CARNEGIE COUNCIL

The Voice for Ethics in International Affairs



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66 The Carnegie Ethics Studio is transforming the Council from a meeting place for the fortunate few to an information resource for people everywhere. **55**

-Joel Rosenthal, President, Carnegie Council

President's Message

Ethics matter. They mattered to Andrew Carnegie in 1914 on the eve of World War I, when he assembled a group of religious, academic, and political leaders and founded the organization known today as the Carnegie Council. Mr. Carnegie always "thought big." His goal was nothing less than to put an end to war forever. To do this, he realized, would require more than creating institutions, such as the Peace Palace he built in The Hague or the establishment of a League of Nations. He knew that in the end, peaceful resolution of conflict would also depend on greater individual understanding of the moral imperatives for peace, one person at a time.



Joel H. Rosenthal

Now, almost a hundred years later, although there has been progress in the realm of laws on human rights, for instance, Andrew Carnegie's hopes remain unfulfilled. As I write, the United States is fighting two wars, and the world faces multiple other dilemmas, such as economic recession, ensuring justice for those unfairly affected by climate change, and unremitting poverty for those whom economist Paul Collier calls "the bottom billion." All of these matters involve moral questions that cannot be ignored. The challenge for us now, as it was at the time of our founding, is to relate the best of our moral traditions to the urgent problems of our time. With pluralism, rights and responsibilities, and fairness as its guiding principles, today's Carnegie Council focuses on one central question: How can we learn to live together while acknowledging our deepest differences?

We believe that the first step is open discussion and thanks to technology, we can now reach more people than ever before. Starting in 2008, the Council has been quietly reinventing itself as the Studio for the World. Our in-house Carnegie Ethics Studio records our events on video and/or audio and makes them available online to anyone, anywhere, free of charge. It also produces material such as TV and radio series, three of which have already been picked up by local TV and radio stations. This year, Council programs have been featured on Public Television's Channel 13, C-Span, and others, and our audio podcasts are routinely among the top ranked on iTunes, with over 70,000 monthly downloads (competing for top billing with the White House and the Pentagon). Our materials are being viewed, heard, and read by our constituents in Beirut, Beijing, and tens of thousands of places in between.

"My heart is in the work," said Andrew Carnegie in 1900. So is ours. Energetic, flexible, and committed, our small team continues to work toward Mr. Carnegie's vision of "education for peace." In the coming year we will make significant contributions to academic and policy debate on climate change, the future of American foreign policy, the changing nature of the global economy, ethics and leadership, and the claims of patriotism and cosmopolitanism on individual and collective action. We will host workshops on energy, migration, and democratization with our global partners from China, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States; we will continue with our events, interviews, and online publications; and we will share the findings of all of our activities through our websites and syndication with an ever-growing list of media partners.

Thank you for your support.

Joel H. Rosenthal President, Carnegie Council

COUNCIL **PROGRAMS**

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Public Affairs Program



"In the twentyfirst century the most important outcomes will be determined by the choices we will be making in the

next days, weeks, and months ahead. America needs to be thinking strategically about a grand strategy, one in which we can shape and define what comes next," said Public Affairs Program Director Joanne Myers, soon after President Obama's inauguration. Her program for the 2008-2009 season perfectly captured that Zeitgeist, with a host of distinguished speakers ruminating—and disagreeing—on the past, present, and future role of the United States in the world.

EXPORTING DEMOCRACY

Today, both neoconservatives and liberal internationalists claim to follow in the footsteps of Woodrow Wilson, who called on Americans to actively support the growth of democracy around the world. Not surprisingly, the Dean of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Anne-Marie Slaughter, argued (as it happened, on the very eve of her appointment as the State Department's Director of Planning) that it is the liberals who are Wilson's true heirs. The crux of the matter, she said, is whether you can champion Wilson's principles and still have a prudent,

sensible, and effective foreign policy. For example, inheriting Wilson's mantle means supporting democracy worldwide. But overthrowing governments does not work; democracy can only be built from the bottom up.

Author James Traub would agree. Although President George Bush bungled his famous Freedom Agenda, which posited that American liberty is dependent on liberty in other lands, said Traub, Bush's concept still holds true. For our safety it is imperative that we find ways to nurture and support democratic institutions. To have any chance of success in this enterprise, however, we must approach it with a very different mentality and a great deal of humility.

"America has never been a warrior culture," began noted historian Simon Schama, quoting Dick Cheney at Arlington Cemetery, adding, "Just because it was Cheney saying it didn't automatically make it untrue." From there Schama launched into a dazzling discussion of the American psyche from the Revolution to the present, highlighting the contrast between the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian worldview. Similarly, historian and librarian Ted Widmer pointed out that "for much of our history we have not been terribly ready for the great challenges that we blundered into or that we sought." Yet from its beginnings, he argued, the United States, for all its shortfalls, has been by far the world's greatest advocate for freedom.

Andrew Bacevich sees it quite differently. The noted Iraq War critic and professor of international relations insisted that we must abandon the "mythic narrative" of an America set apart from the rest of the world and only reluctantly drawn into foreign affairs. "Rather," he declared, "the central theme of U.S. foreign policy is expansionism, beginning in the wake of the American Revolution and continuing down to the present day." The country is facing a profound triple crisis, he told the Council audience: the economy (even before the recession), in that the U.S. can no longer rely on expansion abroad; the government, in that we have become a democracy in name only; and an involvement in endless wars.

However, political scientist Thomas P.M. Barnett views America's "grand strategy" not as expansionism per se but as globalization, which he considers a positive force. "It was the model of states uniting, economies integrating, that we imposed upon the American continent—collective security, high transaction network rates, and most importantly, a competitive religious landscape. This is a basic description of globalization today," he noted, arguing that America's empire (a term he dislikes) "is the first in human history to actually empower and enrich individuals."

Carnegie Council is a forum for discussion of values and ethics as they relate to the world. This is a rare and precious thing these days, as we are struggling to find a form of civil discourse about big important questions. What the Carnegie Council has done is a model of what we need.
—Michael Sandel, Harvard University, at a Public Affairs Talk

WAR AND PEACE

What of the situation in Iraq after the troop surge? In spite of the fundamental disconnect between the Bush administration and the reality in Iraq, said military expert Bing West in September 2008, the U.S. Army has managed to turn things around. But the Pulitzer Prize-winning Washington Post correspondent Thomas Ricks said a few months later that although the surge succeeded militarily, it was still a failure. Its stated purpose, said Ricks, was to create a breathing space so that a political breakthrough could occur, but at its close not one of the political issues had been resolved. He grimly predicted that the U.S. military presence in Iraq would probably continue for at least another five to ten years.



U.S.SOLDIERS WITH IRAQI SECURITY FORCES. PHOTO: U.S. ARMY http://www.flickr.com/photos/soldiersmediacenter/

As of 2009, the United States has been embroiled in Afghanistan for eight years and neither Admiral William Fallon nor Afghanistan expert Rory Stewart, who spoke together on the topic in May 2009, saw an end in sight. But what is the best way forward? Rebuilding Afghanistan will take decades, said Stewart, and to be financially and militarily sustainable our presence there needs to be much

lighter. The real problem, said counterinsurgency expert **David Kilcullen**—and Iraq and Afghanistan are prime examples—is that the U.S. and its allies have been approaching these conflicts in the wrong way. Al-Qaeda's strategy is to gain control of a wide variety of disparate local actors and engage us in a series of farflung interventions until we run out of money and political will. To prevail in the long run, he said, we have to work on local relationships and local solutions.

FINANCIAL MELTDOWN

Naturally, there was much soul searching about the global financial crisis. Economist Robert Kuttner pointed out that the decline in the standard of living of ordinary Americans was not a sudden phenomenon; for most, their economic situation has become ever more precarious over the last three decades. Jeffrey Sachs concluded that we should look at the fiscal shock as a wakeup call that we were not on a sustainable path, and as an opportunity to invest in the future.

Harvard professor **Niall Ferguson**, however, took a somewhat different approach, arguing that "this great economic shock does not necessarily reduce the power of the United States. It may, in fact, have the opposite effect, for the simple reason that power is relative." Ferguson asserted that the key is not whether America is threatened with decline, but whether "Chimerica"—the combination of China's economy plus America's—is in danger. If it is not, then there is reason to hope that America's present economic situation



SIGN OF THE TIMES. PHOTO: JEFF TURNER http://www.flickr.com/photos/respres/2539334956/

will prove to be only a correction rather than a crash.

HOT-BUTTON ISSUES

The season drew to a close with some uncannily timed talks about unfolding events. On June 3, in the midst of the spate of North Korean nuclear and ballistic missile tests, Victor Cha, a veteran of many negotiations with the North Koreans, surmised that there were two principle reasons for their behavior: the first and simplest explanation is that the tests were in order to further develop their ballistic missile and nuclear weapons program; the second is that with the ill health of Kim Jong-II the North Koreans were (and are) in the midst of an internal leadership transition. Then on June 30, less than a month after the Iranian presidential election and while the result was still in dispute, the Council was privileged to hear Ambassador Thomas Pickering on the future of U.S.-Iran relations.

Other highlights from the forty-plus events this year included Ali A. Allawi on the crisis of Islamic civilization; Dambisa Moyo on the failure of aid to Africa; Nandan Nilekani on India; P. W. Singer on robotics in warfare; and Lord Nicholas Stern on coping with climate change.

COUNCIL **PROGRAMS**

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WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS PANEL DISCUSSION

Global Policy Innovations (GPI)



"The goal of GPI," says Program Director **Devin** Stewart. "is to advance the notion of a fairer globalization—

that is, globalization that takes into account the fundamental ethical questions surrounding the global economy. We do this by disseminating ideas about alternative economic development and highlighting innovations." As Stewart explains, "By innovations, we mean ideas, technology, and grassroots movements that specifically address the ethical dilemmas or obstacles that are in the way of a more harmonious world—particularly those innovations that can be scaled-up and possibly spread throughout the world."

POLICY INNOVATIONS ONLINE **MAGAZINE**

To watch, read, or listen to all of GPI's diverse output simply go to www.policyinnovations.org. This online magazine provides not only videos, audios, and transcripts of GPI events but also a steady stream of briefings, commentaries, new ideas, and notable policy papers from a multitude of sources. Outstanding articles over the past year have included: "Building a Continental Renewable Super Grid" by Roy Morrison, Director of the Office for Sustainability at Southern New

Hittner, Corporate Social Responsibility Leader for IBM Global **Business Services**; and "Security and Scarcity, the Twoheaded Problem of Asian Hydropolitics" by Saleem H. Ali, Associate Professor of Environmental Studies, University of Vermont's Rubenstein School of Natural Resources. We invite you to stay informed of GPI's work by going to the website and signing up for the GPI email newsletter. We also encourage you to post comments on the individual articles and on the magazine's

WORKSHOPS FOR ETHICS IN **BUSINESS (WEB)**

blog, Fairer Globalization.

This unique program convenes panels of businesspeople, NGO representatives, and academics to share ideas for addressing ethical issues in the business world. The program year began with a spirited discussion of the potential for interactive online social networks to galvanize companies into taking greater corporate responsibility.

This was followed by a panel on health as a human right, with representatives from the health industry, activism, and academia debating the roles and responsibilities of various actors in securing affordable and accessible medicines across the developing world.

In early January, WEB hosted a panel entitled Top Risks and Ethical Decisions 2009. Ian Bremmer, a Carnegie Council Trustee and founder of Eurasia Group, which specializes in risk analysis, led the way with a forecast of global political risks for the year. Michele Wucker, Executive Director of the World Policy Institute, emphasized the need for global collaboration on such challenges as the financial crisis, climate change, security, and migration. Focusing on internal challenges, Art Kleiner of Booz & Company asked the audience to imagine being the decision-maker at a cigarette company and having to deal with the first negative health report that crossed your desk. What would you do? Ignore it or tell the truth? Both involve risk for the company. Asked Kleiner: "What does it take to instill in a team, an organization, a nation, a culture, a society, the ethic where it's easier for more and more people to take the decision to tell the truth?"

GPI's "Top Risks" is now an annual event, with Ian Bremmer, Georg Kell, Art Kleiner, and Thomas Stewart confirmed for January 13, 2010. See the GPI web calendar for more details. Other panels included **Restoring**

EX Policy Innovations features some of the most cutting-edge ideas on shaping globalization in an accessible, hip, and technologically-savvy format. 37

-Steve Clemons, New America Foundation

Trust in the Global Financial System, which featured participants from the worlds of business, academia, and public relations. In his summation, moderator and Carnegie Council Trustee Tom Donaldson noted that events have made it clear that we can't rely too much on regulations, and while ethics can't do everything, expecting professionals to take some responsibility is an important part of the equation. Forced to Labor: The Cost of Coercion consisted of two officials of the International Labour Organization and a former slave, a Mexican woman who had been held against her will in the United States and then wrongly imprisoned.



A SUSTAINABLE WORLD. ILLUSTRATION: DENNIS DOYLE

Lastly, in August 2009, Booz & Company hosted an off-the-record working group, Climate Change, Global Responsibilities, and the U.S.-China Relationship, coorganized by the Carnegie Council and China Reform Forum, a leading Beijing-based think tank. Following the working group, the Council and China Reform Forum issued a joint statement proposing five practical, business-oriented

steps that the U.S. and China could take together to combat climate change while meeting energy needs. Read the statement online at: www.cceia.org/about/ announcements/0041.html

Also available online is the transcript of Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal's speech at the meeting, entitled Realism as Pragmatic Cooperation.

OTHER GPI EVENTS

Among the year's notable GPI events was Green Jobs, a sixmember panel discussion of the International Labour Organization's report "Green Jobs: Towards Decent Work in a Sustainable, Low-Carbon World." Another memorable occasion was the talk given by UN Special Representative John Ruggie, who presented his conceptual framework for business and human rights, and his plan to develop practical recommendations for all relevant stakeholders.

One of the most moving speakers this year was Siddharth Kara, author of Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery. A former investment banker and business executive. Kara set aside his corporate career to pursue antislavery research, advocacy, and writing. "The exploitation of sex slaves for commercial sex generated profits of \$35.7 billion in 2007," he said. "This makes slavery second only to drug trafficking in terms of global illicit enterprises."



AUDIO INTERVIEW SERIES: **ADVOCATES** FOR ETHICS **IN BUSINESS**

Nearly every organization faces difficult ethical dilemmas when doing business globally. How do they address them successfully? To find out, GPI launched a series of audio interviews produced and hosted by radio professional Julia Kennedy. These fascinating conversations touched on a wide range of subjects, from environmental sustainability to how ethical business practices can improve the bottom line. Among the many speakers and topics: Xerox's Joe Cahalan explained how his company's diversity strategy gave it a competitive advantage; Columbia professor Hans Decker (previously at Siemens for thirty-five years) discussed stakeholder value; CEO of Good Energies Richard Kauffman (formerly of Goldman Sachs) talked about how his company invests in renewable energy and energy efficiency firms at all stages of development; CIO of Acumen Fund Brian Trelstad shared ideas on how to use entrepreneurs in the developing world to combat poverty; and Greyston Bakery President and CEO Julius Walls, Jr. told Kennedy how the profitable bakery was started for the purpose of bringing the unemployed into the workforce. In fact, Greyston's motto is: "We don't hire people to bake brownies; we bake brownies to hire people."

COUNCIL **PROGRAMS**

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PARATROOPERS ON PATROL IN AEGHANISTAN PHOTO: U.S. ARMY http://www.flickr.com/photos/soldiersmediacenter/429239163

U.S. Global Engagement Program (USGE)



"In the current political debate," wrote Director David Speedie in his introduction to this new program, "much is made of 'renewal of

engagement' with the world in conducting foreign policy, or of restoring U.S. 'moral leadership.' But what might constructive engagement entail? To address this key policy question, the U.S. Global Engagement Program will look at the issues through the lens of a series of critical bilateral and multilateral relationships, with allies and non-allies alike."

PAPERS AND ARTICLES

The first phase of USGE focused on the U.S.-Russia relationship and on NATO. To aid in this exploration, USGE entered into a joint project with the Moscowbased Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies (ISKRAN), the most established and prestigious of Russia's think tanks devoted to bilateral relations and to more constructive dialogue.

The first step was to commission a series of white papers on three crucial topics, in each case with submissions from both Russian and North American experts. Released soon after the Obama-

Putin agreement in principle to dramatically reduce U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals, the first set of four papers was on arms control, with a particular focus on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty and related missile defense questions. The ISKRAN contributors were Viktor Esin and General Pavel S. Zolotarev, and the Americans were national security analyst Burgess Laird along with John Isaacs and Travis Sharp, both of the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation. The papers made it clear that:

- Arms control and treaties governing both offensive and defensive military capabilities remain absolutely central to U.S.-Russia relations.
- It is not realistic to expect that Russia will agree to "decouple" discussion of the different components of the arms control agenda.

Released on the eve of the Afghanistan presidential elections, the second set of four papers focused on U.S./NATO-Russia cooperation on Afghanistan in its regional context, looking at common interests in Afghanistan's stability, the changing terms of the U.S. war, and the future of NATO. The American contributors were Carnegie Council Senior Fellow Colonel Jeffrey McCausland and Eric Olson, a retired Major General who is now an independent defense contractor. The ISKRAN authors were Far Eastern experts Yuri Morozov and Sergey Luzianin.

The papers concluded that the United States/NATO and Russia have clear and urgent common interests in promoting long-term stability in Afghanistan; that Afghanistan must be seen not in isolation but in a broader regional (Central Asian) context; and that Afghanistan is now, as McCausland stated, "Obama's War." Lastly, while the American and Russian authors differed considerably in their views of NATO's continuing relevance and role, even the American view of NATO as the most "successful" and "durable" military alliance in history was tempered by the urging to revisit and reconsider the original NATO charter, which current challenges such as Afghanistan-may be rendering obsolete.

These papers are posted in full online at www.carnegiecouncil.org. Watch the website for the third set of white papers, which will be on security, military, and environmental challenges in the Arctic region, one paper by a Russian expert and the other by a leading Canadian Arctic scholar.

Also on the Carnegie Council website are two widely-read articles by David Speedie on the "reset button"—the metaphor for restoring U.S.-Russia relations. Is this much-hyped strategy really working? Despite the progress made, a number of critical arms control issues have simply not been addressed, plus there has been a series of missteps, wrote Speedie.

LE I thought the interview was extremely well done—excellent questions and a logical progression of ideas to cover a very large subject. I use the convenient online version as background material in my Columbia University graduate seminar, and other teachers told me that they were doing the same. I hope the Carnegie Council and David Speedie persevere with this important work. 37

-Gary Sick, Columbia University

EVENTS AND INTERVIEWS

In addition, Speedie held a succession of events and video interviews with distinguished foreign affairs experts, many of them touching on some aspect of Russian affairs. First among these was a conversation with **Susan** Eisenhower, honorary President of the Eisenhower Institute and expert on arms control and energy security. She discussed Russia's current place in the world and its relations with other countries.



RUSSIE MOSCOU (51) PLACE ROUGE KREMLIN. PHOTO: PEUPLIER http://www.flickr.com/photos/peuplier/164795606/

In October, Georgia and Russia expert Oksana Antonenko talked about the recent August conflict in Georgia, giving the Council audience the complicated history behind the headlines. And in April 2009, Ambassador Sergey Kislyak offered the official Russian perspective on the conflict, along with his opinions on U.S.-Russia relations, nuclear proliferation, and the state of Russia today. Another important part of the equation is, of course, relations with Europe. In May 2009, immediately after President Obama's visit to Europe, German statesman Karsten Voigt discussed U.S.-German relations in the context of the EU, NATO, and Russia.

Under the auspices of the Public Affairs program, Speedie also had a fascinating conversation with veteran diplomat and former U.S. Ambassador to NATO Robert **Hunter**. Sixty years after NATO's founding, they discussed its four original basic missions, its recent expansion, its future prospects, and, of course, the strains with Russia.

After his Public Affairs talk on U.S.-Iran relations. Ambassador Thomas Pickering sat down with Speedie to talk about Russia and the United States. But first they discussed Russia's possible role in the unfolding events in Iran—for example the possibility of Iran participating in a multilateral enrichment facility in Siberia. They went on to discuss other potential areas of cooperation between Russia and the United States, including missile defense, and Afghanistan, since the U.S. and Russia have a shared interest in not seeing the country collapse.

Iran was also the topic of an earlier interview in November 2008 with Iran expert Gary Sick, emeritus professor at Columbia University and State Department official during the 1970s hostage crisis. In the last two years of its term the Bush administration toyed with the idea of talking to Iran, said Dr. Sick; and with the arrival of Obama, the question now is not "Should we?" but "How do we go about doing it?" What's more, he argued, the United States has a lot of leverage with Iran. He pointed out that the U.S. has Iran surrounded, as there are U.S. troops in Iraq and Afghanistan;



PRES. AHMADINEJAD. COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, PHOTO: D. ZALCMAN http://www.flickr.com/photos/midnightquill/1435157946/

and most importantly the United States has been constructing a sanctions regime since 1995, both unilaterally and more recently multilaterally, through the United Nations.

Other interviews included a conversation with Ted Sorensen. Special Counsel and Adviser to President Kennedy. In a wideranging conversation, he discussed John F. Kennedy, Cuba, and Vietnam; the 2008 Russia/Georgia conflict; John McCain's idea of a League of Nations; and the promise of Obama's presidency.

In addition, David A. Hamburg, president emeritus at Carnegie Corporation of New York, talked about his extraordinary career. Hamburg started out as a medical researcher, doing groundbreaking work on how people cope with stress and conflict. He served as President of Carnegie Corporation from 1982 to 1997, concentrating on early childhood development, Russia, and conflict prevention.

COUNCIL **PROGRAMS**

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CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS EVENT

Carnegie New Leaders (CNL)



Run by Director Devin Stewart. Carnegie New Leaders (CNL) is a selective program for professionals under forty. In

its first year, the program boasted more than sixty members from business, academia, and NGOs, and the number is still growing. In a series of small group meetings, CNL participants explore how an ethical perspective can be applied to specific policy decisions. In addition to its focus on ethical analysis, the program offers young professionals several benefits, including the opportunity to meet with peers and experts, access to certain additional Carnegie Council Programs, the ability to help shape future Carnegie Council programming, and the chance to become an honorary Carnegie Council Trustee.

Reflecting the diversity of the members and their interests, this year's speakers were an eclectic group. The first was Bruce Weinstein, author of the syndicated column, "Ask the Ethics Guy." Living an ethical life makes us happier, healthier, and more prosperous both professionally and personally, he said—but the main reason to do the right thing is simply because it's the right thing to do.

In February 2009, Kavitha Rajagopalan, a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute, discussed her new book, Muslims of Metropolis, which follows three families on their

journey of adapting to a new land—a Palestinian family from Jerusalem to London, a Kurdish family from Turkey to Berlin, and a Bangladeshi family to New York City. Her primary focus, she said, was to show the true complexity and diversity of the so-called Muslim world and of Western countries, which means that there is no typical Muslim immigrant experience that fits all.

Speaking especially to those just starting out in their careers, Richard Solomon, President of the U.S. Institute of Peace, noted that we were at one of the most interesting breakpoints in history— "a time where the great confrontations between the nationstates has been replaced by a period where intrastate conflicts seem to predominate, where the UN and other international organizations are proving to be very difficult vehicles for dealing with some of the great challenges of our time, whether it's nuclear proliferation or dealing with the genocide in Darfur." This raises a host of questions. For example, how do we strengthen failing states that are being co-opted by bad actors? How should we treat non-uniformed combatants? How do we develop an ethical, yet

realistic human rights policy? It is time for us to rethink how we deal with the world, he concluded, both legally and operationally.

How can you help change the world, and get paid for doing it? The program year ended with a funny and inspiring conversation with Alissa Wilson, one of the three co-authors of Practical Idealists. She shared some of the stories of the many disparate people she interviewed, including that of Josh Dorfman, creator of the television show, The Lazy Environmentalist.

Other speakers this year included Council Senior Fellow William Vocke on ethics and public diplomacy; Michelle Goldberg on her book, The Means of Reproduction: Sex, Power and the Future of the World; Philippines Senator Manny Villar on the 2010 Philippine National Elections; and Kevin Bales and Ron Soodalter on their book, The Slave Next Door: Human Trafficking and Slavery in America Today.

To learn how to join CNL, go to www.carnegiecouncil.org and look under Programs.

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COUNCIL **PROGRAMS**

Foreign Policy Roundtable



Under the direction of Senior Fellow Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, this program ran at the Carnegie

Council from 1999 to 2009, with support from the Smith Richardson Foundation. Its invitation-only sessions were attended by a mix of academics, policy experts, and journalists, and provided a rare opportunity to engage in off-therecord, in-depth discussions among a small group of foreign policy peers. This year the topics ranged from current events in Turkey and Spain, to an analysis of U.S.-Russia-Europe relations, and finally to a look back at Winston Churchill and George Kennan and their attitudes towards the USSR/Russia.

Over the summer of 2008, Turkey was on the brink of a political and constitutional crisis, sparked by the government's failed bid to repeal the headscarf ban in universities—a proposal seen as undermining the country's principles of secularism. The State Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals attempted to close down the ruling Justice and Development Party (the AKP), accusing it of "being a hotbed of anti-secular activities." The case lost by one vote, so although the AKP was found guilty of becoming the focus of anti-secularist actions. it was merely fined, not banned.

Soon after, in September 2008, the Roundtable hosted Omer Taspinar, an expert on Turkey and nonresident fellow at the Brookings Institute. He discussed the ongoing tug-of-war between secularism and Islam in Turkey, and what it might mean for the future of the AKP and of Turkey itself.



This was followed by a session on Spain-Basque relations with investigative reporter **Paddy** Woodworth, author of Dirty War,

Clean Hands: ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy. This book reveals that Spain's first post-Franco government attempted to destroy the Basque separatist group ETA by adopting terrorist tactics similar to those used by Franco and by ETA itself. In fact the anti-terrorist group GAL, which carried out revenge killings and bombings against ETA, was secretly sponsored by the Spanish government.

In December, leading foreign policy analyst at Johns Hopkins University Michael Mandelbaum examined the current state of relations between America and Europe on the one hand and Russia on the other, asking how the United States should proceed under the new Obama administration.



COURTESY NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLER SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION -TIME INC. COLLECTION

At the end of this final program year, the doors were thrown open to the public for two symposia with distinguished historian John Lukacs. In the first, "Winston Churchill's Evolving Views of Russia, 1917-1953, Reconsidered," Lukacs argued that despite the different attitudes Churchill took toward Russia over these four decades, there was a remarkable consistency to his view of that nation, whether it was Tsarist or Soviet. In the second, he discussed why his close friend George Kennan—known as "the architect of the Cold War"became one of its critics after 1950, going so far as to recommend a dialogue with the Russians. For the audio and text of these symposia, go to www.carnegiecouncil.org.

ETHICS & **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PUBLICATIONS**

ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL • ETHICS & **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL • ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL** • ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL • ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL • ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL • ETHICS & **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL • ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL** • ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL • ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS JOURNAL

Ethics & International **Affairs (EIA)**



"The journal has long been a forum for groundbreaking and provocative ideas," says Executive Editor John Tessitore, "and as such we encourage informed responses from readers." Clearly, Ethics & International Affairs has found a large and guickly growing following. Annual downloads from the publisher's site grew from some 34,000 in 2006 to more than 62,000 in 2008, while 148,000 articles were viewed on the Council's website over the 2008/2009 program year. In addition, EIA's peer-reviewed articles as well as its shorter essays have become staples in hundreds of universities and institutes worldwide. "We want to give people, including young people, the tools they need to

think about the hard choices that have to be made," says Tessitore, "and we want to make it clear that there is always more than one, and sometimes a great many, ways to look at any particular issue."

Indeed, the journal has been doing exactly that, with insightful contributions from some of the best minds from a number of disciplines, including Michael Walzer on promoting democracy; Henry Farrell and Melissa Schwartzberg on norms, minorities, and collective choice online; Mathias Risse on the common ownership of the earth; Michael Goodhart on the role of human rights in democracy; Jessica Wolfendale on "torture lite"; Joseph H. Carens on the rights of "irregular" migrants; and **Darrel Moellendorf** on treaty norms and climate change mitigation—appearing just months before the critical climate change meeting in Copenhagen in December 2009.

EIA is also known for its stimulating symposiums and roundtables, such as the lively Spring 2009 debate entitled, "Can Democracies Go It Alone?" in which James M. Lindsay. Kishore Mahbubani, Stephen Schlesinger, and Ruth Wedgwood roundly disputed the merits of a so-called League of Democracies. More recently, the Summer 2009 special issue on "Postwar Justice and the Responsibility to Rebuild" featured a collection of articles derived from an Oxford University workshop that focused on the ethical

assumptions that underpin views of postwar reconstruction, with particular attention to the thorny question of whether (and under what circumstances) outsiders can legitimately take over the reins of another government.

This issue also featured Mervyn Frost on ethical competence in international relations and Amy Zalman and Jonathan Clarke arguing that the "global war on terror" narrative needs a rewrite.

Finally, the soon-to-be-published Winter 2009 issue pays homage to one of our great political philosophers, Michael Walzer, with a trio of papers from Charles Beitz, Michael Doyle, and Will Kymlicka.

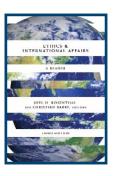
EE EIA occupies a unique and crucial niche in the way that it puts practical ethical questions at the center of the burning issues in international relations, world affairs, and international public policy. It is also fantastic for teaching purposes. 33

-Robyn Eckersley, Head of Political Science, University of Melbourne

LE This extensively revised edition of a well-known collection of essays more than meets the already high standard of earlier versions. The seventeen essays collected here bring expert focus on the key ethical issues of the day, with contributions from most of the major authorities in the field. This is an essential teaching collection for courses on ethics and international affairs, and international political theory more generally. 55

-Chris Brown, London School of Economics and Political Science

Ethics & International Affairs: A Reader



February 2009 saw the publication of the third edition of Ethics & International Affairs: A Reader, edited by Carnegie Council

President Joel H. Rosenthal and Christian Barry, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Applied Philosophy and Public Ethics at The Australian National University. Published by Georgetown University Press, the Reader presents an eclectic selection of classroom resources, ideal for courses in international relations, ethics, foreign policy, and related fields.

The book's nineteen chapters were previously published in the Carnegie Council's journal, Ethics & International Affairs—only one of which appeared in the previous edition. The book also contains a new preface. All essays were selected for their already popular course use, so that the volume could provide classrooms with the best tried and trusted material possible.

A book companion that includes discussion questions and additional resources is available at www.cceia.org/education/eia reader.

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Preface

PART I: Conflict and Reconciliation

In Defense of Realism: A Commentary on Just and Unjust Wars David C. Hendrickson

The Slippery Slope to Preventive War Neta C. Crawford

Reckoning with Past Wrongs: A Normative Framework David A. Crocker

PART II: Grounds for Intervention

Humanitarian Intervention: An Overview of the Ethical Issues Michael J. Smith

The Moral Basis for Humanitarian Intervention Terry Nardin

Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse? The Crisis in Darfur and Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq Alex J. Bellamy

Ecological Intervention: **Prospects and Limits** Robyn Eckersley

PART III. Governance, Law, and Membership

The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane

On the Alleged Conflict between Democracy and International Law Seyla Benhabib

"Saving Amina": Global Justice for Women and Intercultural Dialogue Alison M. Jaggar

Who Should Get In? The Ethics of **Immigration Admissions** Joseph H. Carens

PART IV. Global Economic Justice

Models of International **Economic Justice** Ethan B. Kapstein

The Invisible Hand of the American Empire Robert Wade

Accountability in International Development Aid Leif Wenar

World Poverty and Human Rights Thomas Pogge

Do We Owe the Global Poor Assistance or Rectification? Response to Pogge Mathias Risse

Baselines for Determining Harm: Reply to Risse Thomas Pogge

CARNEGIE ETHICS STUDIO

"Launched in 2008, the Carnegie Ethics Studio is transforming the Council into a truly global enterprise," says Senior Fellow, Program Director, and Studio **Executive Producer William** Vocke. "Through a combination of online, TV, and radio outlets, our Studio programs are reaching ever-growing audiences, and we are constantly working on expanding our distribution. Our success so far shows that there is a real interest in serious programming on topics such as economic fairness, the just use of force, and ethical issues raised by climate change. The Council is well-equipped to fill this need."

We also made great strides this year in transforming our nineteenth century townhouse into a twenty-first century recording studio. "Over the summer of 2009 we radically upgraded our studio equipment," explains IT Director and Studio Producer Deborah Carroll. "We installed remotecontrolled cameras in the auditorium so that we can film from different angles concurrently, and put in studio LED lights. All of our public events and interviews are now recorded on video and/or audio and edited in-house by our Studio team. We also installed cameras and a flat-screen TV in our upstairs boardroom so that latecomers or a student class can watch the live event without disturbing the rest of the audience."

CARNEGIE ETHICS STUDIO • CARNEGIE ETHICS



http://www.flickr.com/photos/milesdeelite/4003981169/ and http://www.flickr.com/photos/mbrubeck/545324519/

Distribution

TV AND RADIO OUTLETS

- Association with PBS TV World Focus program. Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal featured as panelist.
- Public Affairs Programs featured on C-Span TV.
- Global Ethics Forum TV series picked up by CUNY TV. Broadcasting started in Fall 2009.
- Carnegie Ethics Studio Programs featured on MHz Worldview, an international TV distribution network.
- Two Studio series—Advocates for Ethics in Business and Global Ethics Corner—picked up by the New School campus radio. Broadcasting started in Fall 2009.
- Ethics Studio programs featured on PRX, a radio distribution network. Three episodes of Advocates for Ethics in Business have already been picked up by campus radio stations.

ONLINE DISTRIBUTION

- Live webcasts. If you can't come to our events, you can watch them online in real time, no matter where you are. See our web calendar for details.
- Full-length videos, audios, and transcripts of our programs are available on www.cceia.org.
- Selected videos, audios, and transcripts are also available at www.policyinnovations.org.
- All events are available as audio podcasts via RSS feed and iTunes—our most popular feature.
- In April 2009 we also began producing weekly video podcasts-edited half-hour versions of some of our best events—which are posted every Wednesday on RSS feed and iTunes.
- YouTube clips from every event and video interview are posted on the Council's YouTube site: www.youtube.com/carnegiecouncil.

EX Learning is not confined to the borders of a Long Island campus or to the time frame of a traditional undergraduate curriculum. Education is students engaging in a larger public space, which new technologies introduce to create knowledge in and about our world today. The Carnegie Council YouTube Channel's most helpful clips are concise and illustrative of the ethical choices we face. 55

—Colette Mazzucelli, Hofstra University and New York University

Global Ethics Forums

In addition to producing full-length audios and videos from Council programs, our in-house Studio team is creating Global Ethics Forums—audio and video series that are custom-designed for television and radio stations. As a public service, all Studio products are available to media outlets free of charge. Stations may broadcast an entire series or choose individual episodes. Transcripts are also available for web and print use. To watch and listen to all Global Ethics Forum series, go to www.cceia.org and look under Programs.

GLOBAL ETHICS FORUM TV SERIES

These lively half-hour programs feature a carefully chosen selection of major Carnegie Council speakers and panels. This year's series kicked off with a panel called The Rise of the Rest: How the Ascent of Russia and China Affects Global Business and Security. Other programs included Niall Ferguson on the financial crisis; Harvard's Joseph Nye on "smart power," that combination of qualities that makes successful leaders; and the Council's Devin Stewart interviewing Professor Chong-Pin Lin on a wide range of issues, from China-Taiwan relations to climate change. The 2008/2009 series began airing on CUNY TV in September 2009.

AUDIO INTERVIEWS: ADVOCATES FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

This popular GPI series is being broadcast on the New School's campus radio station. For more details, see page 5.

MULIMEDIA: GLOBAL ETHICS CORNER



Created and produced by William Vocke, the weekly Global Ethics Corner has proved to be one of the Council's most

popular products, consistently rating in the top three of Council audio and video podcasts. Each multimedia segment runs for only ninety seconds to two minutes, but in that time it poses hard questions about the ethics underlying a current newsworthy issue.

Global Ethics Corner episodes do not take sides, but rather ask viewers to make up their own minds. The wide range of topics this year included slow versus fast food: trade liberalization and the financial crisis; and the controversy over veils in France. Global Ethics Corner can be found on the Carnegie Council site (as videos, audios, and transcripts) and on the Council YouTube sites. The audio is also being broadcast on the New School's radio station.

Additional Interview Series

EIA VIDEO INTERVIEWS

In February 2009 Executive Editor John Tessitore conducted interviews with Alex Bellamy on the responsibility to protect; Simon Dalby on environmental security; Ann Florini on global governance; and Fiona Robinson on the ethics of care. Find them all online under Education.

POLITICAL FUTURES

In a series of monthly video conversations from January to March 2009, Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal and Eurasia Group President (and Carnegie Council Trustee) lan Bremmer discussed the political risks to look out for in 2009.

PUBLIC ETHICS RADIO (PER)

This audio interview series features thinkers who engage with ethics in public life. PER is hosted by Christian Barry of the Centre for Applied Philosophy and Public Ethics (CAPPE) in Australia and produced by Matt Peterson, of Yale University. It is a production of CAPPE in association with the Carnegie Council. All PER episodes are available on the Carnegie Council website and as Council podcasts.

The show's guests have included philosopher Thomas Pogge and philosopher and tuberculosis expert Michael Selgelid.

OUTREACH AND IMPACT

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EVENTS AND INTERVIEWS

This year the Council hosted seventy-eight onsite events and conducted over thirty audio and video interviews. These are now available to a worldwide audience in a variety of formats, including full-length and edited videos, YouTube clips, podcasts, and transcripts.

WEB STATISTICS

Carnegie Council Main Website: www.carnegiecouncil.org

- Average number of unique visitors per month: 55,000
- Average number of page views per month: 647,000

Policy Innovations Online Magazine:

www.policyinnovations.org

- Average number of unique visitors per month: 29,000
- Average number of page views per month: 272,000

STATISTICS BY CATEGORY

WATCH

- Videos online: an average of 2,400 views per month
- Video Podcasts: an average of 1,000 downloads per month

■ YouTube Channel launched in March 2008

(figures as of Fall 2009)

- Channel views: over 19,000
- Subscribers: 500
- Consistently in Top 100 Most Viewed per Week and Month lists in the non-profit category
- Second YouTube channel also launched in March 2008. dedicated to Global Ethics Network partners: 2,932 views
- Video clips also posted on Blip.tv
- Television: See previous page—PBS WorldFocus, C-Span, CUNY TV, MHz Worldview

LISTEN

- Audio Podcasts: an average of 36,000 downloads per month
- Audios online: an average of 2,400 accessed per month
- Advocates for Ethics in **Business and Global Ethics** Corner series picked up by the New School's campus radio station

READ

■ Transcripts: an average of 260,000 viewed online per month

■ Ethics & International Affairs

- EIA articles featured in over 1,000 online syllabi around the world. Undoubtedly, they are featured on many more that are not offered online
- 148,000 articles viewed on the Carnegie Council site over the program year
- Over 62,000 downloads via the Wiley-Blackwell site in 2008

- Available at approximately 2,200 libraries through the Wiley-Blackwell consortia
- Available to a further 610 libraries in the developing world. through philanthropic programs in which Wiley-Blackwell is a partner
- Articles that are at least one year old are available via EBSCO host databases.

REGULAR MAILINGS VIA EMAIL AND PRINT

- Weekly Policy Innovations eNewsletter
- Bimonthly Carnegie Council eNewsletter, "Insider"
- Quarterly print bulletin
- Monthly and weekly print invitations and email reminders to Members and Public Affairs Subscribers
- Frequent email updates such as "Resource Picks"—collections of Council resources

SOCIAL NETWORKING

Both Carnegie Council and GPI have presences on Twitter and Facebook.

See also the Policy Innovations blog, Fairer Globalization: http://fairerglobalization.blogspot.com

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SUPPORT THE COUNCIL

Distinguished Members

Our Distinguished Members receive exceptional benefits and insider access to Carnegie's one-of-a-kind programming. You also help underwrite our educational outreach. All but \$1,000 is tax-deductible.

Friends Circle \$5.000+ **Benefactors Circle \$10,000+** Pacesetters Circle \$25,000+ Leadership Circle \$50,000+

Institutional Members

Institutional membership is for educational, diplomatic, and non-profit organizations.

All but \$1,000 is tax-deductible.

Colleague \$2,500+ Collaborator \$5.000+ \$10,000+ Partner

Corporate Members

Corporate Members have unique access to education, off-the-record discussions, and a diverse network of leaders similarly interested in the ethical dimensions of business. All but \$1,000 is tax-deductible.

Associate \$5,000+ Contributor \$10.000+ Sustainer \$25,000+ Underwriter \$50,000+

Sponsorship Opportunities

Sponsor a single event; underwrite a series or a season; support research and scholarship.

For more details on special benefits, go to www.cceia.org and click on SUPPORT.

GENERAL MEMBERS

Basic Benefits for all Members

- Carnegie Council's quarterly print Bulletin
- Bi-monthly eNewsletter
- 20% discount on a subscription to our journal, Ethics & International Affairs

Subscriber, Public Affairs Programs

Programs run September through June. All Subscribers receive print and email invitations. Subscriptions are not taxdeductible.

Individual \$500

Admission* for one (1) to 50+ Council Public Affairs Programs

Dual \$750

Admission* for two (2) to 50+ Council Public Affairs Programs

Patron \$1,000+

Admission* for two (2) to 50+ Council Public Affairs Programs Admission* to select events hosted by Global Policy Innovations, U.S. Global Engagement, and Workshops for **Ethics in Business**

(*space limited, reservations required)

Carnegie New Leaders \$200

Membership by application. Membership is not tax-deductible

- Admission to 20+ CNL programs
- Exceptional networking opportunities
- Biography and photo featured on the Council's website
- Help shape CNL programming
- Access* to **select** events hosted by Global Policy Innovations, U.S. Global Engagement, Public Affairs Programs, and Workshops for **Ethics in Business**
- Membership upgrade for \$300 for Public Affairs Subscription
- Opportunity to become a Council Honorary Trustee

(*space limited, reservations required)

SUPPORTER

Outside New York City? Unable to attend events? Help broadcast the voices for ethics to a global audience. Contributions go toward recording costs, online resources, and scholars' honoraria. Supporters' contributions are 80% tax-deductible.

Student \$60 Academic \$100 National \$200+

ANNUAL FUND

This separate appeal helps provide the crucial resources needed to raise the voice of ethics in international affairs. Donations are 100% tax-deductible.

CALENDAR EVENTS 2008–2009



JULY 2008

7/1/08

The Rise of the Rest: How the Ascent of Russia and China Affects Global Business and Security Nikolas K. Gvosdev, Harry Harding, Flynt Leverett, David C. Speedie, Devin T. Stewart

WORKSHOP FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

SEPTEMBER 2008

9/10/08

The Strongest Tribe: War, Politics, and the Endgame in Iraq
Bing West

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

9/12/08

Lie, Cheat, and Steal Your Way to Success! What Would the World Be Like Without Ethics? Bruce Weinstein

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

9/17/08

Terror and Consent: The Wars for the Twenty-First Century Philip Bobbitt

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

9/17/08

Human Rights and War David Rodin

CARNEGIE UEHIRO FELLOW WORKSHOP

9/23/08

Striking First: Preemption and Prevention in International Conflict Michael W. Doyle, Harold H. Koh

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

9/24/08

Turkey's Constitutional Crisis: What Next?
Omer Taspinar

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

9/26/08

Legacy of Ashes? The History and the Future of the CIA Elbridge A. Colby, Arthur S. Hulnick, William R. Keylor, Joel H. Rosenthal, Joseph Wippl

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9/30/08

Green Jobs:

Decent Work in a Low-Carbon World Heather Grady, Norine Kennedy, Jill Kubit, Peter Poschen, Michael Renner, Sean Sweeney

WORKSHOP FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

OCTOBER 2008

10/2/08

The Powers to Lead Joseph S. Nye, Jr. PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/3/08

Can Web 2.0 Revolutionize Corporate Responsibility? James Farrar, Gerhard Pohl, Emily Polk, Steve A. Rochlin, Andrew Zolli

WORKSHOP FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

10/7/08

The Freedom Agenda: Why America Must Spread Democracy (Just Not the Way George Bush Did) James Traub

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/14/08

Russia and Georgia: How Did We Get There and What's Next? Oksana Antonenko

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

10/15/08

God and Race in American Politics: A Short History Mark A. Noll

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/17/08

Advancing Corporate Citizenship in the Media

Geoffrey Heal, Scott Walker

GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS WORKSHOP

10/23/08

Ark of the Liberties: America and the World Ted Widmer

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

10/24/08

The Shape of the World to Come: Charting the Geopolitics of a New Century

Laurent Cohen-Tanugi

GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM

10/28/08

Business and Human Rights: Achievements and Prospects John Ruggie

GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM

10/29/08

Spain-Basque Relations Paddy Woodworth

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

10/29/08

Kingmakers: The Invention of the Modern Middle East Karl E. Meyer, Shareen Blair Brysac

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

NOVEMBER 2008

11/3/08

The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism Andrew J. Bacevich

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

11/5/08

Economic Gangsters: Corruption, Violence, and the Poverty of Nations Raymond Fisman

GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM



CALENDAR EVENTS 2008-2009

11/10/08

How East Asians View Democracy Andrew J. Nathan, Yun-han Chu

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

11/12/08

The Squandering of America: **How the Failure of Our Politics Undermines Our Prosperity Robert Kuttner**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

11/18/08

Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy Lawrence Lessig

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

11/20/08

The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World Niall Ferguson

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

11/25/08

Beyond Terror and Martyrdom: The Future of the Middle East Gilles Kepel

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

DECEMBER 2008

12/2/08

Health as a Human Right: Rights, Roles, and Responsibilities Christian Barry, Meg Boulware, Laura Herman, Maggie M. Kohn, Rohit Malpani, Lisa Oldring WORKSHOP FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

12/2/08

Creative Capitalism: A Conversation with Bill Gates, Warren Buffett, and Other Economic Leaders Michael Kinsley, William Easterly

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

12/3/08

Network Power: The Social Dynamics of Globalization **David Singh Grewal**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

12/4/08

The Measure of America: **American Human Development** Report 2008-2009 Sarah Burd-Sharps, Kristen Lewis GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM

12/8/08

A Conversation on NATO: **Challenges for the Alliance Expansion of Membership and** Mission Robert Hunter, David C. Speedie

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

12/10/08

America, Russia, and Europe Michael Mandelbaum

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

12/10/08-12/12/08

Medical Ethics

2008 ANNUAL CARNEGIE-UEHIRO-OXFORD CONFERENCE, OXFORD, UNITED KINGDOM

JANUARY 2009

1/8/09

The Cuba Wars: Fidel Castro. the United States, and the Next Revolution

Daniel P. Erikson

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

1/9/09

Sex Trafficking: Inside the **Business of Modern Slavery** Siddharth Kara

GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

1/13/09

Top Risks and Ethical Decisions 2009 Ian Bremmer, Art Kleiner, Michele Wucker, **Thomas Stewart (Moderator)** WORKSHOP FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

1/13/09

Lessons in Leadership from JFK and LBJ for America's Next Commander-in-Chief Gordon M. Goldstein **PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**

1/21/09

The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-**First Century Anne-Marie Slaughter PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**

1/28/09

The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century **George Friedman PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**

1/29/09

Understanding Islam through **Virtual Worlds** Joshua S. Fouts, Rita J. King, and **Musical Performance by Yas GLOBAL POLICY INNOVATIONS PROGRAM**

FEBRUARY 2009

2/4/09

Great Powers: America and the World After Bush Thomas P.M. Barnett **PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**

Wired for War: The Robotics **Revolution and Conflict in the** 21st Century P.W. Singer

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

CALENDAR EVENTS 2008–2009



2/9/09

Innocent Abroad: An Intimate Account of American Peace Diplomacy in the Middle East Martin Indyk

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

2/12/09

The Gamble: General Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008

Thomas E. Ricks

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

2/12/09

Muslims of Metropolis: The Stories of Three Immigrant Families in the West

Kavitha Rajagopalan
CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

2/19/09

The Dictator's Shadow: Life Under Augusto Pinochet H.E. Mr. Heraldo Muñoz

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

2/24/09

Turkey Decoded Ann Dismorr

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

2/26/09

The United Nations and Gender: Has Anything Gone Right? Stephen Lewis

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

MARCH 2009

3/4/09

Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet Jeffrey D. Sachs

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

3/5/09

A Necessary Engagement: Reinventing America's Relations with the Muslim World Emile A. Nakhleh

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

3/7/09

Celebration of Teaching and Learning Noah Bopp, Joel H. Rosenthal, William C. Vocke, Jr.

GLOBAL AWARENESS PANEL
CHANNEL 13 AND WLIW21 TEACHERS EVENT

3/18/09

The Life You Can Save: Acting Now to End World Poverty
Peter Singer

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

3/19/09

Ethics and Public Diplomacy: A Twenty-First Century Approach William C. Vocke, Jr.

CARNEGIE NEW LEADERS PROGRAM

3/25/09

Imagining India: The Idea of a Renewed Nation Nandan Nilekani PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

APRIL 2009

4/1/09

Winston Churchill's Evolving Views of Russia, 1917–1953, Reconsidered John Lukacs

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

4/1/09

Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism Joel H. Rosenthal

CROFT INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

4/2/09

Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa Dambisa Moyo

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

4/6/09

God Is Back: How the Global Revival of Faith Is Changing the World John Micklethwait, Adrian Wooldridge PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

4/7/09

From Tolerance to Integration: The Dutch Experience Frans Timmermans

PUBLIC AFFAIRS LUNCHEON

4/7/09

The Fat Tail: The Power of Political Knowledge for Strategic Investing lan Bremmer

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

4/9/09

Restoring Trust in the Global Financial System Thomas Donaldson, Neal Flieger, Stephen Jordan, Seamus McMahon, Christian Menegatti WORKSHOP FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

4/20/09

Prospects for U.S.-Russia Relations H.E. Mr. Sergey Kislyak

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

4/22/09

Economic Crisis: A National and International Perspective Randy Charles Epping, Steven Greenhouse

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM



CALENDAR EVENTS 2008-2009

4/23/09-4/24/09

Ethics and Military Contractors: Examining the Public-Private Partnership Jeffrey D. McCausland, Joel H. Rosenthal

MCCAIN CONFERENCE, CENTER FOR ETHICAL LEADERSHIP, UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY

4/29/09

The Crisis of Islamic Civilization Ali A. Allawi

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

May 2009

5/4/09

The Global Deal: Climate Change and the Creation of a New Era of **Progress and Prosperity Nicholas Stern**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

5/4/09

After President Obama's Visit to Europe: U.S. Relations with the EU and NATO

Karsten Voigt

U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAM

5/6/09

The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One **David Kilcullen**

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

5/11/09

The Geopolitics of Emotion: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Reshaping the World Dominique Moïsi

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

5/12/09

The Media Relations Department of Hizbollah Wishes You a Happy **Birthday: Unexpected Encounters** in the Changing Middle East Neil MacFarquhar

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

5/13/09

George Kennan and the Soviet Union

John Lukacs

FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDTABLE

5/14/09

Forced to Labor: The Cost of Coercion Robert Moossy, Roger Plant, Maria Suarez

WORKSHOP FOR ETHICS IN BUSINESS

5/14/09

The Means of Reproduction: Sex, Power, and the Future of the World

Michelle Goldberg

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5/19/09

The Afghan Challenge Adm. William J. Fallon, Rory Stewart **PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM**

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The American Future: A History Simon Schama

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Ethical Policy Dilemmas in the Promotion of U.S. Human Rights Values Richard H. Solomon

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6/3/09

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The Age of the Unthinkable: Why the New World Disorder **Constantly Surprises Us and What** We Can Do About It Joshua Cooper Ramo

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Political Situation and the 2010 **Philippine National Elections Manny Villar**

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Ethics and Leadership Joel H. Rosenthal

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6/25/09

Economics Does Not Lie: A Defense of the Free Market in a Time of **Crisis**

Guy Sorman

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6/30/09

U.S.-Iran Relations After the Iranian **Election**

Thomas R. Pickering

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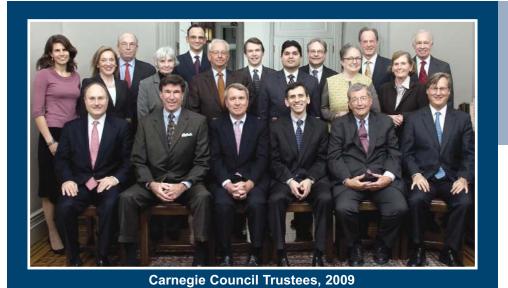
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REVENUE AND SUPPORT	2009
Grants for Programs	\$ 908,047
Trustee and Individual Contributions	\$ 178,982
Program and Membership Fees	\$ 144,698
Investment Income	\$ 708,293
SUBTOTAL	\$ 1,940,020
Net assets released from board-designated restrictions	\$ 1,872,552
TOTAL REVENUE AND SUPPORT	\$ 3,812,572

EXPENSES	
PROGRAMS	
Education	\$ 605,803
Public Affairs Programs	\$ 612,051
Internet and Print Publications	\$ 908,047
Global Policy Innovations	\$ 475,763
SUBTOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	\$ 2,601,664
Management and General Support	\$ 847,420
Fundraising and Development	\$ 363,488
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$ 3,812,572

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