great platform to have the Global Ethics Network because in that way I can find like-minded scholars like myself.”

—*Ji-Young Song, Global Ethics Fellow, Singapore*

“The Council’s had a very positive impact on my life. I think it has affected the way that my decisions—from a business perspective and a personal perspective—are made on a daily basis.”

—*Brett J. Buchness, Carnegie New Leaders Member, New York*

“The Carnegie experience has had a big impact in my life, because before I had a narrow or a limited view of ethics within international relations.”

—*Sizonqoba Sonny, Ethics Fellow for the Future, South Africa*

“The [Global Ethics Network] website is a really interesting tool, because being in different parts of the world, it’s really important to have a platform to connect to and to share these ideas”

—*Nahuel Maisley, Ethics Fellow for the Future, Argentina*

# ETHICS MATTER

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