

# ETHICS MATTER



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CARNEGIE COUNCIL | ANNUAL REPORT 2010



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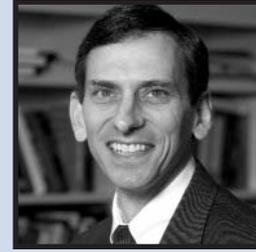
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## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE



JOEL H. ROSENTHAL

As we look back over the Carnegie Council's work this program year, certain major themes emerge: the hopes and realities of President Obama's foreign policy efforts to create a "new era of engagement," including progress on arms reduction; America's changing role in the world; coping in a just manner with the impact of climate change and finding ways to live in a more sustainable fashion; the ongoing global financial crisis; and Islam's complex relationship with the West.

Of course, all these topics are also discussed ad infinitum elsewhere. So what sets the Council apart? The answer is our unique focus on ethics. As a "global voice for ethics," we believe that foreign policies must be guided by principles of pluralism and fairness, as well as questions of rights and responsibilities. Our work is rooted in the premise that the incorporation of ethical concerns into discussions of international affairs will yield more effective and consequential policy outputs—not only here in the United States but also around the world. Shedding light on ethical concerns and choices is the common thread that runs through all that we do, including our journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*; our education and outreach activities, serving universities worldwide; our current events programs, featuring distinguished international relations experts; and the more informal discussions of our Carnegie New Leaders program, designed to involve a younger generation of leaders and thinkers.

Since Andrew Carnegie founded our organization in 1914, we have striven to embody his two great philanthropic interests: promoting the peaceful resolution of conflict and extending educational opportunity. As we look forward to our Centennial just a few years from now, we are taking advantage of the unprecedented access that new technology provides, disseminating our resources more effectively and widely than ever before. Our in-house Carnegie Ethics Studio produces videos, audios, and transcripts for use online and as downloadable podcasts, as well as TV and radio shows, live webcasts, and YouTube clips.

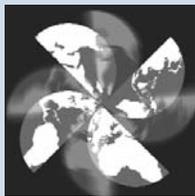
In addition, the Studio is developing an ever-growing list of partnerships with leading media outlets, including MHz Networks, an independent non-commercial TV broadcaster, and Forum Network, a PBS and NPR online media service, thus extending our potential audience to millions of people. And through our use of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and the comment features on our own websites, we are now able to interact with people around the world—from the ethics professor here in the United States to the young Facebook fan in Cambodia.

Naturally, we could not do this work alone. Our thanks to all those who have supported us this year: our foundation, corporate, institutional, and individual partners who have sponsored our programs and events; our speakers and authors; our subscribers and supporters; and all of you who have contributed in some way, large or small. Together we reinforce the message that "ethics matter."

Joel H. Rosenthal  
President, Carnegie Council

## PROGRAMS

# PUBLIC AFFAIRS



Under the leadership of Director **Joanne J. Myers**, the Council's Public Affairs program features a broad array of policy and area experts discussing current events. Video, audio, and text versions of each event form the core of our Carnegie Ethics Studio offerings, and are considered highly valuable resources by educators, students, international affairs professionals, and concerned citizens around the world. Many of these recorded events go on to become classic study materials, such as one of this year's most popular resources, a talk on ethical choices by Harvard Professor **Michael J. Sandel**, entitled "Justice: What's the Right Thing to Do?" Looking back over the past year's program gives a fascinating summary of the key issues in international relations today, and provides a valuable record for years to come.



OBAMA HOPE POSTER BY SHEPARD FAIREY. PHOTO: FRED SEIBERT WWW.FLICKR.COM

### AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY: HOPE AND REALITY

In January, a year after President Obama's inauguration, disappointment had replaced euphoria for many

of his supporters, and even his opponents were surprised at how little things had changed in Washington. In

a talk that same month, strategic forecaster **George Friedman** brought the discussion back to basics, as he reminded the audience of the limits of presidential power. Every president must play the hand dealt him by his predecessor, said Friedman, and is limited "by other nations with different interests who understand what those interests are, and are not going to be swayed by good fellowship."

Nonetheless, history does occasionally provide certain critical crossroads when radically new paths seem possible. These opportunities are often squandered, however, as Russian scholar **Stephen F. Cohen**

convincingly illustrated. For example, Washington's mistaken belief that America had "won" the Cold War led it to treat Russia as a defeated nation, thus throwing away the



RESTART BUTTON. PHOTO: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE WWW.FLICKR.COM

chance to build a fundamentally new relationship with our former rival in the early 1990s, said Cohen. As for Obama's aspiration to "reset" U.S.-Russia relations, he has done very well in three respects: he has established a good relationship with President Medvedev; the general atmosphere has improved; and he has revived the arms-control/reductions process. Yet in Cohen's opinion many policies and attitudes have remained frozen in place, and the relationship is still extremely fragile.

No foreign policy is more in need of a "reset" than our relationship with the Middle East, according to Professor **Stephen Kinzer**, a former *New York Times* foreign correspondent. Yet so far it seems that Obama has not managed to create anything beyond the initial goodwill produced by his famous 2009 speech in Cairo. The United States

needs to radically rethink its alliances in the Middle East and focus on strategic relationships with Iran and Turkey, rather than with Israel and Saudi Arabia, said Kinzer.

Looking at the big picture, **Clyde Prestowitz**, founder and president of the Economic Strategy Institute, declared that the United States is rapidly losing the basis of its wealth and power, as well as its freedom of action and independence. If we do not make dramatic changes quickly, he warned, we would confront a painful, permanent slide in our standard of living.

### THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

How did we get into this mess and are we doing enough to prevent another collapse in the near future? Financial crises are not random events, according to leading economists **Carmen M. Reinhart** and **Kenneth S. Rogoff**. Combing through masses of worldwide data accumulated over the past 800 years, they found clear, recurring patterns, the most constant being the cycle of indebtedness. Rogoff concluded by saying that the question is not whether we will have another crisis in fifty or seventy-five years—that's a certainty—but whether we'll have one in ten or fifteen years because we didn't pay enough attention this time. Just a few days after their talk, **Andrew Ross Sorkin** regaled the Council audience with a gripping behind-the-scenes account of how a decade of Wall Street decisions produced this latest disaster.

Professor and economic advisor to the prime minister of India **Raghuram G. Rajan** argued that the standard explanations for the crisis—greedy bankers, compliant regulators—were far too simplistic. The problem goes much deeper, he explained, pointing to three global "fault lines:" first, growing worldwide inequality, which results in bad financial policies;

second, many countries depend on exports for growth and have no “plan B” when overseas consumers reduce their spending; and lastly, U.S. recessions are longer now, and the social safety net for the unemployed is much too thin. To prevent another global recession, these underlying problems must be fixed, a much bigger agenda than any currently on the table.

In the same vein, *The New Yorker* financial correspondent **John Cassidy** declared that the market's failure was not simply a result of greed, mass myopia, or government failure, although these were all contributing factors. Ultimately, it was a question of misaligned incentives. Since the market is supposedly driven by prices, in theory a free market should self-correct; but if it is driven by speculation, “prices depart from fundamentals, and then the incentive structure gets completely out of whack.” The subprime mortgage industry was a classic example. In a case of “rational irrationality” each group, from buyers to brokers, pursued its own self-interest, with ruinous results. In the short-term, said Cassidy, the government did a good job in preventing a return to the 1930s. But in the long-term, it made a critical mistake in concentrating on health care instead of thoroughly reforming Wall Street. In Cassidy’s opinion, the moderate reforms that were made were not nearly enough.

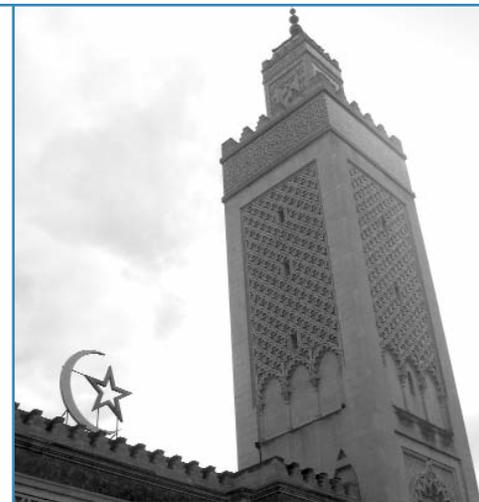
As for UCLA economist **Roger E. A. Farmer**, in his view the key to a healthy financial system is balance: we need to synthesize the idea that a free-market economy is a self-correcting mechanism and the Keynesian principle that capitalism needs some guidance. The goal is to correct the excesses without stifling entrepreneurship or instituting central planning.

## THE MUSLIM WORLD

A series of distinguished speakers—all of them return visitors to the Public Affairs program—took our audiences beyond the usual stereotypes that surround Islam. Professor **Vali Nasr** noted that Westerners tend to focus on religious extremism and anti-Western political attitudes among Muslims, whereas in fact one of the most important issues is that “large parts of the Muslim world sit outside of the global economy. Where that’s the case, extremism is worse. Where the Muslim world is most integrated into the global economy, extremism is a lesser problem.” The way to win over the Muslim world is to engage it over business, capitalism, and trade, and not to fight it over religion, he argued.

The annual Gallup World Poll interviews over a billion Muslims in thirty-five to forty countries, and its data shows that conventional wisdom is wrong about what the majority of Muslims want, declared Professor **John L. Esposito**, who is also a senior scientist at Gallup. First, there is enormous diversity in terms of Muslim attitudes; second, although President Bush’s post-9/11 policies fueled soaring anti-Americanism, the majority of Muslims admire certain things about the West—its rule of law, freedoms, and democracy, as well as its work ethic, technology, and economic development—and, indeed, would like these things for themselves.

In an eloquent address, the distinguished historian **Bernard Lewis**, one of the world’s foremost Western scholars on Islam, illuminated the nuances and historical differences among the three interrelated Middle Eastern religions—Islam, Christianity, and Judaism—and explained how the different world views held by Christians and Muslims can lead to misunderstanding.



GRANDE MOSQUÉE DE PARIS. PHOTO: WALLYG WWW.FLICKR.COM

Focusing on Muslims in Europe, writer **Ian Buruma** argued that religions (including Islam) and liberal democracies are compatible, despite many peoples’ fears. Democracy allows space for religion as long as believers obey their society’s laws, he declared, and the majority of European Muslims are law-abiding.

## ADDITIONAL HOT-BUTTON ISSUES

Another important theme over the past year has been the struggle over natural resources and the deterioration of the environment. Speakers included journalists **Peter Maass** and **Steven Solomon** on the “oil curse” and issues of water, respectively, and economist **Paul Collier** talking about his book, *The Plundered Planet*.

Other highlights from the year’s close to fifty events included **Lee Bollinger** on a free press for the twenty-first century and **Alex Jones** on the decline of newspapers; **Robert Wright** on the evolution of God from prehistory to the present; **Joel Kotkin** on the projected growth of the U.S. population over the next forty years; **Charles Kupchan** on the benefits of diplomatic engagement rather than isolationism; and **Garry Wills** on the atomic bomb’s effect on the workings of the U.S. government.

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

## PROGRAMS

# GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS



A quiet revolution is underway. Around the world from Beijing to Boston, a growing body of business practices, government policies, civil society initiatives, inventions, and scholarship is applying new approaches to the challenge of creating sustainable development and a fairer globalization. Yet where can you find information on these far-flung innovations in one place? Under the leadership of Program Director **Devin T. Stewart**, the Council's Global Policy Innovations program (GPI) meets this need. Via its online magazine [www.policyinnovations.org](http://www.policyinnovations.org), its Workshops for Ethics in Business series, the interview series "Advocates for Ethics in Business" (see page 13), and its Fairer Globalization blog, GPI presents a vast cross-section of the best thinking from around the world.

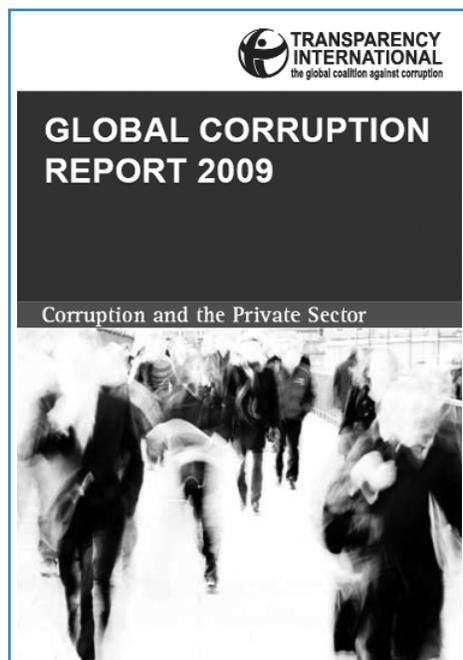
### POLICY INNOVATIONS ONLINE MAGAZINE

This popular online magazine is updated weekly with a rich mix of articles, interviews, videos, and analysis on how ethical innovations are reshaping global society. It also features videos, audios, and transcripts of all GPI events. In addition to original content, [www.policyinnovations.org](http://www.policyinnovations.org) draws on material from two major sources: **Project Syndicate**, which provides over 300 newspapers in 143 countries with exclusive commentaries by prominent leaders and opinion

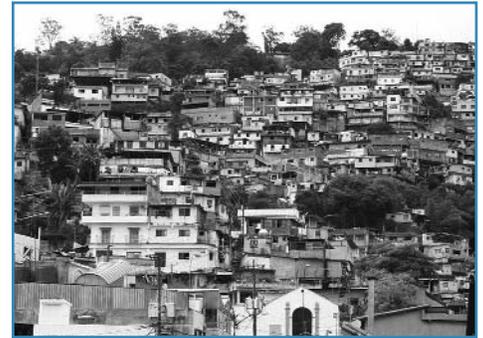
makers, such as UN Secretary-General **Ban Ki-Moon** and philosopher **Peter Singer**; and the site's **Core Network**, a group of organizations and media that share content with GPI.

A sample of three of this year's most popular articles gives a taste of the magazine's broad range. "Evolution of Revolution," by former Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Rita King**, challenged Internet critic **Evgeny Morozov**'s contention that the revolutionary potential of the Internet had been exaggerated. Noting that Morozov had limited his argument to Facebook and Twitter, King argued that the sum total of the Internet goes far beyond social media, and cited U.S. government efforts to use technology to prevent human trafficking in Russia.

In "Under the Cover," Devin Stewart interviewed **Robin Hodess** of Transparency International, one of



GPI's Core Network partners. They discussed her organization's **2009 Global Corruption Report**, which that year focused on corruption and the private sector. In "Slums: The Future," Columbia University graduate student **Whitney Eulich** described how the



EL HATILLO CARACAS. PHOTO: SAMOUT3 WWW.FLICKR.COM

young directors of **Urban Think Tank** offered affordable design services to the barrio communities of Caracas, Venezuela, setting out to change the way urban planners and politicians view slums.

In May 2010, the GPI team revamped the website to make it more accessible on mobile devices such as iPhones. The magazine has also embraced social media, with over 2,000 followers on Twitter and close to 1,000 on Facebook by program year's end.

### WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

Launched in 2007, the Workshop for Ethics in Business (WEB) series convenes panels that bring together representatives from corporations, NGOs, and academia to share and debate ideas on ethical issues in the business world. Kicking off the Council's first **September Sustainability Month** (see page 14), WEB held an **off-the-record working group on climate change and the U.S.-China relationship**, co-organized by the Beijing-based think tank **China Reform Forum**. This was followed by **Sustainable Branding: A U.S.-Japan Corporate Dialogue**, co-organized by Tokyo-based **E-Square Inc.**, where four U.S. participants and three from Japan addressed customer engagement, supply chain management, investor relations, and the impact of the economic crisis. The keynote speech was given by **Michael Mendenhall**, senior vice president and chief marketing officer at Hewlett-Packard.

Another September panel of particular note provided a first-hand account of the just-released UN “Report on Reforms of the International Monetary and Financial System”—informally known as the Stiglitz Report. The Workshop panel consisted of Nobel Laureate for Economics **Joseph Stiglitz** (a member of the editorial board of *Policy Innovations* magazine), Professor **José Antonio Ocampo** of Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs, and Dutch politician **Bert Koenders**. Stiglitz chaired the UN Commission that released the original report, Ocampo was a Commission member, and Koenders participated in several of the discussions. Said Koenders, “I think it is a major step forward that we have a report in which we are not only talking about the specific consequences of this international economic crisis for different groups of countries, but we are also looking at the root causes of this problem, the issue of global monetary reserves, the discussion about a new reserve currency, and the issue of ensuring that capital flows are more predictable to the poorest countries in the world.”

In January 2010, GPI held the second annual “Top Risks and Ethical Decisions” panel, with **Ian Bremmer** of Eurasia Group, a global political risk research and consulting firm (Bremmer is also a Carnegie Council trustee); **Georg Kell** of the UN Global Compact; **Art Kleiner** of *Strategy+Business* magazine; and **Michele Wucker** of the World Policy Institute. Booz & Company’s **Thomas Stewart** moderated. “What are the biggest dangers on the horizon?” Stewart asked the panelists. For Bremmer the greatest risk was the possible deterioration in U.S.-China relations, given the different structural economic pressures and different ethical choices about the roles of governments and individuals that divide the two countries; for Wucker it

was migration; for his part, Kleiner worried about insufficient managerial capacity, both government and corporate; and Kell was deeply concerned about populism, with nations increasingly looking inward and paying inadequate attention to the global public good.

On February 18, 2010, almost exactly a year to the day after the launching of Obama’s Recovery Act (“the stimulus”), WEB convened a panel entitled “Global Jobs Update” with **David Arkless** of the global employment agency Manpower Inc.; Professor **David Denoon** of New York University; **Maria Jepsen** of the European Trade Union Institute; and **Raymond Torres** of the International Labour Organization (ILO). Arkless, the most optimistic of the panelists, focused on global employment trends and offered a global agenda to reduce unemployment and the abuse of workers around the world; Denoon discussed the rational reasons why China resists revaluing its currency; and Torres and Jepsen respectively analyzed the situation in the United States and in Europe. *The Carnegie Council thanks the ILO for sponsoring this event.*

In March 2010, GPI, together with the U.S. Global Engagement program (see page 6) held the third annual “Rise of the Rest” panel. Participants were pollster and political scientist **Craig Charney**, president of Charney Research; **Nikolas K. Gvosdev**, professor of national security studies at the U.S. Naval War College; **Parag Khanna** of the New America Foundation; and **Stephen B. Young** of the Caux Round Table, an international network of business leaders who advocate a principled approach to global capitalism. This year’s event focused on global governance since the



GLOBAL JOBS UPDATE PANEL, WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

financial crisis, in particular on climate change, energy security, and issues of consensus, common ethics, and trust.

Lastly, in a joint event with the Council’s **Carnegie New Leaders** program (see page 8), IBM unveiled the results of its global survey of 3,500 students. Study Program Director **Ragna Bell** opened by quoting an American student, who said, “Organizations need to start looking at the world as if they are standing on the moon.” This is not a futuristic view, said Bell; rather it reflects the global perspective of the current college generation. The study found two points of strong agreement between students and CEOs—both ranked creativity as the most important quality for leadership. They also agreed that the current economic environment is increasingly complex. Bell concluded that students are keenly aware of global problems such as climate change, sustainability, and economic growth, and have great confidence in their ability to address them. *The Carnegie Council thanks IBM for sponsoring this event.*

*GPI gratefully acknowledges major support from Booz & Company and its magazine Strategy+Business, Hewlett-Packard, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund. For a full list of sponsors and partners, go to <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/current/web/index.html>.*

## PROGRAMS

# U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT



In February 2009, just a month after his inauguration, President Obama declared that the United States had begun “a new era of engagement” with the rest of the world. How is this new era evolving in practice, particularly in the areas of arms control and in terms of engagement with problematic allies, such as Russia, and with countries of deep concern, such as Iran? How should the U.S. deal with a changing world order characterized by the growing prominence of new powers and new regional alliances and arrangements? Under the leadership of Program Director **David C. Speedie**, these were the principal questions addressed by the U.S. Global

Engagement program (USGE) over the past year.

## PAPERS AND ARTICLES

In 2009, USGE entered into a high-level joint project with the prestigious Moscow-based **Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies (ISKRAN)**. This resulted in three sets of white papers, all with contributions from both Russian and North American experts. The third and final set, posted in December 2009, explored U.S.-Russian competition and cooperation in the Arctic region, and featured papers by Professor **Yuri Morozov** of ISKRAN and Professor **Michael Byers** of the University of British Columbia.

Both scholars agreed that climate change is the paramount challenge facing the Arctic. As Byers noted, “A complete, late-summer melt-out of Arctic sea ice could occur as early as 2013.” In his Introduction to the papers, Speedie pointed out that competition and cooperation go hand-in-hand for the countries bordering the Arctic Ocean. On the one hand, the melting ice will open up new shipping channels to transport oil and gas from

and through the Arctic; on the other, there have been competing claims for portions of Arctic territory, with Russia perhaps in the vanguard of articulating and enacting claims of “national interest.” Yet as Morozov argued, Russia has also taken the lead in advancing prospects for international cooperation in the Arctic, based on an internationally agreed-upon

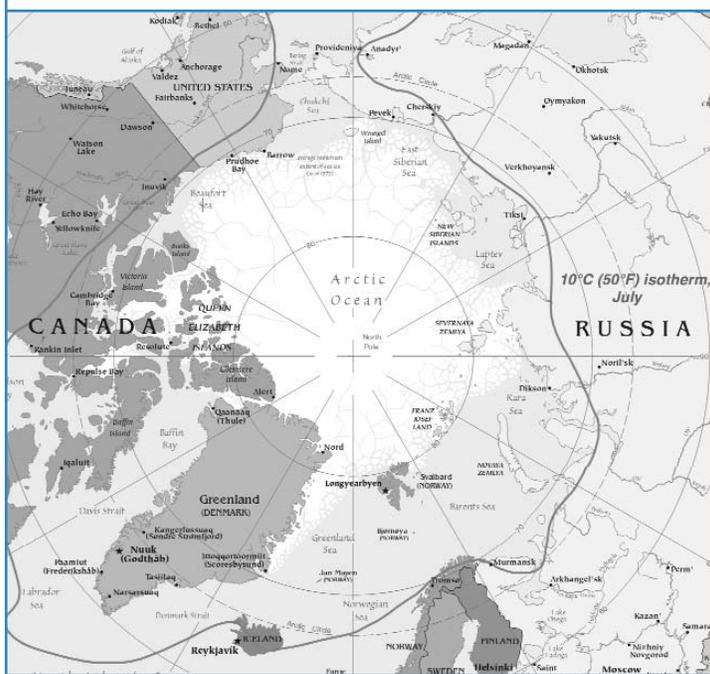
formalization of boundaries derived from the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea—a convention that the United States has yet to ratify. “On the whole, we may see a ‘glass half-full’ prognosis for this critical region,” concluded Speedie, “with the balance tipping in favor of cooperation rather than competition.”

These papers, along with the previous series of white papers—on arms control issues and on Afghanistan/Central Asia/NATO—are posted in full at

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

The Council website also features a growing collection of USGE articles on a variety of global policy issues. Some of these topics, such as Iran, appear regularly in the popular news outlets, while others do not get the coverage they deserve. For example, in his article “Good Neighbors?” David Speedie discussed the growing importance of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Originally founded as a successor to the “Shanghai Five,” whose primary purpose was to resolve Sino-Soviet border tensions, the SCO consists of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Today its mandate includes border disputes in general, joint strategies to address terrorism and separatist movements, and increased economic cooperation, including the creation of special “economic border zones.”

India, Iran, Mongolia, and Pakistan now have observer status in SCO meetings, and the organization has also signed memoranda of understanding with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and with the Commonwealth of Independent (former Soviet) States. The West has largely dismissed the SCO “as some kind of empty anti-U.S., anti-NATO rhetorical flourish,” wrote Speedie, yet in fact it is “a regional force to be reckoned with.” Regarding Iran, a pair



MAP OF THE ARCTIC. WWW.COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG

of provocative opinion pieces in May 2010 by Speedie and Iran expert Professor **Gary Sick** offered a critique of the dialogue—or lack thereof—between the two nations, and proposed measures to move it beyond the current recriminatory stalemate. Other essays by Speedie included an examination of what went wrong with the “Color Revolutions” in Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan, and an article on the Jackson-Vanick Amendment, an obscure piece of legislation dating back to 1974, which Speedie contends is undermining the relationship between the United States and Russia.

## EVENTS AND INTERVIEWS

USGE’s first event of the program year was an October 2009 interview with British politician and academic **Baroness Shirley Williams**, whose achievements include three Labour government cabinet minister positions and the co-founding of the Social Democratic Party in 1981. Williams was an advisor to Prime Minister Gordon Brown on nuclear proliferation issues from 2007-2010 and is on the board of the Nuclear Threat Initiative in Washington. She and Speedie discussed the Obama administration's foreign policy; the situation in Afghanistan and in Iran; U.S. and British politics; and her current work on nuclear disarmament.

Indeed, the major theme of USGE events this year was **nuclear arms control**, an issue that President Obama has championed ever since his famous 2009 Prague speech while still a presidential candidate, calling for a world free of nuclear weapons. In a December talk and follow-up interview entitled “Prospects for Arms Control in the Obama Administration,”

**John Isaacs**, executive director of the Council for a Livable World, outlined the progress Obama has made and the steps needed going forward. He gave the president high marks for reviving interest in nuclear weapons issues, not just at home, but internationally.

Nonetheless, he noted that the steps that the president outlined would take time to develop. “If you ask me to issue a report card for President Obama on nuclear weapons issues right now, I’d have to give him an incomplete. You have to invite me back in two, three, four years to give a better evaluation.”

In May 2010, David Speedie talked with Ambassador **Jayantha Dhanapala**, former Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs at the UN. His comprehensive review of the state of play on arms control included the role of non-state actors, Russia, and the UN, as well as the increasing number of nuclear-weapon-free zones around the world. This was followed by a joint event with the Council’s Friends Committee (see page 15) in June entitled “Beyond the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,” with Doctors **Roald Sagdeev** of the Space Research Institute and **Frank von Hippel** of Princeton University. Von



MINUTEMAN MISSILE NHS, SOUTH DAKOTA. PHOTO: SPENCER WWW.COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG

has enough nuclear material—some of it already in weaponry, some not—to make 100,000 nuclear weapons. Sagdeev was no more reassuring. “Different players in this game have completely different views,” he said—the Russians, the Chinese, and not least, differing opinions inside the United States—and therefore he was rather pessimistic about future progress on international agreements.

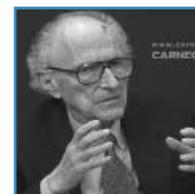
Other events included a return visit from **David A. Hamburg**, president emeritus at Carnegie Corporation of New York, for a discussion of recent advances in the prevention of mass violence, and the third annual **Rise of the Rest** panel, run jointly with the Global Policy Innovations program (for more details on the latter, see page 5).

*USGE gratefully acknowledges support from the Alfred and Jane Ross Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Rockefeller Family & Associates, and Donald M. Kendall.*

*The program encourages collaboration with other like-minded organizations, and in particular acknowledges the substantive contribution of the Institute for Democracy Studies.*



BARONESS SHIRLEY WILLIAMS



DAVID A. HAMBURG



ROALD SAGDEEV



FRANK VON HIPPEL

Hippel started off by outlining the magnitude of the problem. Despite the milestone new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), the world

## PROGRAMS

# CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS



business and policy in New York City, and got an advance look at an excerpt from documentary filmmaker **Steve Dorst's** upcoming film, *Shattered Sky: The Battle for Energy, Economy, and Environment*. Other fall/winter events included a talk by former senior government official and Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist **Leslie Gelb**, who gave CNLs a *realpolitik* (or, as he would call it, "commonsense") look at how presidents from Truman onward have succeeded or failed to manage power—the art of getting others to do what they don't want to do.



CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS JOIN WASHINGTON, DC MEETINGS. PHOTO: JOYCE BOGHOSIAN

**C**arnegie New Leaders (CNL) is an annual program that provides the next generation of leaders with a deeper appreciation of ethics in international affairs and its application in various careers. It also offers promising young professionals invaluable opportunities to meet foreign policy experts, social innovators, scholars, and peers. Candidates must be aged forty or under, and must demonstrate an interest in international affairs and excellence in their field. The over seventy CNL members in 2009–2010 came from all walks of life, including the financial sector, law, international relations, and the military. Members are encouraged to share their expertise, and are active in proposing and organizing events. The program held thirteen events this year, plus a few informal mixers. Here are some of the highlights.

The 2009 fall season got off to a sociable start with a **Future of Sustainability\*** boat cruise along the Hudson River, aboard a "green" boat that uses biodiesel fuel. About fifty "CNLs" and their friends took part in this fundraising event, sponsored by boat owners **Steven and Orly Salsberg**. In addition to getting to know each other while admiring New York's night skyline, they watched a live debate between students from three business schools on green

Consultant **Alice Korngold**, who has twenty years of experience in training and placing hundreds of corporate executives on nonprofit boards, led a panel discussion entitled "Serving on a Nonprofit Board: Opportunities, Qualifications, and Expectations," which has proved to be extremely popular online. Find the video, audio, and transcript at [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).

In a riveting talk in March 2010, **Katherine Brown** and **Robert Diamond**, two young Truman Fellows with first-hand experience in Afghanistan, discussed just how and when—both ethically and pragmatically—the U.S. could leave that troubled country. Their prediction? Not for a long time. Also in March, CNL Program Director **Devin T. Stewart** and four CNLs were among

the forty participants at a Next Generation Project meeting in Washington, D.C., organized by the American Assembly. They received a briefing from Director of Policy Planning **Anne-Marie Slaughter**, as well as assistant secretaries from the departments of State and Defense.

One of the world's leading financiers, **Peter G. Peterson's** remarkable career has spanned government, business, scholarship, and philanthropy. In April, he laid out what he considers the three unsustainable challenges facing the United States: the entitlement programs; the balance of payments and savings deficit problem; and health-care costs. These liabilities are of great urgency for young people like CNLs, he said, as they will have to pay the bills.

Events organized and moderated by CNL members shed light on two important but little-known topics. Thanks to consultant **Robin van Puyenbroeck**, the group had the rare opportunity to listen to UN correspondent for Al Jazeera **Khaled Dawoud**, who discussed

Al Jazeera and its contribution to freedom of the press in the Arab world. **Masha Feiguinova** from the Open Society Institute convened a discussion on Turkmenistan where the panelists, Associate Professor **Alexander Cooley** and Turkmen dissident **Farid Tuhbatullin**, provided the CNL audience with an insider's view of one of the most closed and repressive societies on earth, and discussed what external pressures might help bring about change.

*The Gelb and Peterson events were cosponsored with the Bard Globalization and International Affairs Program.*

*CNL gratefully acknowledges the support of IBM for the joint program with GPI on the IBM global survey (see page 5).*

\* Part of September Sustainability Month, see page 14

## FELLOWS' ACTIVITIES

### **Jeffrey D. McCausland, Senior Fellow for Ethics, War, and Peace (Non-resident)**

Col. McCausland (Ret.) teaches international law and diplomacy at the Penn State Dickinson School of Law and the School of International Affairs and serves as a military consultant for CBS, appearing regularly on CBS News and Radio. In January 2010 he participated in the annual **International Society for Military Ethics Conference**, entitled “Ethics and Irregular Warfare;” and in May he launched an online column for the Carnegie Council entitled **21st Century War and Ethics**, which gives an insider’s report of current key elements in U.S. national security.

Go to:

[www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/wae/index.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/wae/index.html).

### **David C. Speedie, Senior Fellow and U.S. Global Engagement Director**

This year Speedie provided background papers on aspects of U.S.-Russia relations for the bipartisan **House Congressional Caucus on Russia**, launched in September 2009 and co-chaired by Reps. Tom Price (Republican-Georgia) and Dennis Kucinich (Democrat-Ohio); and in November 2009 he addressed a session of the EastWest Institute in New York on **U.S.–Russia Arms Control Issues**. He was a key speaker at the **Eisenhower Strategy Dinner** for leaders of New York City nonprofit organizations, and participated in the **Century Foundation/Ebert Stiftung Conference** on the future of arms control and nonproliferation.

### **Devin T. Stewart, Senior Fellow and Director, Global Policy Innovations and Carnegie New Leaders**

Over the past year Stewart wrote frequently on Japan for *The Huffington Post*, as well as articles for the *Newsweek* website—including “Toyota and the End of Japan,” which

was the cover story of the magazine’s Europe, Asia, and Japan editions. Stewart spent December 2009 in Asia on a research grant from **Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)** to analyze ethical issues surrounding climate change, conducting interviews in Japan, Singapore, and China. While in Japan he delivered the keynote address at a two-day conference on the global ethics of migration policy called **The Right to Move**, jointly organized by the Carnegie Council and Sophia University, and supported by grants from the Japanese Economic and Education ministries. Conference papers are available on the *Policy Innovations* website at [www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000159](http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000159).

### **William C. Vocke Jr., Senior Fellow, Senior Program Director, and Carnegie Ethics Studio Executive Producer**

In December 2009, Vocke participated in the **American Council on Germany’s Study Tour to Berlin**, which focused on “Germany, Europe, and Energy.” At the end of January 2010, Vocke directed a week-long **Winter School in Armenia** in conjunction with the U.S. Embassy and the Yerevan State Linguistic University, and gave nine lectures under the series heading “Redefining American Democracy.” In February, he presented two papers at the **International Studies Association convention**: “Ethics, Public Diplomacy, and International Relations in the 21st Century” and “A Public Diplomacy Case Study: Fulbright Language Teachers in Taiwan.”

### **David Rodin and Kei Hiruta, Carnegie-Uehiro Fellows (Non-resident)**

The **Uehiro Foundation on Ethics and Education** is a nonprofit foundation committed to the advancement of moral and ethical education in Japan. The Carnegie

## FOCUS ON CARNEGIE COUNCIL FELLOWS

Council and the Uehiro Foundation have collaborated for many years, and together they launched the Carnegie-Uehiro Fellowship program in 2008, appointing David Rodin as Carnegie-Uehiro Senior Fellow and Kei Hiruta as Carnegie-Uehiro Fellow. Professor Rodin is co-director of the **Ethics and Laws of War Institute at the Oxford Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics**, and Hiruta is completing a doctorate in political theory at Oxford. Fellows conduct their own research as well as outreach programs on promoting the study and teaching of ethics in international affairs for the Council’s worldwide audiences.

Rodin gave the program’s second annual lecture in November 2009, entitled **How Rights Move: Losing and Acquiring Rights in the International Domain**. In June 2010, he and Major **Chris Case**, of the United States Military Academy, West Point, participated in a discussion entitled **Ethics for a 21st Century Army: Creating a Code of Professional Military Ethic**. Both events were held at Council headquarters in New York. (For videos, audios, and transcripts go to [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).) Hiruta has been focusing his efforts on organizing the 2010 Carnegie-Oxford-Uehiro Conference on **Information Ethics: The Future of Humanities**, which will be held at Oxford University on December 8–9, 2010.

**PUBLICATION**  
**ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**Ethics & International Affairs**

VOLUME 24 • NUMBER 1 • SPRING 2010

SPECIAL SECTION  
Global Democracy: A Symposium

**Democracy In a Pluralist Global Order: Corporate Power and Stakeholder Representation**  
Terry Macleod and Kate Macleod

**Public Accountability and the Public Sphere of International Governance**  
Jens Steffek

**Deliberation and Global Criminal Justice: Juries in the International Criminal Court**  
John Gavett, Colin J. Ling, and Eugene D. Weiss

**ESSAY**  
**The Politics of Punishing Terrorists**  
Tony Lang

**REVIEW ESSAY**  
**Terrorism, Resistance, and the Idea of "Unlawful Combatancy"**  
Christopher J. Finlay

**REVIEWS**  
**The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy**  
Danielle Archibugi  
REVIEW BY LUIS CABRERA

**The Least Worst Place: Guantanamo's First 100 Days**  
Karen Greenberg  
REVIEW BY PETRA BARETSEKOVIC

**War in an Age of Risk**  
Christopher Coker  
REVIEW BY CLAUDIA ARABAU

**CARNEGIE COUNCIL**  
The Voice for Ethics in International Policy

The Council's renowned quarterly journal, *Ethics & International Affairs (EIA)*, is noted for its distinct focus on ethics, its attention to both long-standing and immediate issues, and its ability to attract the contributions of both senior scholars and newer voices. Known for its original and often provocative writing, the journal addresses issues of global justice, democratization, international law, military intervention, climate change, human rights, global governance, and many other complex issues and challenges that are confronting us as a society, as a nation, and as members of the global community.

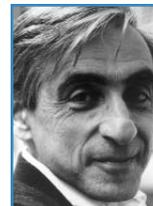
*EIA*'s peer-reviewed feature articles as well as its shorter, often timely essays are a major resource for academics and other professionals working in international relations, philosophy, law, public policy, and sociology. *EIA* articles are featured in over a thousand online syllabi in more than twenty-five nations worldwide—from English-speaking countries to places as diverse as China, Hungary, Argentina, and Sierra Leone. The journal is also an important tool for journalists, policy-makers, activists, and independent scholars who realize that the challenges before us are invariably complex and multi-faceted, and that to truly understand any issue it is necessary to recognize the ethical dimensions that are involved.

As evidence of the journal's growing reputation and influence, journal articles were downloaded more than 62,000 times from the publisher's website in 2009—nearly double the number of just three years earlier. Looking forward, 2011 promises to be a banner year for *EIA*, as the journal celebrates its **twenty-fifth year of publication** and moves to **Cambridge University Press**—the world's most prestigious publisher in the field of International Relations.

Journal articles old and new are always among the most viewed and the most emailed resources on the Council's website. Two examples include the now classic "World Poverty and Human Rights" (Spring 2005) by philosopher **Thomas Pogge**, and the more recent feature (Summer 2010) on the fifth anniversary of the internationally agreed concept of the "Responsibility to Protect," by **Alex Bellamy**. This latter article was subsequently included on a list of suggested readings from the U.S. **Naval War College**.

In addition to the production of the journal, *EIA* staff also produce **exclusive online materials**—including timely essays, symposiums, and responses to published materials—as well as an **interview series** (audio and video) with journal contributors and other key academics, all available for free on the Council's website.

**MICHAEL WALZER AND THE MORAL STANDING OF STATES**



MICHAEL WALZER

In the summer of 2008, the **Institute for Advanced Studies** and the **Carnegie Council** convened a three-day conference to recognize **Michael Walzer** and

his enormous contribution to the ethical and political philosophy of the twentieth century. As a follow-up to that event, *EIA* (Winter 2009) featured a symposium comprised of three key articles based on papers from that conference, each authored by a major figure in the field: **Charles Beitz**, **Michael Doyle**, and **Will Kymlicka**.

Professor Walzer himself has a long-standing relationship with the Council, dating back to 1997 when he took part in a special section of the journal devoted to a discussion of his enormously influential book, *Just and Unjust Wars*, then celebrating its twentieth anniversary. Most recently, his 2008 *EIA* article, "On Promoting Democracy," remains one of the journal's most accessed essays. He has also addressed Council audiences on several occasions. As Carnegie Council President **Joel H. Rosenthal** has noted, "Professor Walzer is a national figure and an intellectual treasure, and we are proud that the Carnegie Council has had such a long and close relationship with him."

To see all Carnegie Council resources by Dr. Walzer, go to [http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/people/data/michael\\_walzer.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/people/data/michael_walzer.html).

## GLOBAL DEMOCRACY SYMPOSIUM

If global democratization is to advance beyond the current point, it is necessary to confront the practical challenge of institutional design. How, then, might ideals of global democracy be put more effectively into practice given the many constraints imposed by the existing global political order? This was the principal question addressed by the three articles comprising *EIA*'s Symposium on Global Democracy



featured in the Spring 2010 issue, developed from papers first presented at a set of panels convened at the

### World International Studies

Conference in Ljubljana, Slovenia, in 2008, as part of a broader project on "Global Democratic Design." One of the great services that the journal provides is to offer a vehicle for disseminating the important work that is done in international conferences outside the U.S., and to ensure that the research and ideas of a few are shared with the larger intellectual community.

## TERRORISM

This year, several authors tackled the difficult question of how states should respond to terrorism and other forms of non-state political violence. In the Spring issue, **Anthony F. Lang, Jr.** argued that debates about trying and punishing terrorists reveal how the failure to construct a shared normative consensus in international criminal justice continues to bedevil the international community. "[T]he only way to achieve this consensus is to engage in the messy business of politics—the public, deliberative process by which authority, law, and values are constructed for a community," he concluded. The same issue also featured a review essay, "Terrorism, Resistance, and the Idea of

'Unlawful Combatancy,'" by **Christopher J. Finlay**, who commented on topics raised in several new books on terrorism.

The following issue (Summer 2010) included a provocative essay by **Yvonne Terlingen**, then head of Amnesty International's UN Office, entitled "The United States and the UN's Targeted Sanctions of Suspected Terrorists: What Role for Human Rights?" Terlingen wrote that the UN Security Council's approach to counterterrorism, which the United States has greatly shaped, has generally shown a marked "human



CAMP X-RAY DETAINEES. WWW.COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG

rights deficit," and that the process for seizing the assets of and imposing travel bans on suspected terrorists and their financiers is in great need of reform.

## THE ENVIRONMENT

As part of the Council's first annual **September Sustainability Month** (see page 14), the Fall 2009 issue featured climate change expert **Darrel Moellendorf** on treaty norms and climate change mitigation; **Doris Schroeder** and **Thomas Pogge** on justice and the Convention on Biological Diversity; and **Mathias Risse** on the right to relocation for populations of islands that are severely threatened by climate-induced sea rise.



PRESIDENCY MALDIVES' PHOTOSTREAM. WWW.FLICKR.COM

In March 2010, *EIA* editor **John Tessitore** followed up on Moellendorf's article—which appeared shortly before the much anticipated December 2009 meeting on climate change in Copenhagen—with an audio interview to discuss exactly what happened (and did *not* happen) at that key meeting, and what it meant for the future of climate change negotiations. This proved to be one of the year's most popular audios on the Carnegie Council website.

Mathias Risse's views on relocation and migration stem from his concept of the "common ownership of the earth;" and his earlier and highly controversial journal essay, "**On the Morality of Immigration**" (Spring 2008), remains one of the most viewed texts on the Council's website. In September 2010, John Tessitore interviewed Risse on this hotly debated topic, which allowed Risse to expand on the philosophical underpinnings of his beliefs.

To access these interviews, read selected journal articles, and browse the Contents pages from the first issue in 1987 to the present, go to: [www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org](http://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org) or [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org).

## DISTRIBUTION

# CARNEGIE ETHICS STUDIO



Under the direction of Executive Producers **Deborah Carroll** and **William C. Vocke Jr.**, the Council's in-house Carnegie Ethics Studio serves as a worldwide broadcast platform for ideas on ethics, foreign policy, and international relations. A professional audio and video production facility with state-of-the-art cameras, lighting facilities, and recording devices, the Studio films and edits each of the Council's eighty or more annual events and interviews, and also produces original content such as the weekly Global Ethics Corner.

The Studio continued to make great advances this year, upgrading its equipment and the quality of its productions, and welcoming a new staff member, Content Editor **Julia Taylor Kennedy**. In addition to showcasing its products on the Council's websites, the Studio distributes them through a growing list of TV, radio, and online media partners—all free of charge. The latest online media partner is **PBS/NPR's Forum Network**, which came onboard at the end of the program year. Our daily monitoring of print and Web media reveals that the Web is a particularly powerful distribution tool for the Studio—one that works virally, as organizations and bloggers find Council material and post or embed it on their sites.

## STUDIO PRODUCTS

### FULL-LENGTH VIDEOS, AUDIOS, AND TRANSCRIPTS

For those who cannot attend in person, every Carnegie Council event can be viewed online in real time as a **live webcast** at [www.carnegiecouncil.org/live](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/live). All Carnegie Council events and interviews are available in audio, video, and transcript form at [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org), and many are also posted on our online magazine [www.policyinnovations.org](http://www.policyinnovations.org). For the convenience of journalists, teachers, and students in particular, all audios and videos can be easily downloaded. Listeners and viewers are encouraged to post comments, whether through the "Disqus" **Comments feature** on each page or via **Facebook** and **Twitter**.

### GLOBAL ETHICS FORUM: TV AND RADIO PROGRAMS

The Global Ethics Forum (GEF) consists of video and audio series that are custom-designed for television and radio stations. Both television and radio programs are roughly thirty minutes. Stations may broadcast an entire series or choose individual episodes. Launched in 2008, Global Ethics Forum entered its second television season this past year, featuring the best of the year's programming.

## GLOBAL ETHICS CORNER AND YOUTUBE CLIPS

Created and produced by **William C. Vocke Jr.**, the weekly Global Ethics Corner (GEC) is consistently among the most downloaded Council video and audio podcasts. Each two-minute multimedia slide show addresses an ethical question based on current events and asks the viewer or listener to take a position on the issue for him or herself. Three of the most popular GECs this year were: **Greece, Goldman, and Financial Transparency?**; **The Ethics and Effectiveness of Basic Income Grants**; and **Is Public Diplomacy Beneficial for all Participants?** Find GECs at [www.carnegiecouncil.org](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org) and on both of the Council's YouTube channels—one of which is dedicated solely to GECs in order to make it easier for students and teachers to locate them. Go to [www.youtube.com/carnegienetwork](http://www.youtube.com/carnegienetwork).

YouTube clips from every Carnegie Council event and video interview are posted on the main Council YouTube site: [www.youtube.com/carnegiecouncil](http://www.youtube.com/carnegiecouncil). These clips are regularly featured on other sites, such as [www.truveo.com](http://www.truveo.com), one of the largest video search engines on the Web.



ISTOCKPHOTO / THINKSTOCK

## VIDEO AND AUDIO INTERVIEWS

In addition to occasional interviews conducted by Program Directors **David C. Speedie** and **Devin T. Stewart** throughout the program year, the Studio produces two interview series: **Advocates for Ethics in Business**, audio conversations with business, civil society, and academic



leaders hosted by **Julia Taylor Kennedy**; and **Ethics & International Affairs: The Journal**

**Interviews**, an audio and video series conducted by **John Tessitore**, executive editor of the Council and editor of the Council's quarterly journal, *Ethics & International Affairs* (see page 10), featuring conversations with distinguished academics on a wide variety of timely and often controversial issues related to international affairs.

## VIDEO AND AUDIO PODCASTS VIA ITUNES AND RSS FEED

The Studio produces audio podcasts of all Council events and interviews, and with an average of nearly 50,000 downloads a month they are by far the Council's most popular resource. In early 2009, as hand-held devices such as iPhones started becoming more common, the Studio began video podcasting two videos a week—the Global Ethics Corner on Fridays and a half-hour video on Wednesdays. Video podcasts now average 2,500 downloads a month. Council podcasts are frequently featured on other websites, such as [www.learnoutloud.com](http://www.learnoutloud.com), whose slogan is “Changing the Way the World Learns,” and [www.feedage.com](http://www.feedage.com), a free RSS directory.

In an exciting development, over the last few months of the program year the Studio prepared to launch collections of some of its best resources on the “Beyond Campus” section of **iTunes University**, which will make it even easier for teachers, students, and the general public to benefit from Council materials.

## MEDIA PARTNERS

### TELEVISION

**MHz Networks** is an independent, non-commercial television broadcaster



delivering international educational and arts programming. Based in Washington, D.C., its flagship channel, **MHz Worldview**, has access to nearly 34 million households throughout the United States via its broadcast and cable affiliates. The first thirteen-week series of Carnegie Council's Global Ethics Forum began airing nationally on MHz Worldview in September 2010. The

hour-long weekly time-slot features two half-hour

Global Ethics Forums—one current and one “classic” program.

The Council's television presence also includes **C-SPAN's Book TV** series, which features several of the Council's popular Public Affairs programs every year.

In addition, the first season of Global Ethics Forum TV aired on **CUNY TV** from September 2009 to February 2010, and the second season is airing from May 2010 to February 2011.

### ONLINE

**The Forum Network** website, a **PBS and NPR** public media service in collaboration



with public stations and community partners across the United States, features full-length Carnegie Council videos (go to <http://forum-network.org>). **Intelligence Squared**, founded in the U.K. but now a global organization, provides a unique debating platform for the world's leading figures in politics, journalism, and the media to contest the most important political, social, historical, and scientific issues of the day. It features full-length Carnegie Council videos on its website at [www.intelligencesquared.com](http://www.intelligencesquared.com).

**People's World Peace Project (PWPP)**, a large and ambitious website based in Maine, seeks to provide a framework for dialogue about world peace between PWPP members from around the world. The Project features a selection of Carnegie Council resources in different formats at <http://pwpp.org/news>.

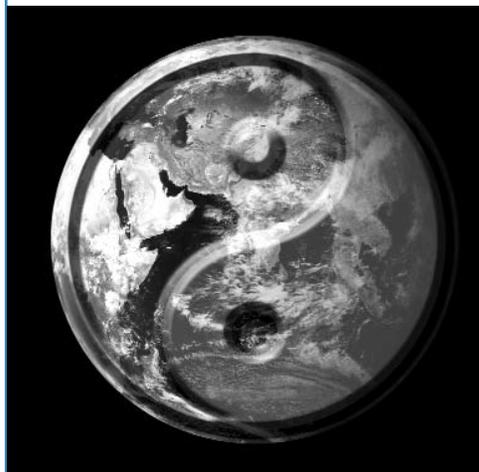
### RADIO

**WNSR: New School Radio** (New York City) is airing the Advocates for Ethics in Business interview series and the Global Ethics Corner (go to [www.wnsr.parsons.edu](http://www.wnsr.parsons.edu)). You can also find our programs on the website of **Public Radio Exchange (PRX)**, an online marketplace for distribution, review, and licensing of public radio programming.



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

## ADDITIONAL HIGHLIGHTS and LOOKING AHEAD



A SUSTAINABLE WORLD. ILLUSTRATION: DENNIS DOYLE

### FIRST ANNUAL SEPTEMBER SUSTAINABILITY MONTH

**E**nvironmental issues are certainly not new for the Carnegie Council, which has focused on these global challenges for at least three decades, including many articles in the Council's monthly magazine *Worldview* published during the early 1980s (and still available today on the Council's website)—long before “climate change” became part of our common vocabulary. We also pioneered the **Environmental Values Project**, a twelve-year, multi-site study of environmental values and policymaking (1991-2002), which resulted in the groundbreaking book, *Forging Environmentalism: Justice, Livelihood, and Contested Environments* (M.E. Sharpe, 2006).

Today, whether looking at policymaking, corporations, or the geopolitical implications of global warming, much of the Council's work concentrates on the practical and ethical dilemmas caused by climate change, and seeks out effective, just, and sustainable solutions.

Consequently, this past program year we declared September to be **Sustainability Month**, putting together a cluster of events and resources across departments, as noted throughout this report. These included Global Policy Innovations and Carnegie New Leaders events, as well as articles and essays from the fall issue of our journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*. As part of this effort, the September article for the popular monthly web column **Carnegie Ethics Online (CEO)** was “**The Emerging Alliance of World Religion and Ecology**,” by Yale University Professors **John Grim** and **Mary Evelyn Tucker**, co-founders of the Forum on Religion and Ecology. Find this and all CEO pieces at [http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/ethics\\_online/index.html](http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/ethics_online/index.html).

Sustainability Month also featured five **Global Ethics Corners**—two-minute videos with such descriptive titles as **Oceans, Garbage, and Food; Climate Protectionism and Competitiveness; Forest Preservation; Ecological Intervention; and Who Pays for Global Warming?** As a follow-up, the Council created an **international online student competition** called “**Making a Difference**.” Contestants were asked to watch the five Global Ethics Corners and then write an essay or create a short YouTube video in response to one or all of them. The three winning entries—two essays and one video—can be found at <http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/about/announcements/0048.html>.

### LOOKING AHEAD

As we enter a new program year (our 97th!), these are just some of the events and projects we have been working on:

■ This year's work led to generous funding from **Hewlett-Packard** and **Booz & Company** to launch a year of **programming on sustainability**, starting with the second annual September Sustainability Month in 2010.

■ In August 2010, Program Director and Senior Fellow **David C. Speedie** went to Iceland to visit President **Olafur Grimsson** and secured his participation in the Council's proposed project on **climate change, resource competition, and conflict**. Former UN Under-Secretary-General, Ambassador **Jayantha Dhanapala** of Sri Lanka, has also agreed to participate.

■ In October 2010, Speedie was awarded a grant from the **U.S. Army War College** to conduct a conference on global engagement, which is expected to be held in Spring 2011.

■ Also in October, Carnegie Council President **Joel H. Rosenthal** delivered the third annual **Elenchus Lecture at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy**. In addition, from November 1 to November 10, he taught a series of classes at the **University of Copenhagen** and delivered a lecture on **The Elements of Ethics in International Affairs**.

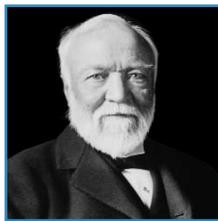
■ The annual **Carnegie-Oxford-Uehiro Conference, Information Ethics: The Future of Humanities**, (see page 9) will be held at the University of Oxford on December 8 and 9, 2010.

■ In 2011, the Council's journal *Ethics & International Affairs* will celebrate its **twenty-fifth year of publication** and move to **Cambridge University Press**.

## THANK YOU

We extend heartfelt thanks to everyone who has helped the Carnegie Council fulfill its mission during the 2009-2010 season. Thanks to you, each year the Carnegie Council reaches thousands of students, teachers, journalists, diplomats, political leaders, international affairs professionals, and concerned citizens the world over with educational messages based on principles of pluralism, rights and responsibilities, and fairness.

We have carried forward Andrew Carnegie's dream of world peace for nearly a hundred years. Today, we keep that dream alive



ANDREW CARNEGIE

in a world that Mr. Carnegie could not have imagined. Our decision in 2008 to build and equip the **Carnegie Ethics Studio** entailed an ongoing commitment to maintain a production staff, seek worldwide media partners, and keep those partners supplied with the most professional audio and video products possible. But to do so, we must first program and produce the eighty-plus events a year that we record and distribute.

To that end, each and every day we are busy designing programs, engaging speakers, planning events and interviews, refining and upgrading our technical capacities, editing our various print materials, and keeping our subscribers, supporters, partners, and the media informed of our work via two websites and countless other outlets. In turn, it is the quality of our output that allows us to continue to attract the best possible speakers and panelists.

## FUNDRAISING AT THE CARNEGIE COUNCIL

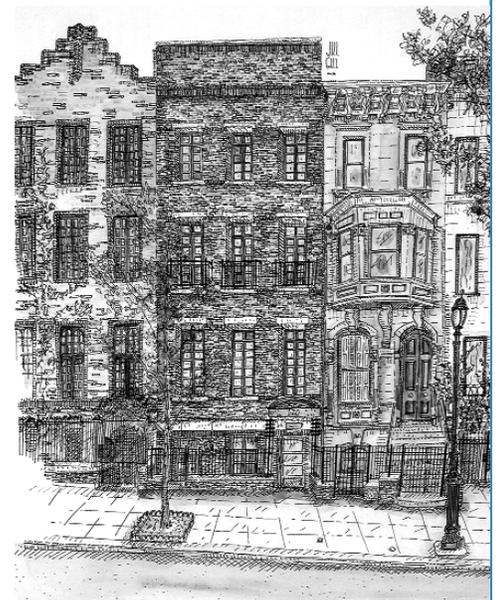
As we address the needs and demands of the twenty-first century, the income from Andrew Carnegie's original endowment is no longer sufficient to support the full scope and growing volume of the Council's agenda. To address this shortfall, we are fortunate to receive generous funding from foundations, corporations, institutions, and individuals. For such wonderful support we are extremely grateful. In 2009, the Council's Board of Trustees saw the need to create a unified development effort to attract additional support, helping us fulfill the commitment we made when we built the Studio—the commitment we continue to make every day. As part of this new development effort, we have designed two new special initiatives as follows:

### FRIENDS COMMITTEE

The Carnegie Council's Friends Committee is comprised of supporters who have made a special commitment to advise the Council's leaders and help us in other ways as we plan for our Centennial celebration in 2013-2014. Council Trustees **Robert G. Shaw** and **Jonathan Gage** co-chair the Friends Committee. Current members are: **Robert L. Dilenschneider, Richard A. Edlin, Esq., Anthony L. Faillace, David P. Hunt, Michael Jaharis, Robert G. James, Donald M. Kendall, Michael Mendenhall, Mitchell J. Nelson, Alfred Ross, Ernest Rubenstein, and Enzo Viscusi.**

This year, Friends Committee members attended private discussions over lunch or dinner with political scientist **Ian Bremmer**, president of the Eurasia Group and a Carnegie Council trustee; Ambassador **Jayantha Dhanapala**, former Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs at the UN; distinguished author **Charles Kupchan**, professor of International

## SUPPORT THE COUNCIL



CARNEGIE COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS. ILLUSTRATION: JILL GILL

Affairs at Georgetown University; and Russian expert and author, Ambassador **Jack F. Matlock**. They also attended an invitation-only joint USGE/Friends Committee event entitled, **Beyond the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** (see page 7).

### FUND DRIVES

The Council's Fall and Spring Fund Drives provide opportunities for our extended family to make gifts that go to support our core programs and general operating costs. This supports the heart of the Council's work, and we extend special appreciation to those who help us meet our goals each year.

## CALENDAR EVENTS 2009–2010



ALISSA WILSON



JOSEPH STIGLITZ



AMARTYA SEN



CAROLINE ALEXANDER



MICHAEL J. SANDEL



CHARLES W. KEGLEY, JR.

## JULY 2009

**7/07/09**

**The Practical Idealism Project:  
Stories from the Field**  
**Alissa Wilson**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

**9/30/09**

**Future of Sustainability Boat Cruise:  
A Fundraiser for Carnegie New  
Leaders**  
**Derek Berlin, Hans W. Decker, Steve  
Dorst, Scott Kaufman, Alice Korngold,  
Steven Salsberg**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

## AUGUST 2009

**8/28/09**

**Climate Change, Global  
Responsibilities, and the U.S.-China  
Relationship**  
**Off-the-Record Working Group**

CO-ORGANIZED BY CARNEGIE COUNCIL AND CHINA  
REFORM FORUM

## OCTOBER 2009

**10/01/09**

**The Predictioneer's Game: Using  
the Logic of Brazen Self-Interest to  
See and Shape the Future**  
**Bruce Bueno de Mesquita**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**10/02/09**

**The Idea of Justice**  
**Amartya Sen**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

## SEPTEMBER 2009

**9/16/09**

**Losing the News: The Future of the  
News That Feeds Democracy**  
**Alex S. Jones**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**10/06/09**

**Worse Than War: Genocide,  
Eliminationism, and the Ongoing  
Assault on Humanity**  
**Daniel Jonah Goldhagen**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**9/17/09**

**Sustainable Brands: A U.S.-Japan  
Corporate Dialogue**  
**Max Cuellar, Scott Kaufman, Edward  
J. Lincoln, Michael Mendenhall,  
Takejiro Sueyoshi**

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS PROGRAM

**10/07/09**

**The Science of War: Defense  
Budgeting, Military Technology,  
Logistics, and Combat Outcomes**  
**Michael E. O'Hanlon**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**9/21/09**

**Reform of the International  
Monetary and Financial System**  
**Bert Koenders, José Antonio  
Ocampo, Joseph E. Stiglitz**

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS PROGRAM

**10/08/09**

**Power Rules: How Common Sense  
Can Rescue American Foreign Policy**  
**Leslie Gelb**

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

CO-SPONSORED WITH THE BARD GLOBALIZATION &  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PROGRAM, NEW YORK

**9/22/09**

**Reflections on the Revolution in  
Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the  
West**  
**Christopher Caldwell**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

**10/13/09**

**Five to Rule Them All:  
The UN Security Council and the  
Making of the Modern World**  
**David L. Bosco**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

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**Too Big to Fail: The Inside Story of How Wall Street and Washington Fought to Save the Financial System from Crisis—and Lost**  
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**10/29/09**

**Afghanistan Briefing**  
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**The War That Killed Achilles: The True Story of Homer's Iliad and the Trojan War**  
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**11/03/09**

**Emerging Challenges in a Network World**  
**The Rt. Hon. Michael Ancram**

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**Serving on a Nonprofit Board: Opportunities, Qualifications, and Expectations**  
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**Freedom of the Press in the Arab  
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**Khaled Dawoud**

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### STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR BEGINNING JULY 1, 2009 AND ENDING JUNE 30, 2010

The Carnegie Council's audited financial statement and operational report has been filed with the state of New York (#48749), and copies are available upon request. Write to New York State Department of State Charities, Registration Section, 162 Washington Avenue, Albany, N.Y. 12231.

## REVENUE AND SUPPORT 2010

Grants for Programs .....	\$ 812,920
Trustee and Individual Contributions .....	\$ 323,039
Program and Membership Fees .....	\$ 165,341
Investment Income .....	\$ 652,768
<b>SUBTOTAL .....</b>	<b>\$ 1,954,068</b>
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions .....	\$ 1,812,728
<b>TOTAL REVENUE AND SUPPORT .....</b>	<b>\$ 3,766,796</b>

## EXPENSES

### PROGRAMS

Education .....	\$ 536,734
Public Affairs Programs .....	\$ 626,429
Internet and Studio .....	\$ 602,905
Print Publications .....	\$ 423,913
Global Policy Innovations .....	\$ 367,319
<b>SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES .....</b>	<b>\$ 2,557,300</b>
Management and General Support .....	\$ 647,553
Fundraising and Development .....	\$ 561,943
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES .....</b>	<b>\$ 3,766,796</b>

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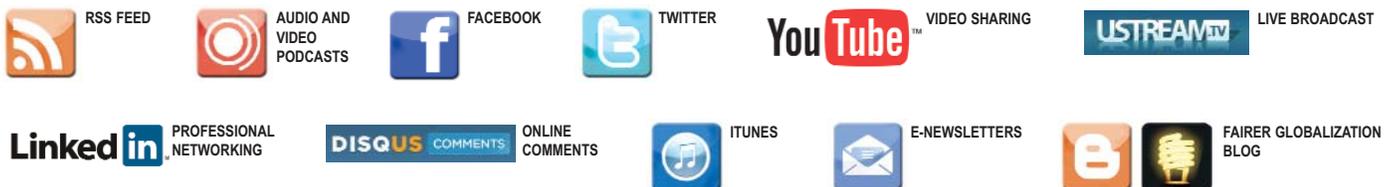
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The Carnegie Council is establishing partnerships with educational institutions around the world to create the Global Ethics Network, a group that engages in nonpartisan, interactive education about global issues. Partners can develop local Carnegie Global Ethics Centers/Labs, which use Carnegie Council resources and contribute original content. Video and audio content edited by the Carnegie Ethics Studio in New York can be transformed into easily used formats, and shared with the Network. In the process, a cross-cultural dialogue will develop and educational activities take on deeper, richer dimensions. For more information about partnering with us, please contact William C. Vocke, Jr. at [wvocke@cceia.org](mailto:wvocke@cceia.org).



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# CARNEGIE COUNCIL

## **ETHICS MATTER**

The Carnegie Council's mission is to be the voice for ethics in international affairs. It convenes agenda-setting forums and creates educational opportunities and information resources for a worldwide audience of teachers, students, journalists, international affairs professionals, and concerned citizens.

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