

ANNUAL REPORT

2018

MAKING
ETHICS
MATTER

CARNEGIE
COUNCIL *for Ethics in
International Affairs*



ANNUAL REPORT 2018

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MISSION

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs works to foster a global conversation on major ethical challenges in international politics and in communities around the world. Broadcasting across multiple formats and media channels, Carnegie Council enriches this conversation with informative lectures, interviews, articles, and programs—all available worldwide to anyone, anywhere.

We convene:

The world's leading thinkers in the discussion of global issues

We communicate:

Ethical perspectives to a worldwide audience

We connect:

Communities through the exploration of shared values

CARNEGIE COUNCIL:

**MAKING
ETHICS
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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Dear Friends,

We are living in a time of accelerating climate change, yet the United States' response is to withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement and roll back environmental regulations; a time of growing distrust of governments, global organizations, and the very concept of liberal democracy; a time of fake news and misinformation, while professional journalists are persecuted in many countries and labeled “the enemy of the people” here in the United States. This is a time of nuclear threat; a time of increasing inequality, populism, nationalism, and authoritarianism; a time when a record number of people—over 68 million in 2017—have been driven from their homes; a time when artificial intelligence is on the cusp of changing our world forever.

This is a time when Carnegie Council's work is as important as it has ever been. We believe that a well-informed world citizenry is the greatest defense against manmade upheavals and injustice. As an independent, nonpartisan institution dedicated to educating the public on the value of ethics in international affairs, the Council provides a platform for discussion in order to find ethical solutions to seemingly intractable problems. Our resulting multimedia resources are available free of charge across the globe.

This year, Carnegie Council stepped up its responses to all of the issues above. For example, the **Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)** team traveled the world meeting with policymakers and influencers to raise awareness about the possible risks and benefits of geoengineering, while emphasizing the necessity of creating a governance framework. **William Galston, Yascha Mounk, Rob Riemen, Timothy Snyder** and others analyzed the decline of liberal democracy and how to combat it. Over the summer of 2018, we launched **Information Warfare**, a special podcast series on state-sponsored misinformation and fake news. In *Ethics & International Affairs*, **Amartya Sen** wrote on the foundations of global justice and **Ayelet Shachar** and **Lea Ypi** looked at different aspects of unequal and unjust immigration policies. Journal roundtables included a collection of articles on rising powers and the international order, and a live panel on the ethics of climate change. **Scott Sagan** proposed a “nuclear necessity principle.” **Philip Alston** and others discussed poverty in the United States, while **Qin Gao** analyzed how China is trying to combat it. The annual Carnegie-Uehiro Oxford conference was on **ethics and the future of artificial intelligence**.

At Carnegie Council, it is our honor and responsibility to spend each day contributing to making ethics matter. As Andrew Carnegie said, “Aim for the highest.” And though we live in a world of enduring challenges, our dedication and optimism remain untiring.

Thank you for your support.

Joel H. Rosenthal,
President, Carnegie Council



Joel H. Rosenthal

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”

ACTIVITIES SUMMARY

- Over the course of the program year from **July 2017 through June 2018**, the Council organized over 160 events, including lectures, interviews and panels, podcasts, conferences, site visits, briefings, and networking opportunities. Most events took place in New York, with others in Nairobi, Paris, San Francisco, Washington, and elsewhere. While a few New York programs were off the record, the majority were recorded by the in-house Carnegie Ethics Studio, led by Executive Producer **Deborah Carroll**.
- The Studio edited the recordings to produce multiple products as follows:
 - Video: full-length videos and clips of events; the Council's weekly TV show, *Global Ethics Forum*; video podcasts; and live webcasts of public events.
 - Audio: online audios and audio podcasts.
 - Text: all recorded events have full-length transcripts, with the exception of the podcast *Global Ethics Weekly*.

Access audios, transcripts, and full-length videos at <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia>.

- In 2017-18, the Council ran the following programs: Asia Dialogues; Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2); Carnegie New Leaders (CNL) with related podcast series; Ethics Matter Interview Series; *Global Ethics Weekly* (launched in June 2018); Public Affairs Program; Student Ambassadors Program; and U.S. Global Engagement.
- Established in 1987, the Council's quarterly peer-reviewed journal *Ethics & International Affairs* is published by Cambridge University Press. The journal also has a blog and a podcast interview series.
- This year, three special projects led by Senior Fellows produced materials that can be found on carnegiecouncil.org: "Latin America and the West," "Russian Soft Power in France," and "The Living Legacy of the First World War." In addition, the Council promoted the fourth annual Global Ethics Day on October 18, 2017, organized the annual student essay and photo contests, and expanded the online education section. The Council also publishes a monthly web column, Carnegie Ethics Online, and occasional online articles.

- Over the course of 2017-18, Carnegie Council Fellows were featured in *The Boston Globe*, *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Times*, *Politico*, *The Washington Post*, *Slate* (French edition), *The Journal of Military Ethics*, and other publications.
- Access Carnegie Council materials here:
 - carnegiecouncil.org (main website)
 - c2g2.net
 - ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org
 - globoethicsday.org (new in 2018)
 - youtube.com/carnegiecouncil
 - carnegieiTunes.org for Carnegie Council audio and video podcasts.
- The Council also runs globoethicsnetwork.org (GEN), an international community bulletin board with over 4,000 members from 156 countries and territories (up from 3,500 members and 146 countries and territories last year)



PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS



Pacific Delegates with Dicky Sofjan, Elga Sarapung, Devin Stewart, and Alissa Wahid at Dian Interfidei in Yogyakarta

Asia Dialogues

Launched in 2016 by Senior Fellow and Program Director **Devin Stewart**, Carnegie Council's Asia Dialogues program advances cross-cultural dialogue and offers critical insights on how shifts in the global order are affecting the United States and Asia. The program hosts people-to-people exchanges, facilitates original research, and produces timely podcasts, videos, and reports on the most consequential moral, economic, and strategic issues of this era. In doing so, the program also cultivates the next generation of moral leaders across the Pacific.

Site Visit to Yogyakarta, Indonesia for Research on Religion and Tolerance

In October 2017, Stewart led a group of twelve Pacific Delegates on a week-long research delegation trip to Yogyakarta, Indonesia, to examine the role of religion and pluralism in Indonesian politics and society. Selected from a large number of qualified applicants, the delegates represented a diverse array of professional and academic backgrounds, originating from North America and six Asian countries. The group participated in classroom discussions, expert lectures, cultural activities, and site visits designed by Carnegie Council's Pacific Fellow **Dicky Sofjan** of Gadjah Mada University in cooperation with the Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies (ICRS). Carnegie Council would like to thank the fellows, delegates, and participants as well as the Henry Luce

Foundation, Gadjah Mada University, and ICRS for their support and invaluable advice toward making this successful project possible. For a list of the Pacific Delegates, see page 40.

In preparation for the trip, the delegates took a ten-week online summer course on Indonesia, funded by the Henry Luce Foundation. The course, which consists of readings and discussion questions, is available to everyone at <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/education/002/syllabi/00017>. In addition, program associate **Amanda Ghanooni** and intern **Rosa Evaline** created a delegates' handbook, which was supported by a grant provided by the Strauss Center at the University of Texas.

On his return from Asia, Stewart gave a lecture at Johns Hopkins SAIS on politics and religion in Indonesia (the annual theme at SAIS for 2017). He also gave a virtual lecture on this topic to a group at the University of Texas, Austin.

Focus on the Philippines

After the October site visit to Indonesia, Stewart spent a few days in Manila for a research project on domestic politics in the Philippines and the state's relations with regional neighbors. This project was funded by the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO). He also worked on arrangements for the October 2018 climate change research delegation trip to Manila. The Pacific Delegates

for this trip were appointed in February 2018. Their ten-week online preparatory course is available here: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/education/002/syllabi/000016>.

Podcasts

Stewart conducted thirty-six podcasts for Asia Dialogues this year (in addition to several that were not Asia-related). Here are some of the highlights:

Indonesia and the Philippines

“Indonesia is now going down the Pakistan route,” said **Andreas Harsono** of Human Rights Watch in a February 2018 interview, one of the year’s most downloaded podcasts. “There are more and more political manipulations using the blasphemy law, and there are more and more discriminatory regulations against minorities in Indonesia.” **Julie Chernov Hwang** of Goucher College talked about her book *Why Terrorists Quit*, based on over 100 interviews with current and former leaders and followers of radical Islamist groups in Indonesia. **Sandra Hamid**, the Asia Foundation’s country representative to Indonesia, spoke about the worrying trend of normalizing intolerance in Indonesia, and Cornell University’s **Tom Pepinsky** discussed his book *Piety and Public Opinion: Understanding Indonesian Islam*.

President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines has killed thousands in his “war on drugs,” idolizes Russian President Vladimir Putin, and openly uses fake news and excessive nationalism to consolidate his power. Manila-based political analyst **Richard Heydarian** spoke about his book *The Rise of Duterte* and **John Gershman** of New York University also analyzed the Duterte phenomenon. With democracy under threat, **Lisandro Claudio** of De La Salle University and **Joy Aceron** of G-Watch (Government Watch) and the Accountability Research Center explained what they are doing to fight back.

Burma (Myanmar) and the Plight of the Rohingya

In November 2017, **Francis Wade**, author of *Myanmar’s Enemy Within*, described the historical background to the persecution of the Muslim Rohingya minority and gave a first-hand account of the current situation. The Council’s



Aung San Suu Kyi / photo: Claude Truong-Ngoc, Creative Commons

most downloaded audio podcast for the program year was Stewart’s January 2018 conversation with former ambassador to Burma **Derek Mitchell**, who lamented that Aung San Suu Kyi was not providing the necessary moral leadership. **Muhammad Musa** is executive director of BRAC, which is working with the one million Rohingya refugees living in camps in Bangladesh. In May 2018, he described the many problems they face, including growing tensions with the host community and the threat of the coming monsoon season, which may bring floods and landslides.

Two Podcast Series: Rising Tensions in Asia, and Information Warfare

Stewart hosted the “Rising Tensions in Asia” interview series over the summer of 2017, discussing topics ranging from the situation in individual countries to U.S.-Asia relations under President Trump and the future of Asia. Speakers included sociologist **Amitai Etzioni** on avoiding war with China; **Robert Dujarric** of Temple University (Japan campus) on the “Trump effect” on Japan; Asia Society’s **Isaac Stone Fish** on facts and fiction about North Korea; **Ziad Haider** of CSIS on U.S.-Asia economic ties under Trump; **Mira Rapp-Hooper** of Center for a New American Security on “subcontracting” U.S. policy toward Asia; and Stratfor founder **George Friedman** on the end of the international order and what that will mean for Asia. To access all the podcasts in this series, go to: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/news/announcements/2017-09-06-podcasts-on-rising-tensions-in-asia>.

Finally, over the summer of 2018, Stewart launched a new special interview series titled “Information Warfare,” looking at disinformation campaigns and fake news. Find it here: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/information-warfare>.



Trump and Kim shaking hands in the summit room during the DPRK-USA Singapore Summit / photo: Shealah Craighead, Public Domain

In Defense of the Trump-Kim Summit

In June 2018, Stewart published a provocative article on the Singapore meeting between President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. “As a long-time Asia watcher, I feel it’s important to defend the value of the Singapore summit,” he wrote. “The meeting has served to establish rapport between the U.S. and North Korean

leaders and a more positive tone, reduce the chance of war, launch a framework for technical arms negotiations, and set the broad goal of peace on the Korean Peninsula. All unthinkable a few months ago.” It was published both on [medium.com](https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/ethics_online/in-defense-of-the-trump-kim-summit) and on the Council’s website. Read it here: https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/ethics_online/in-defense-of-the-trump-kim-summit.

The Asia Dialogues program gratefully acknowledges support from the Henry Luce Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Japan External Trade Organization, the Strauss Center at the University of Texas, the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, and the Robert J. Myers Fund.

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

In October 2018, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) issued a Special Report on Global Warming (SRI5) with a dramatic headline: Limiting temperature rise to 1.5°C, seen by many as a crisis point, “would require rapid, far-reaching, and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society.”



This stark message followed yet another year of extreme weather events, in which it became increasingly clear that the consequences of climate change are already with us, and that many communities will struggle to cope with any further warming.

These developments have prompted growing questions about what approaches—in addition to massive emission cuts—might be available to avert crisis, including the potential for measures to remove large amounts of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere (Carbon Dioxide Removal) or reflect more heat away from the planet (Solar Geoengineering).

The IPCC report itself specifically said that “all pathways that limit global warming to 1.5°C with limited or no overshoot project the use of carbon dioxide removal (CDR) on the order of 100–1000 GtCO₂ over the twenty-first century.”

This enormous task, it added, would be “subject to multiple feasibility and sustainability constraints.” Some might consider that an understatement.

Launched in 2017, The C2G2 initiative is led by Senior Fellow and Executive Director **Janos Pasztor**. It seeks to catalyze the creation of effective governance for climate geoengineering technologies by shifting the conversation from the scientific and research community to the global policymaking arena, and by encouraging a broader, society-wide discussion about the risks, potential benefits, and ethical and governance challenges raised by climate geoengineering. C2G2 is impartial. It is not for or against the research, testing, or potential use of climate geoengineering technologies. That is a choice for society to make.

Over the course of 2017–18, the C2G2 team has traveled the world alerting policymakers that the conversation may start to shift in this direction, and that if it does, governance must take center stage. A growing number now feel the time for this discussion has arrived.

But currently, the international community does not know nearly enough about the risks, costs, benefits, and governance requirements of either large-scale carbon removal or solar geoengineering to understand if these techniques could be effective, and—if so—whether, when, or how to deploy them.

C2G2 has adopted a three-step approach:

1. Highlighting the urgency of these issues to major players;
2. Learning more about the risks and potential benefits, and how to govern them;
- and 3. Encouraging national and international fora to set rules to progress in a safe and considered manner.

The past year has seen significant progress in raising the issue further up the agenda and growing momentum towards learning more about governance, but limited progress in terms of specific decisions.



C2G2 has engaged extensively with national governments and international organizations, and has found many doors opening to it at department head or ministerial level. The team has also briefed many leading civil society and faith groups, including the Vatican, some of which see this as one of the great emerging challenges of our time.

The IPCC's Special Report itself contained more on solar geoengineering governance than expected. The UN Environment Programme (UNEP) will now include a chapter on it in its annual Frontiers Report, which C2G2 is helping to prepare. C2G2 is also working with the Convention on Biological Diversity to develop a research agenda to inform future decisions, and it was invited to the November 2018 inaugural meeting of the Paris Peace Forum, a major new initiative by the French government to defend the multilateral order.

Perhaps most encouragingly, following considerable country-level engagement by C2G2, several governments—led by Switzerland—have decided to promote a resolution at the fourth session of the UN Environment Assembly in Nairobi in March 2019, which, if adopted, would mandate UNEP to undertake a major state-of-play assessment of large-scale carbon removal and of solar geoengineering, for consideration in the subsequent session.

C2G2 has been increasingly active in China, a highly significant country when it comes to addressing climate change. A C2G2 meeting with the senior minister responsible for climate change has led to the consideration of this issue by senior officials in a number of departments.

In the United States, C2G2 played a behind-the-scenes role ahead of the Global Action Summit by engaging with California Governor Jerry Brown on the possibilities for state-level action on governance.

On an individual level, C2G2 team members have engaged with a variety of selected global leaders, who have agreed to use their influence to promote a society-wide conversation. Meanwhile, the C2G2 Advisory Group has continued to grow in stature, reflecting rising interest in countries around the world.

Marking this growing interest, C2G2 gained one new funder, and was able to bring on four new additional team members, adding to the team's own diversity. In May 2018, C2G2 also issued a major influential report on the relationship between large scale carbon removal, solar geoengineering, and the Sustainable Development Goals, which is available here: <https://www.c2g2.net/geoeng-sdgs/>.

None of these developments on their own marked a breakthrough, but in aggregate the beginnings of a global policy conversation are starting to take shape, and C2G2 is emerging as an important voice in that conversation.

"Compared to even one year ago, we have seen geoengineering governance broadening out from a relatively niche academic debate to an issue that could soon emerge on the agenda of several intergovernmental processes and international organizations," said Pasztor. "In the coming years, we plan to raise its profile even

higher, and bring it to the agendas of other organizations, following their respective mandates and areas of work. The goal is to catalyze a global learning process, to eventually enable intergovernmental decision-making on whether or not to make use of these technologies, and if yes, how.

"Ultimately—and this is particularly key for the governance of solar geoengineering—the team assumes that some level of consideration will need to take place at the UN General Assembly. UNGA is the global body with the most legitimacy to address such issues, and C2G2 is aiming towards a possible 2022 timeline for this. Judging by the events of the past year, this conversation could advance more rapidly than people imagine. What is clear is that the risks of not talking about the governance of these technologies clearly outweigh the risks of tackling them head-on. It is essential this conversation begins in earnest, before events overtake our capacity to respond."

Since its launch in 2017, C2G2 has been supported by a grant from the V. Kann Rasmussen Foundation (VKRF). In 2018 VKRF was joined by the OAK Foundation.

Carnegie New Leaders (CNL)

The Carnegie New Leaders Program (CNL) provides enrichment opportunities for the next generation of leaders aged forty-five and under who are interested in exploring the ethical dimensions of issues relating to business, foreign policy, and economic development. Activities include off-the-record briefings, site visits, and networking and social events.

In January 2018, financial technology executive **Conor Moran** became the new CNL president, succeeding **Julian Harper** of Franklin Templeton Investments, who had served in the role for more than two years. In 2017, **Amelia Wolf** of Radiant Solutions and **Henry Kegan** of EverFi were appointed to head the Washington, DC chapter, which was previously led by the DC group's founder **Joseph Amann** of Marlin Equity Partners. The Carnegie Council staff advisor is Senior Program Director and Senior Fellow **Devin Stewart**.

CNL New York

CNLs were treated to an array of speakers over a series of private lunches and dinners, including the following: **Anthony Romero**, executive director of the ACLU, discussed the recent far-right protests in Charlottesville, VA and the broad implications of civil liberties under the Trump administration. **Jessica C. McDougall** of BlackRock's Investment Stewardship team explained BlackRock's corporate governance and social responsibility initiatives. A panel titled "Fighting Fake News" featured **Josh Davis** of Vice News, **Daniel Sieberg** of Google (at the time of this event), and **Brennan Gilmore**, who filmed the widely-viewed video of the car plowing into a crowd of protestors in Charlottesville. The speakers discussed the ethics of good reporting, protecting material by using digital encryption, and alt-right smear tactics in the media.



CNLs attend a roundtable at the Pentagon

Site visits this year included an October 2017 visit to the Pentagon in Washington, DC to attend a private roundtable on international security operations at the Pentagon. CNLs also visited Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn where they met with senior Army officers and historians; the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, where they had a roundtable discussion on ethics in the military; and the U.S. Mission to the UN, where they met with a humanitarian advisor for an off-the-record briefing on peacekeeping missions.

As part of Women's History Month in March 2018, and coinciding with the sixty-second session of the Commission on the Status of Women at the United Nations, CNL co-sponsored a panel with the Metro New York chapter of the U.S. National Committee for UN Women. Titled "Beyond #MeToo: An Open Dialogue," the panel featured **Dina Deligiorgis** of UN Women, **Michael Kimmel** of Stony Brook University, CNL member **Christina Madden** of the New York chapter of Women In International Security, and **Kameka Dempsey** of KD Leadership Strategies as moderator. Structured as a town hall meeting, the conversation touched on race and class, harassment for women in the military, and what men can and should do about gender discrimination.

This year CNL hosted a number of networking receptions and social events, including one at WeWork that had over 100 attendees and was conducted in partnership with Young Professionals in Foreign Policy.

CNL, Washington, DC

In February 2018, CNLs attended a roundtable at the State Department titled "Syria and Iraq Stabilization Activities" with **Solomon Black** and **Eric Keefer** of the Office of Weapons Removal and Abatement. In March, CNL member **Ali Wyne** of RAND Corporation gave a happy hour briefing titled "The Gravest Threat to the United States: Itself?" and in May, **Alyssa Ayres** of the Council on Foreign Relations gave a roundtable presentation titled "The Future of Indian Foreign Policy and U.S.-India Ties."

Carnegie New Leader Podcast Series

Over the program year, Carnegie Council producer and podcast host **Alex Woodson** conducted four interviews with current and former members of the group. Amnesty International's **Sarah Jackson** explained her organization's work documenting war crimes in South Sudan and refugees in Uganda; Hofstra University's Professor **Jessica Holzer** discussed bioethics, community engagement, and car-less transportation on Long Island; U.S. Army veteran **Asha Castleberry** talked about Trump's National Security Strategy and the complex situation in the Middle East; and **Sujata Gadkar-Wilcox** of Quinnipiac University discussed Gandhi's "Satyagraha"—his strategy of passive resistance in the face of injustice—and how it connects to America's gun control protests. In addition **Devin Stewart** spoke with ethicist **John Paul Rollert** (University of Chicago) about greed, movies, and capitalism. CNLs were invited to listen in to this live recording session in Carnegie Council's studio and afterwards they adjourned to a nearby pub for an informal discussion.

Ethics Matter Interview Series

Organized by Communications Director **Madeleine Lynn** and Carnegie Ethics Studio Executive Producer **Deborah Carroll**, this series consisted of in-depth interviews with a wide variety of speakers on topics concerning ethics in international affairs. The program held twenty events this year, the majority of which were hosted by professional broadcast journalists **Stephanie Sy** (Yahoo News and CNN International) and **Magalie Laguerre-Wilkinson** (*60 Minutes*, CBS). With the exception of two public talks in partnership with **Bard College's Globalization and International Affairs Program** all interviews were filmed on a closed set. This was the program's final year.

The season kicked off with **Scott Sagan** of Stanford University, who declared that major changes must be made if U.S. nuclear war plans are to conform to the principles of the just war doctrine and the law of armed conflict. He proposed a new doctrine, "the nuclear necessity principle," under which the United States will not use nuclear weapons against any target that could be reliably destroyed by conventional means.

Poverty and Inequality

A series of interviews examined poverty and inequality in the United States, the progress being made in China, gender inequality, and human rights in the developing world. The United States' poverty rate is over 14 percent, affecting approximately 40 million people. UN Special Rapporteur **Philip Alston** traveled across the United States in 2017 and found appalling conditions, from homelessness in California to open sewage in rural Alabama. "What we need is a more rational debate, a more evidence-based policymaking approach which accepts the fact that providing the basics—providing universal



Andrew Yang

basic health care, providing decent schools, and so on—is a much more economically as well as socially productive way forward,” he declared. **Chuck Collins** of the Institute for Policy Studies grew up in a wealthy family and gave away his fortune at the age of twenty-six, yet he realizes that he still has advantages accrued over generations. The current level of inequality is bad for society as a whole, he argued. “It is not in anyone’s interest to keep moving toward a sort of economic and racial apartheid.” Automation is causing the greatest shift in human history and will put millions of Americans out of work, said entrepreneur and 2020 presidential candidate **Andrew Yang**. His solution? Put human values before GDP and provide a universal basic income of \$1,000 a month, funded by a 10 percent value-added tax.

Meanwhile, China is making a serious effort to tackle poverty. **Qin Gao** of Columbia University explained the pros and cons of the Chinese “Dibao” (limited income guarantee) system and discussed Chinese President



Qin Gao

Xi Jinping’s ambitious pledge to lift 70 million people out of extreme poverty by 2020. **Melanne Verveer**, executive director of Georgetown’s Institute for Women, Peace and Security and former

ambassador-at-large for global women’s issues, said she looks forward to the day when “women’s issues” are no longer seen as marginal, but as a mainstream component of peace and prosperity. **Robert Bank** of American Jewish World Service discussed how he works with local activists on a range of human rights issues, such as women’s rights in India and LGBT rights in Uganda.

Climate Change and the Environment

Continuing the Ethics Matter series on climate change and the environment, **Bob Inglis**, former U.S. representative from South Carolina, and former climate change skeptic,

outlined his Energy and Enterprise Initiative, a nationwide campaign promoting conservative and free-enterprise solutions to energy and climate challenges. **Elizabeth Economy** of the Council on Foreign Relations is an expert on Chinese domestic and foreign policy, especially related to environmental matters. She analyzed how climate change plays into Xi Jinping’s larger strategy for China’s economy and role on the global stage, and how his vision for addressing climate change and pollution in China is implemented in practice, especially in the hinterlands far from the rich coastal provinces. Hurricane Sandy was the catalyst that impelled **Miranda Massie** to quit her job as a

civil rights lawyer and found the Climate Museum. “I think that climate change is THE equality and THE civil rights issue of the 21st century,” she asserted. Entrepreneur **Sam Kass** talked about his experiences as chef and senior policy advisor for nutrition in the White House, including small anecdotes about the Obamas, initiatives to improve schoolchildren’s health, and the lunch he served to world leaders made from food waste. He also discussed the links between climate change and food, healthy eating, and hunger in the United States and abroad.



Miranda Massie



Bob Inglis with Ethics Matter host Stephanie Sy

Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Big Data

In a conversation titled “The Dangers of Digital Democracy,” **Rana Foroohar** of the *Financial Times* discussed how approaches to privacy and data use differ in the China, Europe, and the United States; what level of transparency we should demand; and how AI will affect workers. What are some of the



Rana Foroohar

problems with analyzing vast swaths of data? One built-in issue is who decides what data to collect. For example, the choice of data collected for police work or hiring may have built-in biases, explained **danah boyd** (styled lower case) of Microsoft Research.

More Highlights

Other highlights included **Timothy Snyder** of Yale University in a public talk in partnership with Bard College on his book *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*; historian **Kate Brown** on her book *Plutopia*, which revealed that although Chernobyl is considered the greatest nuclear disaster of all time, over the decades America's Hanford plant and Russia's Mayak plant each issued almost four times the amount of radiation as the disaster in the former Soviet Union; **Dan Plesch** of SOAS University of London, on his research on the lost history of prosecuting Axis war crimes during World War II; and **Marci Shore** of Yale University on her book *The Ukrainian Night: An Intimate History of Revolution*.



Timothy Snyder in conversation with Smita Narula of Roosevelt House

Global Ethics Forum TV Show

2018-2019 was the final season of *Global Ethics Forum*, the Council's weekly half-hour television show that aired on over thirty public and university TV stations across the United States. The entire series, going back to 2008, is available on the Council website here: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/archive/008/resources>. Episodes going back to 2012 are also available on the Council's YouTube page.

"Since we launched *Global Ethics Forum* a decade ago, the media landscape has changed considerably," said Carnegie Studio Executive Producer **Deborah Carroll**. "Today our largest and most loyal audience accesses Council materials digitally, not through television. So we decided it was time to focus on our current podcasts and to work on developing new online audio and video products. One such product is the *Global Ethics Weekly* podcast with **Alex Woodson**, launched in June 2018."

The show's format was to take some of the Council's most memorable talks and interviews and adapt them for

television. This year's programs included "The Soul of the First Amendment, with **Floyd Abrams**"; "An Uncertain Ally: Turkey Under Erdoğan's Dictatorship with **David L. Phillips**"; "Extreme Poverty in the United States, with the UN's **Philip Alston**"; "Democracy and its Crisis, with **A.C. Grayling**"; "On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century, with **Timothy Snyder**"; "Economics, Peace, Security and 'Women's Issues,' with **Melanne Verveer**"; and "Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations, with **Amy Chua**."

Global Ethics Weekly

Launched in June 2018, *Global Ethics Weekly* is a new podcast series on current international issues from an ethical perspective. Creator and host **Alex Woodson** talks with Carnegie Council senior staff, fellows, and affiliates, and weaves in excerpts from the Council's extensive archive of talks by many of the world's most distinguished political scientists and policymakers.



The program features a rotating roster of guests, including Carnegie Council President **Joel Rosenthal**; Senior Fellow **Nikolas Gvosdev**, director of Carnegie Council's U.S. Global Engagement program and professor of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College; Senior Fellow **Devin Stewart**, director of the Asia Dialogues program; and Senior Fellow **Kavitha Rajagopalan**, an expert on migration and urban communities. In the first few episodes the podcast guests discussed North Korea, President Trump and NATO defense spending, and Viktor Orbán's Hungary and the EU.

To listen to these podcasts, visit the Global Ethics Weekly webpage <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/global-ethics-weekly> or access them on iTunes.

Public Affairs Program

The Public Affairs Program led by Program Director **Joanne Myers** grapples with many of the most urgent concerns of our time. Featuring presentations by distinguished policymakers, scholars, and journalists, this widely acclaimed series has a faithful, well-informed audience for its public events. In addition to public events, Myers also conducts podcast interviews. Here are some of the highlights of the past year.

Liberal Democracies in Crisis?

Why has the United States become so polarized? Columbia University's **Mark Lilla** blamed identity politics and argued that the U.S. case offers a window on the crisis of democratic citizenship worldwide. In similar vein, **Amy Chua** of Yale Law School charged Americans with having been blind to tribal politics and its effects. **William Galston** of Brookings Institution declared that the rise of anti-pluralist populist movements was caused by a combination of economic



Mark Lilla



A.C. Grayling



Rob Riemen



Nadine Strossen (center) with audience members

factors and migration and urged liberals to take these concerns seriously, instead of feeling morally superior.

In an October 2017 event co-sponsored by **PEN America**, British philosopher **A.C. Grayling** contended that representative democracy in the UK has been corrupted by the three B's—blackmail, bullying, and bribery—and that the United States has similar problems. In addition, he noted the evil effects of disinformation campaigns. A YouTube clip of Grayling speaking about the influence of Cambridge Analytica on Brexit and Trump voters is one of the Council's most popular to date. Harvard's **Yascha Mounk** claimed that liberalism and democracy are coming apart, creating new forms of illiberal democracy (democracy without rights) and undemocratic liberalism (rights without democracy). Going even further, **Rob Riemen**, founder of the Nexus Institute in the Netherlands, warned that what we are seeing is the global resurgence of fascism.

One of the pillars of America's democracy is free speech, and **Nadine Strossen** of New York Law School made an impassioned and convincing argument for

why we should resist hate speech with continued free speech, not censorship.

Asia and Geopolitics

Is war between China and the United States inevitable? Harvard's **Graham Allison** spoke about "Thucydides's Trap," the dangerous dynamic that occurs when a rising power threatens to displace a ruling power. He concluded that war could be avoided, but both nations would have to make "painful adaptations and adjustments," starting with U.S. policy regarding the South China Sea and the

Korean Peninsula. There is disturbing evidence that China is weaponizing North Korea, and it is time that Washington started asking Beijing some pointed questions, said author and lawyer **Gordon Chang** in November 2017, during a looming nuclear showdown. Using Marco Polo's journey as "a geographical framing device for Eurasia today," best-selling author and geopolitical analyst **Robert D. Kaplan** examined China's ambitious "One Belt One Road" project, dissecting China's imperial dream and its multiple, under-reported objectives.

The Perils and Promise of New Technology

Military and technology expert **Paul Scharre** provided a detailed explanation of developments with autonomous weapons and their potential role in future warfare, exploring some of the ethical, legal, military, and security challenges they raise. Despite defeats in Mosul and Raqqa, ISIS and other extremist groups are thriving, said **Haroon K. Ullah** of Georgetown University. For them, the most important battlefield is not the physical one but the informational one, and there they are winning. **Alexander Klimburg** of the Hague Centre for Strategic Studies also declared that the Internet has become a weapon in information warfare, arguing that while the West sees cyber threats primarily as a technical issue that could destroy infrastructure, Russia and China see the Internet as a tool for propaganda and information control.



Joanne Myers and Paul Scharre

Vivek Wadhwa, author of *The Driver in the Driverless Car*, said that we need to educate people about the social and ethical implications of new technologies such as widespread automation and gene editing and have honest discussions on what is good and what is bad. On the positive side, **Jeremy Bailenson** of Stanford University's Virtual Human Interaction Lab described how virtual reality can be used as a force for good. By immersing people in experiences they would not otherwise have, such as the disastrous effects of climate change or the struggles of refugees, they can be galvanized to tackle problems that previously seemed remote and abstract.

Tunisia, Iran, and Turkey

Did you know that Tunisia started championing women's rights in the eighth century, and is still far ahead of most Arab and Muslim-majority countries? But while it may serve as an inspiration, its unique history probably makes its success impossible to duplicate, said **Safwan Masri**, executive vice president for Global Centers and Global Development at Columbia University.

There are few countries in the world that are more misrepresented in the West than Iran. By explaining some of the country's complex history, Yale University's **Abbas Amanat** provided a context to help demystify one of the most powerful nations in the Middle East.

Regarding Turkey, Columbia University's **David L. Phillips** argued that the United States should no longer regard it as an ally, but as a strategic adversary. "We need to face the fact that Turkey under Erdoğan has become a rogue regime," he said.

More Highlights

Other memorable talks included Sir **Lawrence Freedman** of King's College London on *The Future of War: A History*; historian **John Lewis Gaddis** discussing *On Grand Strategy*; former U.S. ambassador to Russia **Michael McFaul** on *From Hot War to Cold Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia*; **David Miliband** of the International Rescue Committee on the global refugee crisis; **Andrew Selee** of the Migration Policy Institute on *Vanishing Frontiers: The Forces Driving Mexico and the United States Together*; and historian **Garry Wills** on *What the Qur'an Meant: And Why It Matters*. Due to popular demand, the Council commissioned Arabic subtitles for the video of Garry Wills' presentation. The Arabic translation is also available as a transcript.



Lawrence Freedman

Student Ambassadors

Based in the New York area, Carnegie Council Student Ambassadors help the Council connect with their universities, publicize events, and plan new partnerships. A commitment of a full academic year is required. Student

Ambassadors are invited to all public events at the Council, as well as some special invitation-only events, such as CNL site visits. Each fall, Carnegie Council hosts a networking lunch for Ambassadors to connect with peers in universities across the NYC-Metro area. The program enables students to further their professional development, explore their leadership and communication talents, and gain access to a unique career network in international affairs.

U.S. Global Engagement

In January 2018, the Council appointed **Nikolas K. Gvosdev** as Senior Fellow of the U.S. Global Engagement (USGE) Program. Gvosdev is a professor of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College, where he holds the Captain Jerome E. Levy Chair in economic geography and national security. He also sits on the editorial advisory board for the Council's journal, *Ethics & International Affairs (EIA)*, and has contributed to the *EIA* blog since 2014.

At Carnegie Council, he is focusing on American disengagement from global affairs in the Trump era. His work advances discussion on one of the most pressing questions for U.S. foreign policy today: To what extent does the present international order rely on active and sustained U.S. engagement and support to function?

"One aspect of my project for Carnegie Council is to assess the impact that the recession of American power and the inconsistent and more haphazard role of the United States in international affairs will have, both in the maintenance of liberal norms and values and in the defense of American geopolitical and geoeconomic interests," said Gvosdev. "Linked to this assessment, however, is the exploration of the broad parameters of a revived American pragmatic internationalism that can resonate with voters."

Podcasts

In a February podcast, Gvosdev talked with **Kori Schake** of the International Institute for Strategic Studies about civil-military relations, in particular how the American public views the military today and how the military views its relationship to society. "One of the things that comes through really clearly is that the American public knows almost nothing about our military or what they do," she said, "and that cannot be healthy in a civilian society, in a free society, and in a democratic society." In March, Gvosdev and **Andrew Michta** of the George C. Marshall European Center discussed the future of Europe in the shadow of American disengagement. Michta's view is that that it may become "a 'Europe of clusters,' where countries even within the EU will align themselves differently depending on their economic or security interests. But in any case, he said, these shifts are being largely driven by internal factors such as the migration crisis, not by U.S. policy towards Europe.

Events at Carnegie Council

In May, Gvosdev moderated a panel titled "Democracy Promotion in the Age of Trump" with former U.S. ambassador to the Czech Republic **Adrian Basora** and



Nikolas Gvosdev, Adrian Basora, and Maia Otarashvili

Maia Otarashvili, both currently at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. Basora made a strong case for democracy as not only promoting American values but also serving U.S. interests, while Otarashvili gave a frightening overview of the rise of “illiberal values” (Viktor Orbán’s phrase) in the Eurasia region. Basora and Otarashvili are co-editors of the volume *Does Democracy Matter? The United States and Global Democracy Support*, for which Gvosdev authored one of the chapters. On the morning of June 11, just after the contentious G7 summit and as Donald Trump prepared to meet North Korea’s leader Kim Jong-un in Singapore, Gvosdev moderated a panel with **Kori Schake** and **Colin Dueck** of George Mason University, which discussed the enormous divide in the way Americans assess U.S. foreign policy and the growing distrust of foreign policy and

economic experts. This was followed by a day-long seminar at the Council for the USGE Study Group. Three sessions were held to explore questions of the breakdown in the narrative of U.S. global engagement, causes, and possible ways forward for rebuilding support for U.S. engagement.

Blog Posts

Gvosdev posted over a dozen blog posts between January and June. They included “State of the Union: The Liberal Leviathan is Over,” which presented his thoughts on President Trump’s first State of the Union address; “The United Nations, Human Rights, and American Disengagement”; “What Do Americans (Republican Voters) Actually Think?”; and “A ‘Values-Free’ Trans-Atlantic Relationship?” Read them on www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org or access them here, along with all the USGE resources: www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/001/resources.

Engagement with other Organizations

In addition to various speaking events, Gvosdev attended two international conferences this program year as a member of the Loisch Group, which is a collaboration between the Munich Security Conference and the Marshall Center. The two conferences were the Munich Security Conference in February, and the “Transatlantic Relationship and NATO Summit 2018: Priorities and Deliverables for the NATO Summit” in Berlin in June. In February, Gvosdev took part in a roundtable discussion and listening session with the Circle of Scholars in Newport, Rhode Island. In April, he participated in the inaugural session of the “Bridging the Gap: Developing a Bipartisan, Sustainable U.S. Policy toward Russia” dialogue, sponsored by the Sustained Dialogue Institute in Washington, DC, and he continued to take part in this dialogue later in the year.

For the USGE special project “Russian Soft Power in France,” led by Senior Fellow Marlene Laruelle, see page 16.

USGE gratefully acknowledges support from Carnegie Corporation of New York and Rockefeller Family & Associates.



Colin Dueck, Nikolas Gvosdev, and Kori Schake

Web Column, Carnegie Ethics Online

Run by Communications Director **Madeleine Lynn**, this monthly web column on ethics in international affairs offers a platform for both up-and-coming and established writers from around the world. “The aim is to feature under-reported stories as well as fresh perspectives on more familiar topics,” said Lynn. Here are some of the highlights: The United States is the world’s largest consumer of illegal drugs, with the vast majority entering via Mexico. In July 2017, U.S. Army Major (and CNL) **Vincent Dueñas** proposed “recalibrating” the never-ending and ineffective U.S. war on drugs. “A policy that addresses the violent threat but which also reduces the source demand for the drugs stands the best chance of reducing the human toll being paid by both countries,” he wrote.

In an October article titled “Let’s Be Frank: The Impact of Dodd-Frank and International Legislation on Congolese Extractive Industry,” **Bandi Mbubi**, founder of the advocacy platform Congo Calling, took issue with President Trump’s proposal to kill off elements of the Dodd-Frank Act that require energy and mineral resource companies to hold U.S. companies accountable for their use of conflict minerals. He explained the damage this repeal will do to the Democratic Republic of Congo and laid out the complex situation in his native land, which suffers from poverty, autocracy, corruption, and a series of endless, bloody conflicts.



Coltan/tantalum mining, Democratic Republic of Congo / photo: Responsible Sourcing Network, Creative Commons

“Less than 800 miles from our shores, Hondurans protesting against a fraudulent presidential election have been clubbed, shot at, terrorized, and arbitrarily arrested by the hundreds. Yet this crisis has hardly produced a blip on the radar screen of mainstream U.S. news,” wrote University of Denver’s **Lynn Holland** in February 2018, referring to the bitterly contested and possibly fraudulent November 2017 elections in Honduras.

When Mohammed bin Salman became the crown prince of Saudi Arabia in June 2017, many commentators were optimistic that he would bring sweeping reforms, as he promised. **Carter Vance**, an MA Candidate at



Rally in San Francisco, CA / photo: Peg Hunter, Creative Commons

Canada’s Carleton University, saw it differently. He explained why in a closely argued November 2017 article titled “Don’t Be Fooled by Cosmetic Changes: The West-Saudi Alliance Is More Morally Dubious than Ever.” “Aside from inertia and vague promises of support in fighting terrorist groups, there is little to justify the continuation of the close relationship between self-professed liberal democratic nations and Saudi Arabia,” he concluded.

Isaias Afwerki has been president of Eritrea since 1993. How has he stayed in power for so long, even though he is highly unpopular across Eritrea, including in his home region? “Instead of rallying public support, Isaias employs coercion, imprisonment, torture, intimidation, and killing to secure obedience, while simultaneously pursuing divide-and-rule strategies,” wrote development practitioner and Eritrean native **Bahlbi Y. Malk** in March 2018.

Spanish journalist **Javier Delgado Rivera** covers the UN regularly. In a May 2018 article, “Why is the Media Unfair to the United Nations?” he examined the many and complex reasons why media coverage of the UN focuses on the organization’s faults and failures rather than its achievements and successes, and explained how the UN is trying to counter this.

SPECIAL INITIATIVES BY SENIOR FELLOWS

Latin America and the West Interview Series

Though it is geographically situated in the Western Hemisphere, most conceptions of “the West” today do not include Latin America. However, Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Alexander Görlach** sees the region as an essential part of the West not only because of a shared past, shared enlightenment, and shared languages, but also because of mutual philosophical traditions, political systems, and religious and ethical beliefs. To explore this idea further, Görlach spoke with luminaries across Latin America.

For **Homero Aridjis**, a distinguished Mexican poet, author, activist, and diplomat, the West means countries that follow Greco-Latin culture—not Anglo-Saxon culture. Centuries ago, the Spaniards brought architecture, philosophy, religion, art, and literature to Latin America. In many ways these nations are keeping Western culture alive, he told Görlach, while Europeans are losing their Western identity. **Eduardo Wolf**, a professor of ancient philosophy and ethics and a newspaper editor in São Paulo, discussed the similarities and differences between studies in Latin America and Europe/North America, and the struggle to find the essence of Brazilian identity, which he believes is a common struggle in former colonies. **Genaro Lozano** of Ibero-American University in Mexico City is also a TV presenter, columnist, and LGBT activist. He discussed the long history and current “fragmented scenario” of LGBT rights in Mexico and other Latin American countries and explored U.S.-Mexico relations, especially since the election of Donald Trump. Entrepreneur and former diplomat **Henning Andrés Droege**, who is a third generation German-Guatemalan, explained Guatemala’s German connection and discussed Guatemala’s role in geopolitics. Lastly, Colombian journalist and political scientist **José Alejandro Cepeda** discussed how Colombia’s decades-long civil war has shaped the Colombian identity and how long it may take before the nation truly recovers.



Antigua, Guatemala / photo: Joseph Hill via Pixabay, Creative Commons

Russian Soft Power in France – A Special Project of the U.S. Global Engagement Program



Paris, Russian Orthodox cathedral and Cultural Center in Paris, Quai Branly / photo: Ninara, Creative Commons

Launched in the summer of 2017, the year-long Carnegie Council research project “Russian Soft Power in France” explored Russian influence in French political parties and civil society institutions today. The research includes historical background on relations between France and Russia, which is essential to an understanding of the current situation. This valuable case study on France sheds light on Russia’s soft power strategies to bolster allied political parties in established European democracies.

The participants were project leader and Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Marlene Laruelle**, of The George Washington University; **Nicolas Lebourg**, of the University of Montpellier; and **Jean-Yves Camus**, of the French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs, Paris. Each researcher produced a paper in French (which was then translated into English) and the papers were presented at three separate events in Paris.

The papers are as follows:

- “Russian Soft Power in France: Assessing Moscow’s Cultural and Business Para-Diplomacy,” by Marlene Laruelle
- “The French Far Right in Russia’s Orbit,” by Nicolas Lebourg
- “French Political Parties and Russia: The Politics of Power and Influence,” by Jean-Yves Camus

In June 2018, Carnegie Council held a concluding event at its headquarters in New York, during which the researchers shared their findings and offered a window into Franco-Russian relations. It is important to understand that Russia and France have had a centuries-long relationship that has been mostly positive, the panel explained. Today there are layers of close economic and

cultural ties as well as common geopolitical interests, and the French extreme right and Russia share many of the same conservative values. Thus while it is alarming to see the connections between the French far right and Russia, the remarkable strength of Russian influence in France is not surprising.

For the papers and resources from the concluding event in French and English, go to <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/Russian-Soft-Power-in-France>.

The research in France was supported by a grant from the Foundation Open Society Institute in cooperation with the Open Society Initiative for Europe of the Open Society Foundations. The concluding event in New York was funded by Rockefeller Family & Associates.

The Living Legacy of the First World War

In June 1917, the first 14,000 American Expeditionary Force soldiers landed in France. Their arrival marked a tectonic shift in global politics, as the United States turned the principled idealism of its progressive era outward in an effort to restructure a broken international system. Launched in the summer of 2017 and leading up to the hundredth anniversary of Armistice Day in 2018, the goal of “The Living Legacy of the First World War” project is to publish original research on the war, its long-term impacts on societies around the world, particularly the United States, and its lasting imprint on the present. This fellowship program is led by Senior Fellow Col. **Reed Bonadonna** (ret.), a former infantry officer and field historian in the U.S. Marine Corps with deployments to Lebanon and Iraq. Here are the nine selected Fellows and their research themes:

- **Katherine Akey**, artist, Washington, DC: “Collective Memory and the Hidden Photographic Narratives of World War I”
- **Mary Barton**, Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) Historical Office: “European and American Counterterrorism Strategies in the Aftermath of World War I”
- **Christopher Capozzola**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT): “Merchants of Death? The Politics of Defense Contracting, Then and Now”

- **Philip Caruso**, Harvard University: “Airpower During World War I: Transforming International Law”
- **Zach Dorfman**, investigative journalist and Carnegie Council Senior Fellow: “Chemical Weapons from the Great War to Syria and Beyond”
- **Tanisha Fazal**, University of Minnesota: “The Politics and Medicine of Treating Post-Traumatic Stress Since World War I”
- **Richard Millett**, University of Missouri-St. Louis: “The United States, the Western Hemisphere, and World War I: Forgotten Aspects”
- **Seiko Mimaki**, Takasaki City University of Economics, Japan: “World War I as a Key Moment in the History of Humanitarianism: Jane Addams and Her Cosmopolitan Ethics”
- **Charles Sorrie**, Trent University, Canada: “The Legacy of American Press Censorship During the First World War”

“The list of topics gives some idea of the influence and relevance of the First World War in our own time,” said Bonadonna. “One hundred years after what H. G. Wells called a war to end wars, war—its costs and consequences—is still very much with us, and the need for compassion and principled engagement just as great.”

Over the course of 2017–18 program year, Bonadonna conducted a series of interviews with each fellow on their research. The audio and transcripts can be found here: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/programs/WWI>.

In September 2018, Bonadonna, Barton, Caruso, Dorfman, and Millett were session speakers at the Carnegie Peacebuilding Conversations, a three-day program at the Peace Palace in The Hague, presented by Carnegie institutions worldwide and other partners. Carnegie Council President **Joel Rosenthal** also attended and was one of the plenary speakers.

The other Fellows traveled to New York in November 2018 and presented their work at a Carnegie Council luncheon just after Armistice Day as part of the city’s commemoration of the World War I Centennial.

This project was made possible with the generous support of the Richard Lounsbery Foundation.



“Gassed” by John Singer Sargent, Public Domain

ADDITIONAL SPECIAL EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES

Book Launch for *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World*, September 2017

What moral values do human beings hold in common? As globalization draws us together economically, are our values converging or diverging? These were the questions posed by Carnegie-Uehiro Centennial Chair **Michael Ignatieff** as part of the Council's multi-year centennial project on global ethics. The project took Ignatieff and his Carnegie Council team to Latin America, North America, Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. Through dialogues with favela dwellers in Brazil, South Africans and Zimbabweans living in shacks, Japanese farmers, gang leaders in Los Angeles, and monks in Myanmar, they found that while human rights may be the language of states and liberal elites, the moral language that resonates with most people is that of everyday virtues: tolerance, forgiveness, trust, and resilience.

On September 25, 2017, Ignatieff presented his resulting book *The Ordinary Virtues* (Harvard University Press) at Carnegie Corporation of New York's headquarters. The book launch was hosted by Carnegie Corporation and Carnegie Council, in collaboration with Bard College Center for Civic Engagement. Access the recording of the event here: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20170925-the-ordinary-virtues-moral-order-in-a-divided-world-michael-ignatieff>. In May 2018, the book won the the Zócalo Public Square Book Prize, which is given to the nonfiction book that most enhances our understanding of community, human connectedness, and social cohesion.



Michael Ignatieff



Bruce Jentleson

Forging the Future: The Next Century of Andrew Carnegie's Legacy – April 2018 Launch Event with Bruce Jentleson

Andrew Carnegie's remarkable philanthropic legacy has evolved through the work of the institutions he founded and inspired. To mark the hundredth anniversary of his death in 2019, Carnegie institutions in New York, Pittsburgh, Washington, DC, and Europe are sponsoring events highlighting different aspects of the Carnegie legacy in peace, education, and philanthropy. The series will culminate with the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy awards ceremony in October 2019.

The first event in the series took place at Carnegie Council in April 2018, when Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Council hosted a special lecture by Council Trustee **Bruce W. Jentleson**, a leading American foreign policy scholar, on his new book *The Peacemakers: Leadership Lessons from Twentieth-Century Statesmanship*. At a time when peace seems elusive and conflict endemic, Jentleson's book makes a forceful and inspiring case for the continued relevance of statesmanship and diplomacy and provides practical guidance to twenty-first-century leaders seeking lessons from some of history's most accomplished negotiators, activists, and trailblazers.

May 2018 Uehiro-Carnegie-Oxford Conference - Ethics and the Future of Artificial Intelligence

Since 2003, this annual international conference has convened in Tokyo, Oxford, or New York to discuss important topics concerning practical ethics. This year the meeting took place at Carnegie Council's New York headquarters, presided over by Dr. **Noboru Maruyama**, secretary-general of the Uehiro Foundation on Ethics and Education; **Joel Rosenthal**, president of Carnegie Council; and **Julian Savulescu**, director of the Oxford Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics, University of Oxford. The lively panel discussions with speakers from Europe, Asia, and the United States explored the following questions: Can machines be programmed with AI to make moral choices? How will increasing automation affect the human need and expectation for meaningful work? How will AI change work and life? Can robots engage with human beings as tutors, healthcare providers, and companions? How is AI-equipped technology (such as drones and "killer robots") changing long-standing norms of public security?



Peter Asaro, William Casebeer, Angela Kane, and Julian Savulescu

May 2018 Fourth Annual Student Research Conference

Organized by Senior Fellow and Program Director **Devin Stewart** with the help of the Council's Student Ambassadors (see page 13), the fourth annual Student Research Conference started with a networking session, followed by nine student presentations, selected from thirty-two submissions from the greater New York area. Two winners were selected: "The Bitter-Sweet Truth about Development: Brazil, Nutrition, and Diabetes," by **Patrick Hickey** of Marist College; and "A (Restrained) Call to Arms: A Comprehensive Ethical Analysis of Just War Theory in Historically Significant Cyber-Warfare Conflicts," a group research project by West Point Cadets **Michael Deegan, John Erskine, Riaz Lane, Samuel Reichenthal**, and **Jacob Wells**. The winners all



Devin Stewart speaking at the fourth annual Student Research Conference

received one-year memberships to the Council's Carnegie New Leaders program.

Other presentation topics included refugees, social media and fake news, transitional justice, homelessness, and democracy. The judges were from the U.S. Navy, Hunter College, Bard College, and Carnegie Council.

Fourth Annual Global Ethics Day

October 18, 2017, marked the fourth annual Global Ethics Day, with participation from over sixty organizations and individuals from thirty-one countries on five continents. Founded by Carnegie Council in 2014 to celebrate its centennial, Global Ethics Day is an opportunity to explore the role of ethics in our professions and our everyday lives, and from The Gambia to Nicaragua to Romania, everyone did so in their own way. Topics this year included ethics in business, climate change, personal values, democracy, and human rights. Here are a few highlights:

The Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (ACCA), a global organization founded in the UK, took the day as an opportunity to focus on why ethics and professionalism matter on a global level. "On this Global Ethics Day, we ask you to recommit to ensuring business does the right thing and is a force for good," wrote ACCA's chief executive, **Helen Brand** OBE, and the director of the Institute of Business Ethics, **Philippa Foster Back** CBE, in a joint full-page letter published in the *Financial Times*. ACCA promoted the day around the world, and the ACCA Singapore office launched its first ever Ethics Film Festival to coincide with October 18. For the fifth Global Ethics Day in 2018, Carnegie Council is partnering with ACCA and CFA Institute on a series of short videos entitled *Ethics in Business: In Their Own Words*, which will be rolled out over the course of 2018/19.

In Brazil, the Study Group on Ethics and Sustainability, part of the Business Administration Council for the State of São Paulo (CRA-SP), held a full-day series of free, public presentations on ethics in business in response to corruption in Brazil. They also planted a tree and launched a physical and virtual time capsule to be opened on Global

Ethics Day in 2025. At the University of Buraimi's College of Health Sciences in Oman, the theme was fighting climate change: The dean, students, and government officials planted trees, and students held a clean-up drive and promoted awareness at a local supermarket. The Geneva-based international network www.globethics.net took the golden rule, "treating others as you would like to be treated," as its theme this year, inviting everyone to post stories on how they apply the golden rule in their day-to-day lives. Inspired by globethics.net, the University of Malawi held a panel discussion looking at the golden rule as it is reflected in Islam, Christianity, Bantu ethics, and the work of Immanuel Kant.

Many universities around the world held ethics panels, workshops, and classes, including Bard College and affiliates in New York, New Orleans, Berlin, and East Jerusalem. To see a full list of participants, along with many of the photos posted on social media, go to <https://globoethicsday.org/global-ethics-day-2017/>.



For Global Ethics Day, students from the University of Buraimi, Oman, raise awareness about climate change in a local supermarket

Annual Contests

In your opinion, what is the greatest ethical challenge facing the world today? This was the topic for the 2017 international student/teacher essay contest. Of the five winners (three high school students and two undergraduates), two came from South Korea and three from the United States. Their essays addressed sexual exploitation, geoengineering, artificial intelligence, genetic engineering, and the universal right to education.

The topic for the international student photo contest was **climate change**. We asked contestants to submit photos showing examples of climate change or examples of combating or adapting to climate change. Two prizes were awarded, with the first prize going to a high school student in Beijing and the second prize going to a high school student in Pennsylvania.



"Chain": Winning photo of Beijing smog, by Bohua Duan

Robert J. Myers Fellows Fund

As president of Carnegie Council from 1980 to 1994, **Robert J. Myers** spearheaded an international effort to promote ethics education. In honor of his legacy, Carnegie Council established the Robert J. Myers Fellows Fund in 2014, the Council's Centennial year. The Fund supports and promotes activities of the Carnegie Council network that embody Myers's vision of effective ethical inquiry rooted in local experiences and communities. This year ten projects were chosen, located in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Japan, Myanmar, Namibia, South Africa, and the United States. Here are the recipients and their projects:

- **Atik Ambarwati, Kartini Indonesia Foundation, Indonesia, Pacific Delegate**
Research on ways to promote religious tolerance and social inclusivity for women and youth in Jepara District, Central Java, Indonesia.
- **Asha Castleberry, Fordham University, Baruch College, U.S. Army Reserves, Carnegie New Leader Alumna and Brian Mateo, Bard College, Carnegie New Leader**
Interview-based research exploring how populism has impacted ethics and leadership in the U.S. military and veteran communities.
- **Deen Chatterjee, University of Utah, Global Ethics Fellow Alumnus**

A study of three community initiatives in rural India toward launching a core course on human rights at the Garden of Peace School.

- **Sonja Pei-Fen Dale**, Hitotsubashi University, Japan, Pacific Fellow
Project to make the humanities more relevant for students in Japan today by taking students outside the classroom to learn more about and experience society, and to connect it to their studies.
- **Peter DeBartolo**, Adelphi University, Carnegie New Leader
Fieldwork associated with a long-term, empirically-grounded, qualitative research project in New York City to investigate the social and ethical implications of post-9/11 counterterrorism policy and practice.
- **Joshua Eisenman**, University of Texas at Austin, Global Ethics Fellow Alumnus
Research project examining the ethical questions that surround China's political and military objectives in Africa. Fieldwork in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Ghana, Namibia, and South Africa.
- **James Farrer**, Sophia University, Japan, Pacific Fellow
Project exploring the relationship of artisanal ethics to community resilience in a Japanese urban neighborhood. The goal is to develop comparative and collaborative projects in other countries.
- **Yukari Kayama**, Mitsubishi Corporation, Japan, Pacific Delegate
Semester-long course in various Japanese high schools for students to discuss global issues outside a general high school curriculum, including environment, human sexuality, minority rights, and diversity.
- **Hunter Marston**, Brookings Institution, Carnegie New Leader
In-field assessment in Myanmar of the state of civil society and democratic participation, offering key insights on the country's political climate ahead of national elections in 2020.
- **Sujata Gadkar-Wilcox**, Quinnipiac University, Carnegie New Leader
Project to explore local understandings of human rights by interviewing human rights workers engaged in community advocacy in India.

Free Online Education Materials for High Schoolers and Undergraduates

Over the summer of 2018, Education Fellow **Elena Shanbaum** added timely new high school and undergraduate materials to the Council's extensive online Education Section.

These include two new sections:

- **Thinking Democratically:** Lessons, worksheets, activities, and more, designed to stimulate student thought about what it means to be a part of a democracy.
- **Moral Leadership and the Environment:** Who is responsible for protecting our Earth? Classroom activities, worksheets, and a PowerPoint lesson on moral leadership and the environment, using the Flint water crisis as a case study.

Shanbaum also expanded the Worksheets and Excerpts on History and Government collection:

- The new **Political Ideologies section** features a series of worksheets on liberal democracy, illiberal democracy, and fascism, plus a primer on socialism, capitalism, and social democracy.
- The **U.S. History and Government section** includes new worksheets on the Iraq War.

"This is just the beginning," said **Joel H. Rosenthal**, president of Carnegie Council. "Over the coming year, Carnegie Council will be piloting an expanded education project focused on two interrelated topics: Ethics and Democracy. Each topic will be associated with a module of activities for high school and early undergraduate students taking place over the course of the academic year. We hope that teachers and students will continue to check out the website for new materials and opportunities to get involved."



2018 Women's March in Missoula, Montana /
photo: Montanasuffragettes, Creative Commons

ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS QUARTERLY JOURNAL (EIA)

Ethics & International Affairs, the Council's flagship publication, is a peer-reviewed quarterly journal published by Cambridge University Press. *EIA* publishes original essays and articles that apply rigorous thinking about principles of ethics and justice to discussions of real world issues related to current policy developments, global institutional arrangements, and the conduct of important international actors. This year it showcased an exceptional list of contributors covering a broad range of topics, including climate engineering, rising powers and the international order, and migration. For current and past issues, blog posts, and more, go to ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org.

Fall 2017 (Vol 31.3)

Among the major contributions to this issue are a seminal essay by Nobel Prize recipient **Amartya Sen (Harvard University)** on the foundations of global justice and a highly provocative essay by acclaimed scholar **Amitav Acharya (American University)** on the multiplex world order. It also includes features by **Jamie Gaskarth (University of Birmingham)** on rising powers and their conceptions of responsibility, **Laura Hartman (University of Wisconsin Oshkosh)** on the “playing God” critique of climate engineering, and **Aidan Hehir (University of Westminster)** on improving the responsibility to protect through legal reform. In addition, **Chris Brown (London School of Economics and Political Science)** provides a pointed review essay on global poverty alleviation and noted just war scholar **James Turner Johnson (Rutgers University)** contributes a review essay on the ethics of insurgency. (See also *EIA* Managing Editor Adam Read-Brown's podcast interview with Amitav Acharya.)



Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial / photo: Ron Cogswell, Creative Commons

Winter 2017 (Vol. 31.4)

Headlining this issue is a roundtable on “The Role of International Law and Just War Theory,” featuring essays by **Edward Barrett (United States Naval Academy)**, **James Turner Johnson (Rutgers University)**, **David Luban (Georgetown University)**, and **Valerie Morkevičius (Colgate University)**. In addition, major attention was paid to climate engineering, including an essay on geoengineering governance by **Janos Pasztor (Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative)** as well as a feature by **Christopher J. Preston (University of Montana)** examining moral culpability in climate engineering, with responses from **Holly Lawford-Smith (University of Melbourne)**, **Sikina Jinnah (University of California Santa Cruz)** and **Douglas Bushey (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency)**, and **Mike Hulme (University of Cambridge)**. The issue also provides an essay by **Jonathan D. Caverley (U.S. Naval War College)** on how to slow the proliferation of major conventional weapons.



Photo: Schjelderup, Creative Commons

Spring 2018 (Vol 32.1)

For the first time in more than a decade, the editors designated the spring issue of *Ethics & International Affairs* as a Special Issue. The centerpiece is a roundtable on the theme of “Rising Powers and the International Order,” organized by **G. John Ikenberry (Princeton University)** and **Shiping Tang (Fudan University)**, with further contributions from **Anne L. Clunan**

For more information, including selected articles in full, online exclusives, audio interviews, and the *EIA* blog, go to ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org



Photo: TaxRebate.org.uk, Creative Commons

(Naval Postgraduate School), **Andrew Hurrell (University of Oxford)**, **Deepa M. Ollapally (George Washington University)**, and **Ole Wæver (University of Copenhagen)**. This distinguished group of international scholars reflects on the ongoing grand power transition, focusing on the ways that rising states may be shaping and reshaping global order. Each essay investigates the present and future order from the perspective of a different international actor, including China, India, Russia, the EU, the United States, as well as the BRICS writ large. The issue also includes an essay on the practice of “golden visas” and the marketization of citizenship by **Ayelet Shachar (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity and the University of Toronto)**, and a review essay on eliminating corruption by **Gillian Brock (University of Auckland)**. (See also EIA Associate Editor *John Krzyzaniak's* podcast interview with *Ayelet Shachar*.)

Summer 2018 (Vol. 32.2)

With an emphasis on “fairness,” this issue contains essays by **Lea Ypi (London School of Economics and Political Science and the Australian National University)** on the importance of social class in migration, **Jennifer L. Tobin (Georgetown University)** on international investment agreements and “regulatory chill,” and **Cristina Cielo and Lisset Coba (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales Ecuador)** on the intersection of gender and disease in extractive economies. In addition, **Gregory M. Reichberg** and **Henrik Syse (Peace Research Institute Oslo)** provide a peer-reviewed feature on the ethics of threats in international relations, and **Alasia Nuti (University of York)** on the structural injustices that characterize temporary labor migration within the EU.

Roundtable on Ethical Leadership and Climate Change

In April 2018, the editors organized a panel of scholars and practitioners for a roundtable on ethical leadership and climate change at the annual International Studies Association conference, held in San Francisco. Moderated by Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Janos Pasztor**, the roundtable included EIA board members **Robyn Eckersley (University of Melbourne)** and **Darrel Moellendorf (Goethe University Frankfurt)**, as well as the Seychelles ambassador to the U.S. and member of the C2G2 Advisory Group, **Ronald Jumeau**, and climate activist **Suma Peesapati (Peesapati Law and Communities for a Better Environment)**. Find the full transcript, audio, and video here: carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20180405-climate-change-and-power-to-act-ethical-approach-for-practical-progress.



Janos Pasztor, Robyn Eckersley, Darrel Moellendorf, Suma Peesapati, and Ronald Jumeau at the ISA Roundtable, San Francisco

EIA Interview Series (Podcasts with Transcripts)

This long-running series provides journal contributors with an opportunity to discuss their recent work. The interviews this year, with one author from each issue, were conducted by EIA Managing Editor **Adam Read-Brown** and Associate Editor **John Krzyzaniak**.

- **Amitav Acharya** discussed the emerging global order that he calls a decentered, “multiplex” world, one where there are multiple consequential actors and complex global interdependence.
- **Jonathan D. Caverley** outlined his proposal for slowing down the spread of proliferation of major conventional weapons, such as aircraft and artillery, which are being used to deadly effect in Syria and elsewhere.



The towns of Nogales, Arizona, left, and Nogales, Mexico, stand separated by a high concrete and steel fence / photo: Sgt. 1st Class Gordon Hyde, Public Domain

- **Daniele Archibugi** discussed his new book, *Crime and Global Justice*, which examines the history of global criminal justice through case studies of the trials of several heads of state, including Augusto Pinochet and Saddam Hussein.
- **Ayelet Shachar** talked about some of the ethical issues raised by “golden visas” for the super-rich. There is a global surge in such visas, and those who obtain them often have “no connection to the country other than a wire transfer, the ability to press a button, and pass a significant sum of money across borders.”
- **Lea Ypi** examined injustices related to immigration policy, highlighting the importance of social class. “In both political debates and academic debates on migration the question of class is often missed,” she noted.

Online Blogs and Exclusives

Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Nikolas Gvosdev** is a frequent blog contributor to the *EIA* website, focusing on American foreign policy. The blog also features “What We’ve Been Reading” by the *EIA* editors, a monthly roundup of news and current events related to ethics and international affairs, and occasional postings about conferences of interest around the world. In addition, there were two Online Exclusives this year: “Mindful Diplomacy: A Path to Peace,” by former UN speechwriter **Abigail Somma**; and “Migration, Brain Drain, and U.S.-Cuba Relations,” by **Ernesto Dominguez Lopez** of the Universidad de La Habana, Cuba.



A boat full of Cubans arriving in Key West, Florida in 1965 / photo: DukeUnivLibraries, Creative Commons



Meditation room at UN Headquarters / photo: United Nations, Creative Commons

CALENDAR OF EVENTS AND PODCASTS

Events

July 2017

7/10/2017

U.S. Air Force War College Visits Carnegie Council

Devin T. Stewart
Senior Program Director, Senior Fellow,
Carnegie Council

7/12/2017

Rutgers University Graduate Students Visit Carnegie Council

Devin T. Stewart
Senior Program Director, Senior Fellow,
Carnegie Council

August 2017

8/4/2017

The Nuclear Necessity Principle

Scott D. Sagan
Caroline S.G. Munro Professor of Political
Science, the Mimi and Peter Haas
University Fellow in Undergraduate
Education, and Senior Fellow, the
Center for International Security and
Cooperation, Stanford University
Ethics Matter Program

8/24/2017

Happy Hour with the Young Professionals in Foreign Policy and the Met Society

Carnegie New Leaders Program

September 2017

9/7/2017

The Risks and Rewards of Big Data, Algorithms, and Machine Learning

danah boyd (styled lower case)
Principal Researcher, Microsoft Research;
President and Founder, Data & Society
Ethics Matter Program

9/7/2017

From the White House to the World: Food, Health, and Climate Change

Sam Kass
Founder, TROVE
Ethics Matter Program

9/8/2017

Russian Media and Politics from Soviet Times to Putin

Jonathan Sanders
Associate Professor, School of Journalism,
Stony Brook University
Ethics Matter Program

9/14/2017

An Uncertain Ally: Turkey under Erdoğan's Dictatorship

David L. Philips
Director, Program on Peace-building and
Rights, Institute for the Study of Human
Rights, Columbia University
Public Affairs Program

9/14/2017

CNL Dinner on Turkey-U.S. Relations

David L. Philips
Director, Program on Peace-building and
Rights, Institute for the Study of Human
Rights, Columbia University
Carnegie New Leaders Program

9/18/2017

The Once and Future Liberal: After Identity Politics

Mark Lilla
Professor of Humanities, Columbia
University
Public Affairs Program

9/22/2017

Site Visit to Fort Hamilton: Urban and Asymmetrical Warfare

Col. Peter Sicoli
Garrison Commander, U.S. Army

Col. Leon Parrott
Deputy Commander and Deputy Division
Engineer, the North Atlantic Division, U.S.
Army Corps of Engineers

Col. Patrick H. Mahaney, Jr.

Director of the Chief of Staff, Strategic
Studies Group, U.S. Army

Lt. Col. Judd Floris

Commander, NYC Recruiting Battalion,
U.S. Army

Carnegie New Leaders Program

9/25/2017

The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World

Michael Ignatieff
President and Rector, Central European
University; Carnegie-Uehiro Centennial Chair
*Book Launch in partnership with Carnegie
Corporation of New York and Bard College
Center for Civic Engagement*

9/28/2017

Welcome Reception

Carnegie New Leaders Program

9/29/2017

Free-Enterprise Solutions to Climate Change

Bob Inglis
Founder and Executive Director, the
Energy and Enterprise Initiative (E&E) and
republicEN.org
Ethics Matter Program

October 2017

10/3/2017

What the Qur'an Meant: And Why It Matters

Garry Wills
Emeritus Professor of History, Northwestern
University
Public Affairs Program

10/12/2017

The Tenth Annual Elenchus, U.S. Coast Guard Academy

David Gergen
Professor of Public Service and Co-Director,
the Center for Public Leadership, the
Kennedy School School of Government,
Harvard University
Carnegie New Leaders Program

10/13/2017

Roundtable on International Security Cooperations at the Pentagon

Heidi Grant

Deputy Under Secretary, Office of International Affairs, U.S. Air Force

Ann Cataldo

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Defense Exports and Cooperation, U.S. Army

Rear Admiral Francis Morley

Director, International Programs Office, U.S. Navy

Carnegie New Leaders Program

10/16/2017

The Future of War: A History

Lawrence Freedman

Professor Emeritus of War Studies, King's College London

Public Affairs Program

10/18/2017

The Impacts of Climate Change and New York's Climate Museum

Miranda Massie

Founder and Director, the Climate Museum

Ethics Matter Program

10/25/2017

False Dawn: Protest, Democracy, and Violence in the New Middle East

Steven A. Cook

Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

James Ketterer

Dean of International Studies and Director, Bard Globalization and International Affairs Program (BGIA), Bard College

Ethics Matter Program in Partnership with BGIA

10/26/2017

Democracy and Its Crisis

A.C. Grayling

Master, New College of the Humanities, London

Public Affairs Program

10/27/2017

Plutopia: Nuclear Families in Atomic Cities

Kate Brown

Professor of History, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Ethics Matter Program

November 2017

11/2/2017

Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?

Graham Allison

Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, Harvard University

Public Affairs Program

11/2/2017

CNL Dinner on Civil Liberties

Anthony Romero

Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Carnegie New Leaders Program

11/7/2017

China, Climate Change, and the Environment

Elizabeth Economy

C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director for Asia Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Ethics Matter Program

11/9/2017

Europe's Far-Right Political Movements

Marlene Laruelle

Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council; Associate Director and Research Professor, the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Russian Soft Power in France/U.S. Global Engagement Programs

11/9/2017

German Elections at Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Nico Lange

Director of Political Planning, Deputy General Manager, Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU)

Carnegie New Leaders Program

11/11/2017 – 11/17/2017

C2G2 Discussions and Dinner at UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Twenty-third Session of the Conference of the Parties (COP23)

(Bonn, Germany)

Janos Pasztor

Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Kai-Uwe Schmidt

Senior Program Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

11/13/2017

Trump, North Korea, China: War or Peace

Gordon G. Chang

Author and Lawyer

Public Affairs Program

11/14/2017

Student Ambassador Lunch

Student Ambassador Program

11/28/2017 – 12/6/2017

C2G2 Meetings and Reception at the UN Environment Assembly (UNEA)

(Nairobi, Kenya)

Janos Pasztor

Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Kai-Uwe Schmidt

Senior Program Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

11/30/2017

RESCUE: Refugees and the Political Crisis of our Time

David Miliband

President and CEO, International Rescue Committee

Public Affairs Program

December 2017

12/4/2017

Les réseaux d'influence Russe en France: milieux culturels et héritage de l'emigration (Russian Influence Networks in France: The Culture and Heritage of Emigration)

(Paris, France)

Marlene Laruelle

Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council; Associate Director and Research Professor, the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Jean-Yves Camus

Political Analyst and Associate Research Fellow, the French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs
Russian Soft Power in France/U.S. Global Engagements Programs

12/5/2017

Fractured Continent: Europe's Crises and the Fate of the West

William Drozdiak

Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center on the United States and Europe, Brookings Institution
Public Affairs Program

12/11/2017

Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly

Safwan Masri

Executive Vice President for Global Centers and Global Development, Columbia University
Public Affairs Program

12/14/2017

Briefing at BlackRock on Ethics and Corporate Governance

Jessica C. McDougall

Associate, BlackRock Investment Stewardship
Carnegie New Leaders Program

12/17/2017

Workshop on Transdisciplinary Research and Governance on Climate-related Geoengineering Event at the Twenty-first meeting of the Subsidiary Body on Scientific, Technical and

Technological Advice SBSTTA-21 (Montreal, Canada)

Holly Buck

NatureNet Science Fellow, University of California, Los Angeles

Wil Burns

Co-Executive Director, Forum for Climate Engineering Assessment

David Cooper

Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity

Anna-Maria Hubert

Assistant Professor of Law, University of Calgary

Janos Pasztor

Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Frank Keutsch

Stonington Professor of Engineering and Atmospheric Science, Harvard University

Silvia Ribeiro

Latin America Director, ETC Group

Yolanda Teran

Indigenous International Forum on Biodiversity (IIFB)

Phil Williamson

Programme Science Coordinator, UK Natural Environment Research Council (NERC)

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

12/21/2017

Extreme Poverty in the United States

Philip Alston

John Norton Pomeroy Professor of Law, New York University School of Law; Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, the United Nations
Ethics Matter Program

January 2018

1/8/2018

Tackling Inequality in the United States, with "Born on Third Base" Chuck Collins

Chuck Collins

Director, Program on Inequality and the Common Good, Institute for Policy Studies
Ethics Matter Program

1/11/2018

Top Risks and Ethical Decisions 2018

Ian Bremmer

President, Eurasia Group
Ethics Matter Program

1/11/2018

New Year's Social

Carnegie New Leaders Program

1/12/2018

The Ukrainian Night: An Intimate History of Revolution

Marci Shore

Associate Professor of History, Yale University
Ethics Matter Program

1/18/2018

Just a Journalist: On the Press, Life, and the Spaces Between

Linda Greenhouse

Joseph Goldstein Lecturer in Law, Yale Law School
Public Affairs Program

1/25/2018

Iran: A Modern History

Abbas Amanat

William Graham Sumner Professor of History and Director, Yale Program in Iranian Studies, MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University
Public Affairs Program

February 2018

2/1/2018

To Fight Against This Age: On Fascism and Humanism

Rob Riemen

Founder, Nexus Institute
Public Affairs Program

2/6/2018

Site Visit: US Mission to the UN on Humanitarian Aid

Kylie Holmes

Humanitarian Advisor, U.S. Mission to the U.N.
Carnegie New Leaders Program

2/15/2018

Student Ambassador Networking Reception

Student Ambassador Program

2/20/2018

It's Better than It Looks: Reasons for Optimism in an Age of Fear

Gregg Easterbrook

Contributing Editor, *The Atlantic* and *The New Republic*; Columnist, *The Weekly Standard*
Public Affairs Program

2/21/2018

On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century

Timothy Snyder

Richard C. Levin Professor of History, Yale University; Permanent Fellow, the Institute for Human Sciences

Smita Narula

Distinguished Lecturer, Hunter College; Interim Director, Human Rights Program, Roosevelt House Public Policy Institute, Hunter College

Ethics Matter Program in Partnership with BGIA

2/22/2018

Geoengineering: A Game on Science, Technology, and Governance

Pablo Suarez

Associate Director for Research and Innovation, Red Cross Red Crescent Climate Centre

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

2/27/2018

Economics, Peace, Security, and Women's Issues

Melanne Vermeer

Executive Director, the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security

Ethics Matter Program

2/27/2018

The Lost History of Prosecuting Axis War Crimes

Dan Plesch

Director, the Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy, SOAS University of London

Ethics Matter Program

2/28/2018

State Department Roundtable: Syria and Iraq Stabilization Activities

(Washington, DC)

Solomon Black

Program Manager, Office of Weapons Removal and Abatement, U.S. Department of State

Eric Keefer

Assistant Program Manager, Office of Weapons Removal and Abatement, U.S. Department of State

Carnegie New Leaders Program

March 2018

3/1/2018

Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations

Amy Chua

John M. Duff, Jr. Professor, Yale Law School
Public Affairs Program

3/6/2018

The U.S. Foreign Service and the Importance of Professional Diplomacy

Nicholas Kravlev

Executive Director, Washington International Diplomatic Academy

Ethics Matter Program

3/14/2018

The Return of Marco Polo's World

Robert D. Kaplan

Senior Fellow, the Center for a New American Security; Senior Advisor, Eurasia Group

Public Affairs Program

3/14/2018

Fighting Fake News: How Journalists and Technologists are Countering the Wave of Rumor, Propaganda, and Lies in the Media

Josh Davis

Producer, Vice News

Daniel Sieberg

Senior Marketing Manager, Google

Brennan Gilmore

Former Member of the Foreign Service
Carnegie New Leaders Program

3/16/2018

The Case for Universal Basic Income

Andrew Yang

Founder and CEO, Venture for America
Ethics Matter Program

3/20/2018

Briefing and Reception on ISIS Propaganda

John Miller

Deputy Commissioner of Intelligence & Counterterrorism, New York City Police Department (NYPD)

Carnegie New Leaders Program

3/22/2018

Beyond #MeToo: A Dialogue on Sexual Harassment

Dina Deligiorgis

Knowledge Management Specialist, UN Women

Michael Kimmel

Professor of Sociology, Stony Brook University

Christina Madden

President, Women in International Security in New York; Carnegie New Leader

Kameka Dempsey

Executive Coach and Moderator
Carnegie New Leaders Program

3/27/2018

Anti-Pluralism: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy

William A. Galston

Ezra K. Zilkha Chair and Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Public Affairs Program

3/29/2018

The Gravest Threat to the United States: Itself? (Washington, DC)

Ali Wyne

Policy Analyst, RAND Corporation; Carnegie New Leader

Carnegie New Leaders Program

3/29/2018

The Dangers of a Digital Democracy

Rana Foroohar

Global Business Columnist and Associate Editor, *Financial Times*; Global Economic Analyst, CNN

Ethics Matter Program

April 2018

4/5/2018

Climate Change and the Power to Act: An Ethical Approach for Practical Progress

(San Francisco)

Janos Pasztor

Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Robyn Eckersley

Professor and Head of Political Science, the School of Political Science, Sociology and Criminology, University of Melbourne

Darrel Moellendorf

Professor, Goethe University, Frankfurt

Ronald Jumeau

Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Ambassador for Climate Change, Republic of Seychelles

Suma Peesapati

Environmental Attorney, Peesapati Law; President, Board of Directors, Communities for a Better Environment
Ethics & International Affairs Event at International Studies Association Annual Conference

4/6/2018

Governance of Climate Interventions on a Warming Planet: The Importance of Stakeholder Participation

(Arizona)

Janos Pasztor

Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

4/12/2018

On Grand Strategy, with John Lewis Gaddis

John Lewis Gaddis

Robert A. Lovett Professor of Military and Naval History, Yale University

Public Affairs Program

4/18/2018

Why the Ukraine Crisis Endures

Elise Giuliano

Lecturer, Political Science Department, Columbia University; Director, Graduate Studies, MA Program, The Harriman Institute

Carnegie New Leaders and Student Ambassador Program

4/19/2018

The People vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It

Yascha Mounk

Lecturer, Government Department, Harvard University; Post-Doctoral Fellow, Transatlantic Academy of the German Marshall Fund; Non-Resident Fellow, Political Reform Program, New America

Public Affairs Program

4/20/2018

Site Visit to U.S. Military Academy, West Point: War and Ethics

U.S. Army Major Scott Parsons

Carnegie New Leaders Program

4/24/2018

Promoting Human Rights in the Developing World

Robert Bank

President and CEO, American Jewish World Service

Ethics Matter Program

4/25/2018

Poverty Reduction & Social Welfare in China

Qin Gao

Director, China Center for Social Policy, Columbia University

Ethics Matter Program

4/26/2018

The Peacemakers: Leadership Lessons from Twentieth-Century Statesmanship

Bruce Jentleson

Professor of Political Science, Duke University

Public Affairs Program in Partnership with Carnegie Corporation of New York

May 2018

5/1/2018

Army of None: Autonomous Weapons and the Future of War

Paul Scharre

Director, Technology and National Security Program, Center for a New American Security

Public Affairs Program

5/7/2018

Roundtable with Alyssa Ayres (Washington, DC)

Alyssa Ayres

Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia, Council on Foreign Relations

Carnegie New Leaders Program

5/8/2018

Greed, Movies, and Capitalism

John Paul Rollert

Adjunct Assistant Professor of Behavioral Science, Booth School of Business, Chicago University

Carnegie New Leaders Program

5/9/2018

From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia

Michael McFaul

Senior Fellow and Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Professor of International Studies, Department of Political Science, Stanford University; Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution

Public Affairs Program

5/10/2018

Student Research Conference

Student Ambassador Program

5/10/2018

Democracy Promotion in the Age of Trump

Adrian A. Basora

Senior Fellow and Director, Eurasia Program, Foreign Policy Research Institute

Maia Otarashvili

Research Fellow and Deputy Director, Eurasia Program, Foreign Policy Research Institute

U.S. Global Engagement Program

5/16/2018

Annual Uehiro-Carnegie-Oxford Conference on Ethics and the Future of Artificial Intelligence

Wendell Wallach

Carnegie-Uehiro Fellow; Consultant, Ethicist, and Scholar, Interdisciplinary Center for Bioethics, Yale University

Julian Savulescu

Founder and Director, Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics, Oxford University

Fumio Shimpo

Professor, Faculty of Policy Management and Graduate School of Media and Governance, Keio University

Carissa Veliz

Research Fellow, Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics, Oxford University

Kush Varshney

Research Staff Member and Manager, IBM Research AI

Arisa Ema

Assistant Professor, Science Interpreter Training Program, Komaba Organization for Educational Excellence, University of Tokyo

Yoshinori Hiroi

Professor, Kokoro Research Center, Kyoto University

Hannah Maslen

Deputy Director, Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics, Oxford University

Julia Powles

Research Fellow, New York University School of Law and Cornell Tech

Go Yoshizawa

Associate Professor of Biomedical Ethics and Public Policy, Graduate School of Medicine, Osaka University

Ken Tomiyama

Researcher, Chiba Institute of Technology

Robert Sparrow

Professor, Monash University and Cofounder, International Committee for Robot Arms Control

William D. Casebeer

Senior Research Area Manager, Human Systems and Autonomy, Lockheed Martin Advanced Technology Laboratories

Angela Kane

Former UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs

Sponsored by Uehiro Foundation on Ethics and Education

5/22/2018

Briefing and Workshop for the UN Environment Committee of Permanent Representatives (Nairobi, Kenya)

David Cooper

Deputy Executive Secretary, Convention on Biological Diversity Secretariat

Sabine Fuss

Head, Working Group on Sustainable Management and Global Change, Mercator Research Institute

Arunabha Ghosh

Executive Director, Council on Energy, Environment and Water

Jian Liu

Chief Scientist, UN Environment

Douglas MacMartin

Senior Research Associate, Cornell University

Janos Pasztor

Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Stephan Singer

Senior Advisor, Climate Action Network (CAN) International

Pablo Suarez

Associate Director for Research and Innovation, Red Cross Red Crescent Climate Centre

Wenjian Zhang

Assistant Secretary General, World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

5/23/2018

Why Ethics Matter in International Affairs

Reuben E. Brigety II

Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Christopher A. Kojm

Professor of International Affairs, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Janne E. Nolan

Research Professor, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Joel H. Rosenthal

President, Carnegie Council

In Partnership with the Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

June 2018

6/5/2018

HATE: Why We Should Resist It with Free Speech, Not Censorship

Nadine Strossen

John Marshall Harlan II Professor of Law, New York Law School

Public Affairs Program

6/11/2018

Restoring Trust: How Can the American Public Regain its Confidence in its National Security Apparatus?

Kori Schake

Deputy Director-General, the International Institute for Strategic Studies

Colin Dueck

Professor, Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University; Non-Resident Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute

U.S. Global Engagement Program

6/12/2018

Would the World Be Better Without the UN?

Thomas G. Weiss

Presidential Professor of Political Science, CUNY Graduate Center

Public Affairs Program

6/13/2018

Russian Soft Power in France

Marlene Laruelle

Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council; Associate Director and Research Professor, the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University

Jean-Yves Camus

Political Analyst and Associate Research Fellow, the French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs

Russian Soft Power in France/U.S. Global Engagement Programs

6/25/2018

Briefing on U.S. Policy and the Trans-Atlantic Relationship

Nikolas Gvosdev

Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council; Professor, National Security Affairs and Captain Jerome E. Levy Chair in Economic Geography and National Security, U.S. Naval War College

U.S. Global Engagement Program

6/25/2018

La vie politique française et la Russie: politique de puissance et d'influence (French Political Life and Russia: Politics of Power and Influence)

(Paris)

Jean-Yves Camus

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The End of the International Order and the Future of Asia

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U.S.-Asia Economic Ties Under Trump

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On "Chinese National Socialism"

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On U.S. Air Force Global Partnerships

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Moral Leadership Missing in Burma

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Necessary Evil: How to Fix Finance by Saving Human Rights

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Is Indonesia Becoming Like Pakistan?

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Motorcycles & the Art of Politics in Thailand

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Fighting Threats to Philippine Democracy

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Piety and Public Opinion: Understanding Indonesian Islam, with Tom Pepinsky

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Normalizing Intolerance in Indonesia

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Understanding the "Duterte Phenomenon" in the Philippines

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"Why Terrorists Quit" in Indonesia

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Crime and Global Justice: The Dynamics of International Punishment

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"Samuel Huntington ignored Latin America as part of the West"

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Brazilian Identity, Western Culture, & Institutions

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Vanishing Frontiers: The Forces Driving Mexico and the U.S. Together

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U.S Global Engagement Podcasts

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Dangerous Delegation: Military Intervention & the U.S. Public

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Deputy Director-General, International Institute for Strategic Studies

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European Futures in the Shadow of American Disengagement, with Andrew Michta

Andrew Michta

Dean, College of International and Security Studies, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies

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Hugo Slim

Head of Policy and Humanitarian Diplomacy, International Committee of the Red Cross

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Senior Program Director, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council

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International Economist and Author

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Senior Program Director, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council

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From Enemies to Partners: Vietnam, the U.S., & Agent Orange

Charles R. Bailey

Author and Agricultural Economist

Alex Woodson

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Statement of Activities for the Fiscal Year beginning July 1, 2017 and ending June 30, 2018

INCOME

Grants for Programs.....	\$1,087,584
Climate Geoengineering Governance Project.....	702,515
Trustee & Individual Contributions	125,135
Program & Membership Fees	83,235
Other Income	157,169
Net Investment Income.....	2,879,295
TOTAL Revenue & Support.....	\$5,034,933

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.

EXPENSES

Education.....	\$485,976
Public Affairs Programs.....	347,906
Internet & Studio.....	1,050,823
Print Publications	325,593
Climate Geoengineering Governance Project.....	1,606,696
Sub-total Program Expenses.....	\$3,816,994
Management & General Support.....	812,135
Fundraising & Development.....	405,804
TOTAL Expenses.....	\$5,034,933

Funds Restricted for Climate Geoengineering Governance Project.....	\$1,437,583
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