

# Annual Report 2017





### CARNEGIE COUNCIL

# Annual Report 2017

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# Mission and Purpose

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 MATTER



# President's Message

Dear Friends.

As a nonpartisan, independent educational institution, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs plays a key role in our society. It is a place that continues to focus on the ethical principles at stake in U.S. foreign policy and international relations, despite today's polarized environment. It is a place, both virtual and physical, where leaders and thinkers from around the world come to share their ideas and expertise. From our academic journal Ethics & International **Affairs**, to our public events and podcasts, to our materials specially designed for high school classrooms, our goal is to provide thoughtful, fact-based analyses and to educate a wide global audience on informed ethical choices. This mission is more important than ever.

As we look back on the 2016-2017 program year, certain themes emerge: Coping with climate change is one prominent example. Increasingly there is talk of geoengineering as a possible solution. But if it is to be deployed in an ethical way that minimizes risk and maximizes benefit for all, especially the poor



Joel H. Rosenthal / photo: Anadolu Agency

and disadvantaged, then governance is essential. To address this crucial issue, we launched an important new project: Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2). In addition, we invited speakers such as **Steven Cohen** of Earth Institute to discuss ways in which we can work together to create a more sustainable world.

Other topics of great concern this year—all interrelated—included threats to global stability, particularly in Asia; the rise of populism; and the importance of free speech, which is the bedrock of the Council's work. For instance, Alexander Görlach, Leon Botstein, and Walter Russell Mead addressed the crisis of the post-war liberal order, while in a series of podcast interviews for the Asia Dialogues program, former U.S. government officials, experts, and scholars all expressed concerns about President Trump's policies in Asia. John Judis, Jan-Werner **Müller**, and others provided valuable historical perspective and analysis on populism, while **Timothy Garton Ash** vigorously defended free speech as indispensable in our connected world.

Democracy depends on an active, informed citizenry that is enabled and empowered to think independently. For more than a century, Carnegie Council programs have been grounded in this idea. As we continue forward, our commitment to pluralism is unwavering. Our concern for fairness is untiring. And our dedication to individual and collective rights and responsibilities is resolute.

Thank you for your support.

Joel H. Rosenthal, President, Carnegie Council

"Democracy depends on an active, informed citizenry that is enabled and empowered to think independently. For more than a century, Carnegie Council programs have been grounded in this idea."

# Activities Summary

- Over the course of the program year from July 2016 through June 2017, Carnegie Council organized over 140 events, including public talks, podcast interviews, panels, conferences, briefings, workshops, and site visits. It also promoted the Council's annual Global Ethics Day. While some Council events were off the record, the majority were recorded by the in-house Carnegie Ethics Studio, under the direction of Executive Producer Deborah Carroll.
- The Studio team took these recordings and produced multiple products, as follows. Video: full-length interview and event videos; YouTube clips, including the popular Clip of the Month; the Council's weekly TV show, Global Ethics Forum (see page 15); video podcasts; and live webcasts of public events. Audio: online audios and audio podcasts (available on iTunes). Text: All recorded events have full-length transcripts. Access audios and transcripts at carnegiecouncil. org/studio/multimedia. Transcripts date back as far as 1999, and this collection is particularly useful for students. "Our most popular product is audio podcasts, with well over one million downloads a year for the past few years," said Carroll, "and as more and more people turn to hand-held devices for most of their information, we are also seeing a slow but steady increase in the video podcast views."
- The Council has seven major ongoing programs: Asia Dialogues; Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2); Carnegie New

- Leaders (CNL), with related podcast series; Ethics Matter interview series; Public Affairs Program; The Living Legacy of the First World War; and U.S. Global Engagement (USGE). 2017 also featured invitation-only events as part of the occasional Trustee Roundtable series, and a special collection of resources called "Making Ethics Matter, 2017." This section features a selection of constructive voices, chosen from our 2017 materials, which speak to Carnegie Council's core values. Topics include nuclear weapons, international conflicts, civil society, climate change, and more. Access it at **carnegiecouncil.org/programs/ethics-2017**. The Council also publishes a monthly web column, Carnegie Ethics Online, along with occasional online articles.
- Established in 1987, the Council's peer-reviewed journal, *Ethics & International Affairs*, celebrated thirty years of publication with four anniversary volumes over the course of 2016. It is published by Cambridge University Press. The journal has an online blog and a podcast interview series.
- The Council has four websites:

  carnegiecouncil.org (main site); c2g2.net;
  ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org; and a
  community site, globalethicsnetwork.org (GEN).
  Aimed largely at students and educators but open
  to all, GEN now has over 3,500 members from
  146 countries and territories, from Afghanistan to
  Zimbabwe.



# New Initiatives

This year, Carnegie Council was pleased to appoint five new senior fellows. Their projects are listed below.

#### **Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)**

C2G2's focus is on catalyzing transparent, inclusive policy discussions at the international, national, and sub-national level on the risks posed by geoengineering technologies and on how to govern them. Its priorities are governance of research; putting solar geoengineering deployment on hold until (i) the risks and potential benefits are better known, and (ii) the governance frameworks necessary for deployment are agreed; and governance of carbon removal. This global project is led by Senior Fellow and Executive Director Janos Pasztor. For more details, see pages 6-7.

#### **Latin America and the West**

Alexander Görlach is a visiting scholar at Harvard University, a visiting professor at UNAM University in Mexico City, a senior advisor to the Berggruen Institute, and founder of *The European*. As a senior fellow for Carnegie Council, he is conducting a project exploring Latin America as part of the West. Diverging from most conceptions of the West today, which explicitly exclude the region, Görlach sees Latin America as an essential part of what is considered to be the Western hemisphere, marked with a shared past, shared enlightenment, and the reciprocal reception of its philosophy, languages, political system, and religious and ethical beliefs. The project will feature interviews with politicians, writers, academics, and public intellectuals of Latin America in an effort to learn about their perceptions of the West and how to unify the two parts of this hemisphere.

#### The Far Right in Europe and Russia's Role and Influence

Marlene Laruelle is research professor and associate director at the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES) at the Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. She is also the director of the Central Asia Program at IERES and co-director of PONARS (Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia). She is leading a Carnegie Council project on Russian influence in French mainstream political parties and institutions. Starting in the summer of 2017, Laruelle began

working with researchers in France to map and analyze connections between French cultural institutions, think tanks, and mainstream political parties and the Kremlin. The project seeks to shed light on Russia's soft power strategies to bolster allied political parties in established European democracies.

#### **Book Project: Reigniting Japanese Growth: The Role** of Start-ups

Richard Katz is editor-in-chief of The Oriental Economist Report (TOE). He is also a special correspondent at Weekly Toyo Keizai, a leading Japanese business weekly, and has written two books on Japan. Appointed in May 2017 as Carnegie Council Senior Fellow, Asia Dialogues Program, Katz is working on a book tentatively entitled Reigniting Japanese Growth: The Role of Start-ups. This includes not just the Silicon Valley-type high-tech firms. It will also emphasize the tens of thousands of unglamorous firms that in most rich countries, but not Japan, play a pivotal role in driving growth in jobs and productivity. The book will focus on why creating more start-ups is an indispensable ingredient in the recipe for Japanese rejuvenation; why Japan suffers a dearth of them; and the specific policies it can undertake to nurture more of

#### The Living Legacy of the **First World War**

Senior Fellow Col. Reed Bonadonna (Ret.) is a former infantry officer and field historian in the U.S. Marine Corps with deployments to Lebanon and Iraq. His latest book is Soldiers and Civilization: How the Profession of Arms Thought and Fought the Modern World into Existence (Naval Institute Press, May 2017). See his June 2017 podcast interview with Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal, which discusses this book. Funded with a grant from the Richard Lounsbery Foundation, "The Living Legacy" project will create nine new nonresident fellowships to conduct original historical research on various aspects of the American experience in the First World War. Fellows will also employ their historical studies to shed light on the contours of the modern world-exploring the war's enduring presence in contemporary ethical debate, political discourse, governing institutions, demography, law, international relations, and other relevant areas. They will publish and publicly present their findings in articles and podcasts in the months leading up to Armistice Day, 2018.

# Program Highlights



Launch of C2G2, February 2017

# Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

With 2017 set to be one of the hottest years on record, and sixteen out of seventeen of the hottest years in modern history occurring this century, the world faces the rising possibility of catastrophic temperature rise due to climate change. This could cause a massive increase in suffering, especially amongst the poor and most vulnerable.

The highest priority in tackling this crisis is for countries to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases in line with the Paris Agreement. But there is a growing sense that this may not be enough.

Because of this, a growing number of scientists and academics are considering the use of climate geoengineering technologies, both as a way of reducing the causes of climate change (greenhouse gases) and its symptoms (high temperatures). Geoengineering is defined as the proposed, large-scale intentional human intervention in the earth's climate system to reduce the negative effects of climate change.

Geoengineering technologies present a complex mix of risks, costs, and benefits, and may have different effects on different communities. If geoengineering is to be deployed in a way that minimizes risk, maximizes benefit, and is done so ethically for all people, it will need to be governed. Yet at present there is no comprehensive international framework to do so.

In January 2017, the Council launched the Carnegie

Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative to address these issues. C2G2 is led by Senior Fellow and Executive Director **Janos Pasztor**. Most recently, Pasztor was the United Nations assistant secretary-general for climate change under Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. The C2G2 team and its Advisory Group are based around the world. For lists of the team and the Advisory Group members, go to pages 35 and 36.

C2G2 is not for or against the research, testing, or potential use of climate geoengineering technologies. That is a choice for society to make. The initiative was created to catalyze a global conversation about what that governance might look like. What technologies exactly need to be governed, and how? Who needs to be involved in taking these decisions? What rules and regulations are needed, both to limit the potential ill effects of geoengineering, and to increase the possibility that it will reduce suffering?

"There is a considerable lack of understanding of the governance requirements for addressing climate geoengineering—technologies that fundamentally require multilateral governance approaches," says Pasztor.

C2G2 has its own website, which features an overview of the initiative; a basic introduction to geoengineering, especially for those new to the debate; a repository of more in-depth information, which will include papers, infographics, and other materials; and a news and events section, which includes a blog, advisories, recent news articles, and upcoming events—both C2G2 events, and those in the wider community. To learn more, go to **c2g2.net**.

#### **C2G2** Events

November.

In February 2017, the program held a public launch event at Carnegie Council in New York. The distinguished panel featured a variety of perspectives, from scientists to social activists. In order of appearance, the panelists were: Janos Pasztor (C2G2), Oliver Morton (The Economist), Pablo Suarez (Red Cross Red Crescent Climate Centre), energy, environment, and climate scientist **Jane Long**, Douglas MacMartin (Cornell University, California Institute of Technology), **Simon Nicholson** (The Forum for Climate Engineering Assessment at American University in Washington, D.C.), and Jennifer Morgan (Greenpeace International), who attended via Skype. In May, C2G2 and the Forum on Climate Engineering Assessment convened a joint webinar: "A briefing and discussion on solar geoengineering: science, ethics, and governance." Since then, C2G2 has held several other events, including a workshop at the Climate Engineering Conference in Bonn, and a joint webinar with the secretariat for the Convention on Biological Diversity in

See also the Ethics Matter program's interview with Pasztor in December 2016, "The Ethics and Governance of Geoengineering," which was made into a Global Ethics Forum TV show. All are available online at carnegiecouncil.org and c2g2.net.

C2G2 is supported by a generous grant from the V. Kann Rasmussen Foundation (VKRF).

#### **Public Affairs Program**

Led by Public Affairs Director Joanne Myers, this popular, long-running program offers insights from a wide array of acclaimed experts on today's most critical issues, from the rise of populism to how technical innovations are revolutionizing our world. This year, in addition to holding public events, Myers starting doing podcast interviews by phone, enabling her to feature guests located outside New York.

#### The Workings of Democracy and the Importance of Free Speech

In October 2016, not long before the presidential election, constitutional law scholar Akhil Reed **Amar** gave an impassioned defense of the American Constitution, concluding that it was particularly important in a fraught election year. In April 2017, historian James Kloppenberg discussed the history of democracy in European and American thought. In his opinion, democracy rests on a foundation he calls an underappreciated "ethic of reciprocity," which is currently under attack in American public life. In a prescient talk in May 2017, influential legal scholar Cass Sunstein examined the critical relationship between democracy and the dangers that the Internet poses for our politics.

In September 2016, historian, political writer, and commentator Timothy Garton Ash contended that in today's connected world—a "cosmopolis" dominated



Akhil Reed Amar

by the "four superpowers" Google, Apple, Facebook, and Amazon-free speech is more important than ever. In June 2017, Floyd Abrams, a noted lawyer and awardwinning legal scholar specializing in First Amendment issues, examined the degree to which American law protects free speech more often, more intensely, and more controversially than is the case anywhere else in the world.

#### The Rise of Populism

Two unexpected voting results-first Brexit, then the election of President Trump-made "populism" a convenient catchword to explain these and other upheavals of the established order. But how exactly should we define populism? What led to its current resurgence in Europe and the United States, on both the right and the left? Two Public Affairs events shed light on these urgent questions. On November 3, 2016, just days before the election, Myers conducted a podcast interview with Jan-Werner Müller, a professor of politics at Princeton, to discuss his book, What is Populism? In February 2017, she followed up with a public event featuring political journalist John Judis, author of



John Judis

The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics, which also came out shortly before the U.S. election. Together, these authors help us understand the rise of populist politics across the globe.

# Artificial Intelligence, Big Data, and New Technologies

We're asking the wrong questions about artificial intelligence (AI), said AI expert **Jerry Kaplan** in a December 2016 talk. Machines are not going to take over the world, he reassured the audience. They don't have emotions or creativity. They are just able to process large amounts of data and draw logical conclusions. But how is this data being used and to whose benefit? In a February 2017 podcast, Myers interviewed **Andreas Weigend**, one of the world's foremost experts on the future of big data, social mobile technologies, and consumer behavior. He explained that we all, often unwittingly, create a trail of "social data"—our location, our clicks on Amazon, for instance—and we need to learn how to leverage this data for our personal benefit, not just for the benefit of corporations.

Also in February, best-selling author **Yuval Noah Harari** of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem focused on the unsettling changes that bioengineering and AI may bring about in the very near future. Soon, humankind may be able to replace natural selection with intelligent design and create the first inorganic lifeforms, he explained. If so, this will be the greatest revolution since life began. But what are the dangers, and are they avoidable?

Indeed, bioengineering is already well underway. Scientists now have the ability to edit genes to treat hereditary diseases, and to screen in-vitro embryos for such diseases. In March 2017, Myers talked with award-winning journalist **Bonnie Rochman** about



Joanne Myers with Thomas Friedman and H.E. Mr. Nawaf Salam, Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations

the benefits, pitfalls, and ethics of these evolving technologies. Where will they lead and what ethical dilemmas might we face? For example, will "designer babies" increase the already growing divide between rich and poor? Lastly, in April 2017, Myers talked with *The Economist's* **Daniel Franklin**, editor of *Megatech: Technology in 2050*, a series of essays on how future technology may develop and shape our lives. He and Myers discussed driverless cars, gene-editing, AI, and much more.

#### **Terrorism**

What are the driving forces behind the increase in homegrown terrorism and what can be done to stop it? To address these questions and explain the complex challenges posed by this global threat, the Public Affairs Program and the Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP) co-sponsored a December 2016 panel titled "Foreign Fighters, Homegrown Terrorism and the Prevention of Violent Extremism." It featured **Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou** of GCSP, **Ali Soufan** of the Soufan Group, and violent extremism expert **Seamus Hughes** from George Washington University. From January 2015 to July 2016, 239 people in France died in terror attacks. In May 2017, leading French scholar **Gilles Kepel** explained the causes behind this new wave of violent jihad and discussed why Europe is the main target.

# Is Successful Integration Possible? Best Practices from North America and Europe

Catalonia has been much in the news in 2017, but an under-reported story is its success in integrating immigrants. Catalonia has a large immigrant population: from 2000 to 2010, its population rose from 6.2 to 7.5million people, and new immigrants continue to arrive. In a partnership with the Government of Catalonia, a diverse panel discussed concrete ways in which societies can help migrants integrate into the schools, workforces, and cultures of their new communities. The panelists were **Nisha Agarwal**, commissioner of the New York Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs; Oriol Amorós, Catalonia's secretary of equality, migration, and citizenship; **Parvati Nair**, UN University Institute on Globalization, Culture and Mobility; and Raül Romeva, Catalonia's minister of foreign affairs, institutional relations, and transparency. They explored how communities can cast aside their fears and create, as Secretary Amorós put it, "a balance between diversity and integration."

#### **More Highlights**

Other memorable events included: **Shadi Hamid** of the Brookings Institution on why he reluctantly believes Islam will be resistant to secularization for a long time to come; Council on Foreign Relations President **Richard Haass** in March 2017 on the international challenges facing President Trump in a world where the old order

is falling apart; New York Times columnist and author **Thomas Friedman** on how to thrive in what he calls "the age of accelerations;" **Gideon Rachman** of the Financial Times on Asia's rise and America's decline; and Admiral James Stavridis (Ret.) on the history and geopolitics of the world's oceans.

#### Asia Dialogues

"The international economic and political system established after World War II may be coming to an end," wrote Senior Fellow and Asia Dialogues Director **Devin Stewart** in a new introduction to Asia Dialogues. "As a result, world politics is increasingly defined by deep uncertainty about the future and questions about which values will prevail in the next chapter of history. Meanwhile, Asia is on the rise and will likely be the region that shapes international institutions and norms in the coming decades. What will this Asia-dominated world look like? By hosting people-to-people exchanges, facilitating original research, and producing timely podcasts, videos, and reports on the most consequential moral, economic, and strategic issues of this era, Carnegie Council's Asia Dialogues program advances cross-cultural dialogue and offers critical insights on how to reimagine the international system. In doing so, the program also cultivates the next generation of moral leaders across the Pacific."

Launched in March 2016, Asia Dialogues organizes an annual fact-finding visit to an Asian nation, podcast interviews with Asia experts, and occasional public events in New York City. The overarching research themes for 2016-18 are as follows:

- Gender Norms in Japan (as a vector for social change, equality, and dynamism)
- Education Reform in Japan (as a vector for social change)
- Southeast Asia's Relations with China and Japan (normative influence in East Asia)
- Religion and Tolerance in Indonesia (pluralism vs. extremism)
- Climate Change in the Philippines

The program has appointed a group of Pacific Fellows based in Japan, Indonesia, and the Philippines, the locations of the first three research trips. Pacific Fellows are responsible for organizing dialogues in their local communities and collaborating with other fellows, students, and Council staff to develop joint research, site visits, publications, and multimedia projects. Each year, the program will appoint a new group of Pacific Delegates from Asia and the United States to take part in the annual research trip. Delegates are chosen from a variety of professional, regional, and academic backgrounds. Before their visit, which takes place in the fall, delegates are provided with a summer online curriculum consisting of reading materials and discussion questions. These curricula are available to all on the Council's website.



**Pacific Delegates in Tokyo** 

#### **Inaugural Site Visit to Tokyo on Gender and Japan**

In November 2016, Stewart led twelve Pacific Delegates from seven countries on the program's first fact-finding visit. The group went to Tokyo to examine moral issues around gender equality in Japanese society. Over the course of a week, the delegates participated in classroom discussions, expert lectures, cultural activities, and site visits designed by Carnegie Council's Pacific Fellows Natsumi Ikoma of International Christian University, Sonja Pei-Fen Dale of Hitotsubashi University, and Mari Miura and James Farrer of Sophia University. Delegates described the trip as "eye-opening" and "life-changing" and many produced articles based on their experiences. For links to these articles, go to carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles\_ papers\_reports/9721.

Carnegie Council would like to thank the fellows, delegates, and participants as well as the Henry Luce Foundation and Japan ICU Foundation for their financial support and invaluable advice toward making this successful project possible. For lists of Pacific Fellows and Delegates, see pages 35 and 36.

#### **Podcasts**

Stewart recorded thirty-five podcasts this program year. Here are some of the highlights:

The Council's number one most downloaded podcast for this period was Stewart's August 2016 conversation with Sheila A. Smith (Council on Foreign Relations), titled "Japan's Politics: A Move toward Nationalism or more of the Status Quo?" It took place soon after Prime Minister Abe's landslide victory in the July elections and discussed whether this was a vote of confidence in his ability to jump-start Japan's stagnant economy, or simply a desire for stability. Smith also discussed the mood of the country, especially among young people.

With the election of Donald Trump, Stewart conducted a series of ten interviews with former U.S. government officials, experts, and scholars, which he titled "Trump in Asia." To a person, all the guests were deeply concerned about the future of U.S. policy toward Asia under the volatile new administration. Speakers included former State Department adviser **Eliot Cohen** on the U.S. role in Asia and the world; modern China historian **Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom** on the risks to the U.S.-China relationship under Trump; **Christopher Nelson**, editor and publisher of *The Nelson Report*, (a widely-read daily "insiders" communique on foreign policy and trade issues, largely focused on Asia) on possible future trade relations; and Korea expert **Scott Snyder** (Council on Foreign Relations) on instability on the Korean peninsula.

Over the summer of 2017, Stewart followed up with a series titled "Rising Tensions in Asia." Speakers within this program year, which ended on June 30, included sociologist **Amitai Etzioni** on avoiding war with China; Asia policy analyst **Ali Wyne** on the risks of U.S. disengagement with Asia; and Asia-Pacific security expert **Mira Rapp-Hooper** on the dangers of "subcontracting" U.S. policy toward Asia, particularly policy on North Korea. For the entire series, which ran from June through August, go to **carnegiecouncil.org/news/announcements/2017-09-06-podcasts-on-rising-tensions-in-asia**.

Indonesia is sometimes described as "the smiling face of Islam," but the reality is much more complex. Indeed, November and December 2016 saw mass demonstrations in Jakarta, the largest protests in Indonesia's history. The demonstrators demanded that the city governor, an ethnic Chinese Christian, be prosecuted and then arrested for blasphemy against Islam. In a December podcast, Stewart talked with Marcus Mietzner, an expert on Indonesian politics, to try to understand the country's growing Islamist populism, as shown by these events and others. In March 2017, Stewart spoke to Nava **Nuraniyah**, an analyst at the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, based in Indonesia. She explained the complex and shifting landscape of Indonesian Islamic extremist groups, and noted that women are playing an increasingly important role, many of them inspired by images on social media of female ISIS supporters around the world.

In September 2016, Stewart spoke with **John Gershman** of NYU about the state of Filipino politics since Duterte's election and where the country may be headed. Topics covered included the Philippines' anti-drug campaign, extrajudicial killings, climate change vulnerability, and diplomatic relations with China, the U.S., and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In March 2017, Stewart followed up by interviewing **Phelim Kine** of Human Rights Watch about HRW's March 2 investigative report, "License to Kill': Philippine Police Killings in Duterte's 'War on Drugs.'" "The bottom line is that what has been unfolding in the Philippines since June 30, 2016, when President Duterte



Jennifer Harris, Ian Buruma, Joshua Eisenman

took office, has been nothing less than a human rights calamity," said Kine. "He has delivered on his electoral campaign promises of mass extrajudicial violence as a 'crime solution.' What does that mean? In just over eight months, 7,000 Filipinos have been killed."

# Panel: The Coming War with China? The Ethics of Confrontation in the Pacific

Are the United States and China inevitably headed for war? This question has been on the minds of security experts for some time but since the election of President Trump, it has assumed a new urgency. In April 2017, Stewart organized and moderated an expert panel on this topic, featuring author lan Buruma of Bard College; Joshua Eisenman of the University of Texas at Austin; and Jennifer Harris of the Council on Foreign Relations. Not surprisingly, they did not come up with a definitive answer, but the discussion and question and answer period were filled with useful information and enlightening perspectives.

The Asia Dialogues program gratefully acknowledges support from the Henry Luce Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Japan External Trade Organization, and the Robert J. Myers Fund.

#### **Ethics Matter Interview Series**

Organized by Communications Director **Madeleine Lynn** and Carnegie Ethics Studio Executive Producer **Deborah Carroll**, this series consists of in-depth interviews with a wide variety of speakers on topics concerning ethics and international affairs. The program held nineteen events this year, the majority of which were hosted by professional broadcast journalists **Stephanie Sy** and **Randall Pinkston**. For greater flexibility in scheduling, most events were filmed without a live audience.

#### Climate Change

This year, the program devoted four interviews to coping with climate change, a topic which is one of Carnegie Council's foremost concerns. In September 2016, the Council was privileged to host **Kumi Naidoo**, director of Africans Rising and former executive director of



Kumi Naidoo / photo: Internaz, Creative Commons

Greenpeace International, who was visiting the United States from his native South Africa. Naidoo's activism began at fifteen years old when he risked his life to protest against apartheid. When asked why he had shifted his focus from human rights to climate change, he replied in part, "The struggle to avert catastrophic climate change is fundamentally about protecting our children and their children and their children's futures, and in that sense it is fundamentally a human rights issue for me. I have maintained since day one that the struggle to avert catastrophic climate change and the struggle to address human rights, poverty, economic justice, and so on must, can, and should be seen as two sides of the same coin."

In December 2016, Janos Pasztor, executive director of the Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2), gave an excellent introduction to geoengineering. To manage the world's climate responsibly we may have to consider deploying it someday, he said, but if we do, it will be a balancing act and governance will be essential. For more on C2G2, go to pages 6-7.

Filmmaker Shalini Kantayya's documentary Catching the Sun focuses on the potential of solar power to both create economic opportunities for working-class Americans and help them save money on their electric bills. "I think we as a movement have not done a good



Stephanie Sy and Shalini Kantayya

job of making climate change a kitchen-table issue, of making this an economic issue for working families, and that is what it is," she explained. In September, **Steven Cohen**, executive director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, professed optimism about a sustainable future, despite the setbacks created by President Trump: "I still believe that we're heading toward a renewable resource-based economy. I think that it's inevitable." He outlined three driving forces that will make this happen: market forces, as renewables become cheaper; better technology; and the sharing economyfor example, we are seeing lower levels of car ownership, particularly among millennials.

#### **Religious Peacebuilding**

In October 2016, Ethics Matter hosted a public book launch for the publication of Peacemakers in Action: Volume 2: Profiles in Religious Peacebuilding. For nearly twenty years, Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding has sought out peacebuilders around the world from every religion who, driven by their religious beliefs, are risking their lives in conflict areas in order to make a difference. They appoint them as Peacemakers in Action and invite them to join Tanenbaum's Peacemakers in Action Network, enabling them to support one another and share knowledge and skills. The speakers at the launch were the editor of the book, Joyce Dubensky, CEO of Tanenbaum Center, and one of the organization's distinguished peacemakers, the Rev. Bill Lowrey, who spent a decade in South Sudan.

The Rev. **Robert Chase** spent ten years as founding director of Intersections International, whose mission is "to bring disparate groups together in search of peaceful and socially just resolution to long-held conflicts." In a wide-ranging talk in April 2017, he discussed his time in Pakistan and Kazakhstan, working with New York's Muslim community, and how then-Senator Obama inspired him in 2004.

#### Talks in Partnership with Bard College

Every year, Ethics Matter is proud to host a couple of public events in partnership with the Bard Globalization



María Antonieta Alcalde and Terry McGovern



Walter Russell Mead, Leon Botstein

and International Affairs Program (BGIA). These talks are part of the James Clarke Chace Memorial Speaker series, which is co-sponsored by Foreign Affairs magazine. In December, Jim Ketterer, director of BGIA, introduced a discussion titled "Women's Rights are Human Rights: Global Challenges to Reproductive Health." The speakers were María Antonieta Alcalde, advocacy director for the International Planned Parenthood Federation/Western Hemisphere Region (IPPF/WHR) and Terry McGovern, a professor of population and family health at Columbia University. Taking place just before Trump took office, one of the main topics was how his presidency would affect women's rights, not only in the United States but around the world. In May, Leon Botstein, president of Bard College, and political historian Walter Russell Mead, also of Bard College, took the stage at Carnegie Council for a lively conversation titled "Crisis of the Liberal Order." Topics included how the rise of charismatic leaders, such as Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and America's President Trump, combined with a rejection of liberal values, has led to the rise of illiberal democracies. They also examined the ongoing institutional problems with America's health care and education systems, which they agreed are badly in need of reform.

#### **More Highlights**

Other highlights included: bioethicist **Wendell Wallach** of Yale University on the pros, cons, and ethical dilemmas of artificial intelligence; **Karen Greenberg**, a noted expert on national security, terrorism, and civil liberties, on terrorism and "rogue justice;" veteran China scholar **Orville Schell** on China's evolving role in the world today; Carnegie Council Senior Fellow **Alexander Görlach** on threats to liberal democracy in Europe and the United States; and journalist and author **James Traub** on the hard (and politically incorrect) truths about the difficulties of assimilating refugees in Europe, and the need for honest discussion.

#### **Carnegie New Leaders (CNL)**

The mission of the CNL program is to cultivate the next generation of ethical global leaders in business, academia, government, and the non-profit sector. Through Carnegie Council's public programing, exclusive social gatherings, and special events featuring prominent speakers, CNL gives young professionals the chance to connect with like-minded individuals from diverse sectors and backgrounds and to learn from a wide variety of experts.

This year, CNL activities featured a number of private events, including briefings outside Carnegie Council, such as a meeting with **Peter Wilkins**, UK ambassador to the UN, to discuss Brexit; a briefing with **Jeff Glueck**, CEO of Foursquare on the ethics of privacy and social media; and a briefing on humanitarian policy and Syria with **Gavrielle Rosenthal** of the U.S. Mission to the UN. CNL members were also offered the opportunity to attend a series of private dinners with experts such as **Ashraf El Nour**, permanent observer to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to the UN, and to take part in a visit to West Point Military Academy for a workshop on ethics and war.

In April 2017, CNL launched a Washington, DC chapter. Spearheaded by CNLs **Joe Amann**, **Amelia Mae Wolf**, and **Henry Kegan**, this new initiative has grown to thirty-five members over the past year. Programs in Washington included a briefing at the Pentagon with senior leadership from various military branches in partnership with the CNL NYC Chapter, an expert talk from the RAND Corporation, and happy hour gatherings.





CNL members at West Point for a workshop on ethics and war

#### **CNL Podcast Series**

This year, Carnegie Ethics Studio Producer Alex **Woodson** conducted ten podcast interviews with past and present CNL members about their work. As is clear from these selected highlights, this high-powered group of young professionals brings valuable expertise and perspectives to the Council.

#### Reports from Veterans and the U.S. **Coast Guard Academy**

In August 2016, Asha Castleberry, a U.S. Army veteran and Fordham University professor, discussed veterans' reactions to the 2016 presidential campaign, and also the ongoing U.S. anti-ISIS military campaign, which was preparing to liberate Mosul in Iraq at the time, noting that President Obama hoped to liberate the city before the end of his term. Castleberry returned for a second podcast in May 2017, when she gave detailed updates on the campaigns against ISIS in Mosul and Ragga and the complex and protracted Syrian Civil War. She also discussed the ups and downs of Trump's strategy in the Middle East. In September 2016, U.S. Air Force veteran Jayson Browder discussed his current work at Veterans in Global Leadership, which helps veterans become tomorrow's leaders. He also talked about the dishearteningly low percentages of veterans at elite schools and on Capitol Hill, and No One Left Behind, an organization which lobbies for U.S. visas for Iraqi and Afghani interpreters. **Jamal Sowell** was a fellow at Indiana University Mauer School of Law at the time of his podcast in December 2016. He discussed his journey from shy kid to student body president, from U.S. Marine to the University of Florida's president's staff, and offered advice on how to serve, lead, and succeed. Lt. Tony **Gregg** is an active-duty officer and instructor of moral and ethical philosophy for the Coast Guard Academy. In



Andreas Hatzigeorgiou in Stockholm, Sweden / photo: Christian

March 2017, he discussed his path to his current role, how ethics is intertwined with the mission of the Coast Guard, and why his students surprise him.

#### **More Highlights**

In November 2016, Woodson talked with New York University researcher David Sussman, who noted that while conflict and war are often seen as the main drivers of forced displacement, climate change and consumerism are also major factors. In December 2016, Andreas Hatzigeorgiou, chief economist at the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce, discussed Stockholm's enormous success as a tech hub-it is now the fastest growing capital in Europe—Sweden's immigration policies, and much more.

In June 2017, **Waleed Alhariri** of the Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies discussed the dire, yet under-reported situation in Yemen, a nation suffering from internal





Trustee Roundtable event with Judge William Webster

conflict, intervention by a Saudi-led coalition, and a cholera epidemic. Humanitarian assistance is sorely needed, he said, and explained what the general public could do to help.

# U.S. Global Engagement (USGE)

Founded and led by Program Director and Senior Fellow **David Speedie**, USGE examines U.S. relations with partners among the established democracies, with problematic allies, and with states of deep concern. In September 2016, Speedie spoke with Senior Fellow Col. **Jeffrey McCausland** (Ret.) on major security challenges for the next president (whoever it might be), including Afghanistan, terrorism, and U.S.-Russia relations. In November, the program presented a special screening of *Techniques of the Body*, a film about Greece by British historian **Mark Mazower** and Greek filmmaker



**David Speedie** 

Constantine Giannaris, which explores the memory of war, exile, and massive population movements in the past and asks how we might respond to their impact in the present. The screening was followed by a discussion with the two filmmakers. The event was co-sponsored with the Hellenic-American Cultural Foundation. This was followed by an event titled "Perceptions of Muslims and Islam in the U.S. in Light of Trump's Victory." The speakers were Juan Cole (University of Michigan), an expert on the modern Middle East and South Asia, and Shibley Telhami (University of Maryland at College Park), who has conducted extensive polling on views of Muslims and Islam.

In late fall 2016, Program Director David Speedie took a sabbatical. However, newly appointed Senior Fellow **Marlene Laruelle** has launched a project on Russian influence in France that continues the work of USGE. Please see page 5. Laruelle has been closely associated with USGE for some time. She worked with Speedie on a two-year initiative spearheaded by USGE that culminated in the book she edited, *Eurasianism and the European Far Right: Reshaping the Europe-Russia Relationship*. (Lexington Books, 2015), which was launched at Carnegie Council.

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

#### **Trustee Roundtable Series**

In the fall of 2016, the Council hosted three invitationonly events as part of its Trustee Roundtable Series. Fittingly taking place on International Peace Day (September 21), the first event was with **Steve Killelea**, founder of the Institute for Economics and Peace. Killelea explained his creation, the Global Peace Index, which provides empirical ways to measure both "negative peace"—the absence of violence and fear of violence—and "positive peace"—attitudes, institutions, and structures that create and sustain peace. This was followed by an event featuring former minister of defense for Israel General Moshe Ya'alon, conversing with distinguished philosopher Michael Walzer on how to achieve military victory and maintain both national and personal ethics. The co-sponsor for this occasion was American Friends of Beit Morasha of Jerusalem. In November, the guests were privileged to be part of a candid conversation with Judge William Webster, current chairman of the Homeland Security Advisory Council, and former director of both the CIA and the FBI, the only person to hold both these positions. He discussed James Comey's handling of Hillary Clinton's emails, covert operations such as Abscam, and much more. Audios and transcripts of the three talks are available on **carnegiecouncil.org**. There is also a fulllength video of the event with General Ya'alon, and all audios can be accessed as podcasts on iTunes.

#### **Ethics & International Affairs Interview Series**

This podcast series is designed to complement the Ethics & International Affairs journal, giving EIA authors an opportunity to answer questions on the topics in their journal essays. The interviewers this year were Adam Read-Brown, EIA managing editor, and John Krzyzaniak, assistant editor. In July 2016, Robert **Sparrow** of Monash University talked about his work on ethical issues raised by new technologies. The conversation focused on Autonomous Weapon Systems (AWS), often referred to as "killer robots." In August, Professor Karin Aggestam of Lund University discussed Sweden's feminist foreign policy, both in theory and in practice. In December, Jennifer C. Rubenstein of the University of Virginia discussed the promises and pitfalls of effective altruism, including what she calls the movement's "hidden curriculum." In April 2017, Kristy A. Belton of the International Studies Association talked about statelessness-which affects more than ten million people worldwide-including why it persists and how we can end it. Lastly, in June, **Yvonne Terlingen**, a steering committee member of the "1 for 7 Billion-Find the Best UN Leader" campaign and a senior policy adviser at the Institute for Global Policy, discussed the recent reforms to the UN secretary-general selection process, including the role of civil society in the reforms. She also detailed how the recent reforms may affect gender parity in senior posts across the UN.

#### **Podcast Series—Impact: Where Ethics and Business Meet**

Created and hosted by Julia Taylor Kennedy of the Center for Talent Innovation, this series ended its two-year run with a three-part series on "conscious capitalism," i.e. capitalism that makes a conscious effort to be socially responsible. Part One examined the role of the conscious consumer, telling the story of a victim of capitalism at its worst—a Cameroonian working in a Chinese prison factory—and also exploring if and how consumers can use purchasing power to influence corporations' behavior. Part Two looked at conscious companies, such as Eileen Fisher and Patagonia, and Part Three focused on conscious investors.

#### **Global Ethics Forum TV Show**

This was the eighth year of Global Ethics Forum, Carnegie Council's weekly half-hour television show. The program features a selection of some of the Council's most memorable talks and interviews-always a difficult choice—that work well in edited form for television. Global Ethics Forum airs on over thirty public and university television stations across the United States. The entire series can also be viewed on the Carnegie Council website and on our YouTube page, youtube.com/



"Mission Accomplished—ALS Ice Bucket Challenge" / photo: Anthony **Quintano**, Creative Commons

carnegiecouncil. The show is produced in-house by the Carnegie Ethics Studio team.

Over the past year, the Studio produced twenty-nine new episodes. Many of the featured speakers have already been mentioned earlier in this Report, for example Shadi Hamid on Islamism and illiberal democracies; **Kumi Naidoo** on climate change and human rights; and Wendell Wallach on the ethical pros and cons of artificial intelligence.

Additional highlights included the following: **Victor** Cha of Georgetown University analyzed the origins of the American alliance system in Asia and discussed what this means for the future. We often think that empathy, our capacity "to feel someone's pain," is the ultimate source of goodness. Nothing could be farther from the truth, argued psychology professor **Paul Bloom**. Scientific studies show that empathy is a capricious and irrational emotion that can cloud people's judgment and even lead to violence and cruelty. Charles Sennott is the founder of The GroundTruth Project, a non-profit organization that supports young journalists from around the world.



**Charles Sennott** 

He gave the audience an unusually optimistic view of the future of journalism, declaring that despite all the challenges, right now is one of the most exciting moments for a new generation to redefine the field. Based at New York University, Scholars at Risk provides temporary teaching positions and advisory services to hundreds of threatened scholars around the world. Its founder and executive director **Robert Quinn** described how its caseload has doubled recently, largely because of the situations in Syria and Turkey.

#### **Carnegie Ethics Online**

Run by Communications Director **Madeleine Lynn**, this monthly web column features a diverse mix of topics and established and up-and-coming writers, with one thing in common: concern for the role of ethics in international affairs.





Top: Toronto Refugee Collective / photo provided by Samantha Jackson; above: Refugees / photo Diari La Veu, Creative Commons

#### **Migrants and Refugees**

Continuing last year's focus on migration, several authors discussed migration issues in different parts of the world. Wendy Cukier and Samantha Jackson of Ryerson University in Toronto wrote of how they and their fellow students and colleagues reached out to help Syrian refugees. Canada has a unique, private resettlement program that allows groups of citizens to take responsibility for the welcoming and resettling of refugees. In just under a year, Ryerson, along with other Canadian universities, raised more than CAD\$4.3 million and helped nineteen Syrian families settle in Canada, with many more on the way. Jackson even cancelled her wedding reception and donated the money to the refugee fund. **Abraham Zere**, executive director of PEN Eritrea in exile, explained how exiled Eritreans use social media to organize opposition against the tyrannical regime back home and to provide crucial information for the thousands of young migrants fleeing the country. Philosophers Christian Barry (Australia National University and Ethics & International Affairs board member) and **Philip Gerrans** (University of Adelaide and the Swiss Center for Affective Sciences) offered a practical, humane, and cost-effective proposal to help cope with the nearly 20 million refugees and asylum-seekers worldwide. The current magnitude of child migration to the United States is unprecedented. How does the U.S. asylum process for unaccompanied children work? Margaret Kuehne Taylor of the Office of Immigration Litigation, Civil Division, Department of Justice contributed a clear, step-by step explanation. (The views and analyses expressed in this article are the author's alone and do not represent the positions of any U.S. government entity or the American Bar Association.)

#### **Additional Highlights**

In October 2016, **Joshua Kurlantzick** of the Council on Foreign Relations described in detail ISIS's substantial efforts to win over South and Southeast Asians from Bangladesh to the Philippines, and how they have increased over the past two years. Syrian Women's Committee Member Mariam Jellabi explained Syrian women's increasing role in the quest for peace and stressed the need for accountability. "Ending the violence, while important, is only one step on the long road toward lasting peace," she wrote. "For peace to last, past injustices must be addressed. Only accountability will ultimately heal the wounds of seven years of war." In India in 2015, government statistics reported that over 12,000 farmers committed suicide, with bankruptcy/ indebtedness cited as the top reason for ending their lives, and the numbers continue to increase. Carnegie New Leader Chetan Pedadda of Liberty Mutual and Naveen Kumar Emmadi, a doctoral fellow at the University of Hyderabad, proposed three steps towards resolving this crisis.

# Additional Conferences and Activities

#### **Conferences in May 2017**

Carnegie Council was pleased to host a two-day Carnegie UK Trust seminar on the future of libraries. This event was part of a study tour organized by the Trust inquiring into the future of public libraries, and as a subset of that question, the issue of privacy in the digital age. The keynote speaker was cryptographer and privacy specialist **Bruce Schneier**, who painted a bleak picture of the erosion of privacy. Yet he declared that none of this is irreversible. It's a question of changing our laws, policies, and norms, and libraries can help.

The annual three-day Uehiro-Carnegie-Oxford Ethics Conference was held in Tokyo this year. It was presided over by **Tetsuji Uehiro**, president of the Uehiro Foundation on Ethics and Education, Joel Rosenthal, president of Carnegie Council, and Julian Savulescu, director of the Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics, University of Oxford. The topic was "Ethical Issues Involved in iPS/Stem Cell and Genetic Research and Therapy." This international conference featured scholars from Japan, Europe, and the United States. Discussion questions included: Should we allow the creation of animals containing human organs and should these organs be used for transplantation? Under what conditions can we justify gene editing of human embryos? Time was also reserved for young scholars to present their research and exchange opinions.

Under the auspices of Senior Fellow **Devin Stewart**, the third annual Student Research Conference consisted of a networking session followed by tenminute student presentations on topics related to ethics and international affairs. The students



**Bruce Schneier** 

came from universities across the New York metro area. Topics included humanitarian intervention, information warfare, and refugee resettlement. The winning presentation was "The Grey War of Our Time: Information Warfare and the Kremlin's Weaponization of Digital Russian-Language News," by Miranda Lupion. who spent the summer of 2016 interning at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, where she focused on digital media. Her research, based on quantitative and qualitative content analysis, compared state-backed news outlets' coverage of the 2008 Russian-Georgian War to their reporting on the 2014 Crimean annexation.

#### **Shades of Red and Blue: Uniting our Divided Nation**

Organized by The Ethics Centre in Sydney, Australia, Carnegie Council was one of the co-sponsors of a series of six panels held on April 1, 2017 at the New York Public Library. The goal was to address the worrying trend that the democratic tradition of robust debate has degraded into name-calling, resulting in a form of politics that divides families, communities, and nations. The panels featured guests from both sides of the political divide on topics such as global security; race, religion, and immigration; and fake news. Speakers included John Dean, former White House counsel under President Nixon; Hendrik Hertzberg of The New Yorker; author Salman Rushdie; and many more. Access the audios of all six panels at carnegiecouncil.org and on Carnegie Council's iTunes feed. For full videos, see The Ethics Centre's YouTube channel.



Carnegie UK Trust seminar on the future of libraries and privacy

On October 19, Carnegie Council and over fifty institutions from fifteen countries celebrated the third annual Global Ethics Day, a yearly teach-in launched in 2014 as part the Council's centennial activities. From Australia to Brazil to Germany to Oman, universities, non-profit institutions, and civil society groups participated with teach-ins, art projects, and film screenings, covering a wide range of ethical issues.

**Globethics.net**, a global network of persons and institutions interested in various fields of applied ethics, was one of the most visible organizations for the day. Their team put together a video asking network members: "Why do ethics matter?" Responses came in from people of all ages from all over the world. To give one example, **Dele Fakorede**, a seventy-eight-year-old from Nigeria, answered: "Ethics is characterized by honesty, accuracy, efficiency, and objectivity. Any truly ethical person will keep to these characteristics."

Other highlights included a video from Majan College of Oman on the problem of "contract cheating," i.e. when a student pays for a paper written by someone else and submits it as his/her own, and a day of events at Buraimi College of Health Sciences in Oman. Artist **Margaret Murphy** and students at Central Michigan University took part in a project called "Framing the Question," where they showcased their personal connection to ethics; students at the University of Rochester held events focused on academic honesty; and at Texas Tech, climate scientist Dr. **Katharine Hayhoe** gave a presentation on ethics and the environment.

Participants were encouraged to post reports and photos on the Council's community website **globalethicsnetwork.org**.





Globethics.net and The University of Buraimi College of Health Sciences marked Global Ethics Day with posts and events. Central Michigan University students took part in a project called "Framing the Question," where they showcased their personal connection to ethics, while students at the University of Rochester held events focused on academic honesty.









#### **Annual Contests**

Is nationalism an asset or hindrance in today's globalized world? This was the topic for the 2016 annual student/teacher essay contest. First, second, and third prizes were awarded in three categories: high school, undergraduate, and post graduate/teacher. The winners came from Canada, Croatia, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Russia, South Korea, the United Kingdom, and the United States. While many described nationalism as destructive, others, such as sixteen-year-old second-prize winner **Gabrielle** Nicole Veda from Indonesia, saw it as an asset for diverse and developing nations such as her own.

The topic for the international student photo contest was Cities/Urbanization. What are the pros and cons of urbanization and who are the winners and losers? Three prizes were awarded, with the winners coming from the United States, Canada, and Romania.

#### **Free Online Education Materials**

For the third summer running, Carnegie Council's Education Fellow Elena Shanbaum returned to expand the Council's online Education Section, which provides materials for both high school and college classrooms. A teacher herself, Shanbaum added fifteen new worksheets especially designed for educators, all of which are in .doc format for easy modifications.

"This year, as well as adding to the Council's collection of worksheets on contemporary foreign policy issues and creating a new film review (with discussion questions) of Malcolm X, we dove into our archives and uncovered primary resources from 20th century world and American history," said Shanbaum. "With these fascinating materials that go back to the Council's founding in 1914, I believe we have carved out a niche focusing on history-related education materials, which



"The Forest Retreats, For Now...," the winning photo in the 2016 Cities/Urbanization student photo contest / photo: Tucker Reiland, University of San Francisco, USA

is different from what most foreign policy organizations offer."

Included on the worksheet page are primary source excerpts on Andrew Carnegie and also the peace movement in the United States during and after World War I. Other passages, which have been curated and modified for the classroom, focus on the American Civil Rights Movement, the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and Soviet Russia.

The newest worksheets on contemporary events match the curricula of U.S. and Comparative Government courses. They focus on issues such as populism, freedom of speech, and immigration and state sovereignty. Over the last few years, Shanbaum has uploaded over sixty resources to **sharemylesson.com** (SML), a website run by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), where teachers and organizations share their work with other teachers. As a result, Carnegie Council became an official SML partner in October 2017.





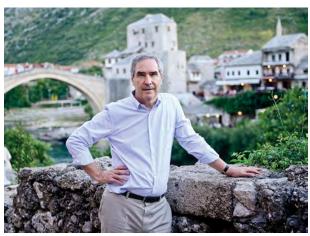
# **Ethics & International Affairs** Quarterly Journal (EIA)

The aim of Ethics & International Affairs, the Council's quarterly peer-reviewed journal, is to bridge the gap between theory and practice by featuring articles, essays, and reviews that integrate rigorous thinking about principles of ethics and justice into discussions of practical issues related to current policy developments, global institutional arrangements, and the conduct of important international actors.

Founded in 1987, the journal celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in March 2016. Since 2010, it has been published by Cambridge University Press. Over the last year, the journal has continued to bring diverse ethical insights to recent developments in world affairs. Among the issues addressed were fairness in the Paris climate agreement, whether the Responsibility to Protect doctrine provides guidance on refugee responsibilitysharing, how to improve the legitimacy and effectiveness of international courts, and whether and how to refine international laws and norms regarding rebellions.

#### Fall 2016 (Vol 30, no. 3)

The third issue in *EIA*'s thirtieth anniversary volume included essays by **Nicholas Chan** (D.Phil, University of Oxford) on the bottom-up architecture of the Paris climate change agreement, Jens Bartelson (Lund University) on the history of recognition, and Karin Aggestam and Annika Bergman-Rosamond (both of Lund University) on Swedish feminist foreign policy; features by Luke Glanville (Australian National



Michael Ignatieff in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, on Carnegie Council site visit

University) on self-interest and the distant vulnerable, and by Silje Aambø Langvatn (University of Oslo) on the use of public reason in international courts; a review essay by **James K. Galbraith** (University of Texas at Austin) on ethics and inequality; a response by **Ryan** Jenkins (California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo) and **Duncan Purves** (New York University) to Robert Sparrow's article on autonomous weapon systems (EIA 30.1), with a rejoinder by **Robert Sparrow** (Monash University); and book reviews by Michael C. Williams (University of Ottawa) and Jonathan Morduch (New York University). (See also Managing Editor Adam Read-Brown's podcast interview with Karin Aggestam and his interview with Robert Sparrow.)

#### Winter 2016 (Vol. 30, no. 4)

This issue was the fourth and final issue in EIA's thirtieth anniversary volume. It included an essay by Kristy A. Belton (International Studies Association) on the UN Refugee Agency's global #IBelong Campaign to eradicate statelessness, the first of a two-part series; a feature by Tim Meijers (Leiden University) and Marlies Glasius (University of Amsterdam) on the expressivist potential of international criminal courts; a book symposium on Allen Buchanan's The Heart of Human Rights, featuring essays by **Pietro Maffettone** (Durham University), David Miller (University of Oxford), Andrea Sangiovanni (King's College London), Jesse Tomalty (University of Bergen), Lorenzo Zucca (King's College London), and a response from Allen Buchanan (Duke University); a review essay by Jennifer C. Rubenstein (University of Virginia) on the lessons of effective altruism; and five book reviews. (See also Managing Editor Adam Read-Brown's podcast interview with Jennifer C. Rubenstein.)

#### **Spring 2017 (Vol. 31, no. 1)**

The Spring 2017 issue included essays by former Carnegie-Uehiro Centennial Chair Michael Ignatieff (Central European University, Budapest) on human rights and the ordinary virtues; **Kristy A. Belton** (International Studies Association) on the prospect of ending statelessness in the Americas, the second of a two-part series; and Carmen Gómez Martín (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Ecuador) on the

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



Sahrawi refugee camp, Algerian desert, 2012 / photo: European Commission DG ECHO, Creative Commons

problematic nature of refugee camps as de facto longterm solutions. It also contained two features, one by Dan Bulley (Queen's University Belfast) and the other by Alise Coen (University of Wisconsin-Sheboygan), presenting differing views on the relationship between the Responsibility to Protect and the refugee protection regime, with a brief introduction by Jason Ralph and **James Souter** (University of Leeds); a review essay on immigration ethics by **Linda Bosniak** (Rutgers University School of Law); and book reviews by Andrew Altman (Georgia State University), Andrew Hurrell (University of Oxford), and William Gochberg (University of Washington). (See also Assistant Editor John Krzyzaniak's podcast interview with Kristy Belton)

#### **Summer 2017 (Vol. 31, no. 2)**

This issue included a special section on legitimate authority, war, and the ethics of rebellion, with contributions from Christopher J. Finlay (University of Birmingham), Jonathan Parry (University of Birmingham), and **Pål Wrange** (Stockholm University); essays by **Yvonne Terlingen** ("1 for 7 Billion—Find the Best UN Leader" campaign, and the Institute for Global Policy) on reforming the UN secretary-general selection process and by **Celia Medrano** (Cristosalo, El Salvador)

on de facto refugees in the Northern Triangle of Central America; a feature by **Lior Erez** (European University Institute) on motivating soldiers to fight in cosmopolitan wars; a review essay on international security norms by **Denise Garcia** (Northeastern University); and book reviews by Don Scheid (Winona State University) and **Jochen Prantl** (Australian National University). (See also Assistant Editor John Krzyzaniak's podcast interview with Yvonne Terlingen.)



New UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld with predecessor Trygve Lie, 1953 / photo: Norway UN, Creative Commons

"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."

> —Robyn Eckersley, Head of Political Science, University of Melbourne, EIA Editorial Board Member

# Calendar of Events and Podcast Series

#### **Events**

#### August 2016

#### 8/4/2016

#### **CNL Briefing: Understanding Brexit**

Peter Wilson, Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative, UK Mission

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off-site, off the record)

#### 8/25/2016

#### The Underlying Forces that Drive our "Post-Modern" World

Robert D. Kaplan, Senior Fellow, Center for a New American Security

Randall Pinkston, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### September 2016

#### 9/8/2016

#### **U.S. Elections & Brexit: Can Liberalism Survive?**

Nikolas Gvosdev, Jerome E. Levy Chair of Economic Geography and National Security, U.S. Naval War College

Stephen M. Walt, Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School

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

David Speedie, USGE Program Director and Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council Senior Fellows Series

#### 9/9/2016

#### **First Annual Luce Project Reception**

Devin T. Stewart, Senior Program Director and Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council Global Ethics Network Program

#### 9/13/2016

#### **Measuring Positive and Negative Peace with the Global Peace Index**

Steve Killelea, Founder & Executive Chairman, Institute for Economics and

Trustee Roundtable Series

#### 9/15/2016

#### Is Successful Integration Possible? **Best Practices from North America** and Europe

Nisha Agarwal, Commissioner, NYC Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs

Oriol Amorós, Secretary of Equality, Migration, and Citizenship, Government of Catalonia

Parvati Nair, Founding Director, the United Nations University Institute on Globalization, Culture and Mobility

Raül Romeva, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Institutional Relations, and Transparency, Government of Catalonia

Public Affairs Program

Co-Sponsored by the Government of Catalonia

#### 9/21/2016

#### **Human Rights and the Impact of Climate Change**

Kumi Naidoo, Director, Africans Rising Randall Pinkston, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### 9/21/2016

#### The Pros, Cons, and Ethical **Dilemmas of Artificial Intelligence**

Wendell Wallach, Interdisciplinary Center for Bioethics, Yale University

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### 9/22/2016

#### **How to Achieve Military Victory** and Maintain National and Personal

Moshe Ya'alon, Former Minister of Defense, Israel

Michael Walzer, Professor Emeritus, Institute for Advanced Study; Editor, Dissent

Benjamin Ish-Shalom, Founder and President, Beit Morasha

Michael Salberg, Director of International Affairs Policy and Planning, Conference of Presidents

Trustee Roundtable Series

Co-Sponsored by the American Friends of Beit Morasha of Jerusalem

#### 9/28/2016

#### Free Speech: Ten Principles for a **Connected World**

Timothy Garton Ash, Isaiah Berlin Professorial Fellow, St Antony's College, Oxford University

Public Affairs Program

#### 9/29/2016

#### Terrorism and "Rogue Justice"

Karen Greenberg, Director, Center on National Security at Fordham University School of Law

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host

Ethics Matter Program

#### 9/29/2016

#### **Major Security Challenges for the Next President**

Col. Jeffrey D. McCausland (Ret.), Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council

David Speedie, USGE Program Director and Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council

U.S. Global Engagement Program

#### 9/29/2016

#### **Carnegie New Leaders Dinner with** Col. Jeffrey D. McCausland (Ret.), Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council

Carnegie New Leaders Program

#### October 2016

#### 10/5/2016

#### **The Constitution Today: Timeless** Lessons for the Issues of Our Era

Akhil Reed Amar, Sterling Professor of Law and Political Science, Yale University Public Affairs Program



Shadi Hamid



Joyce S. Dubensky and Bill Lowrey

#### 10/18/2016

#### **Ethics of Privacy and Social Media**

Jeff Glueck, CEO, Foursquare

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off-site, off the

#### 10/18/2016

#### Peacemakers in Action: An Indepth Discussion of Religious **Peacebuilding**

Rev. Bill Lowrey, Former Director of Peacebuilding and Reconciliation, World Vision International

Joyce S. Dubensky, CEO, Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding Ethics Matter Program

#### 10/19/2016

#### **Third Annual Global Ethics Day**

Global Ethics Network Program

#### 10/21/2016

#### **Powerplay: The Origins of the** American Alliance System in Asia

Victor D. Cha, Director of Asian Studies and D.S. Song Chair, Department of Government and School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University

Public Affairs Program

#### 10/21/2016

#### **Oxford-Carnegie Global Dialogue**

Ananya Vajpeyi, Carnegie Council Global Ethics Fellow; Fellow and Associate Professor, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi Global Ethics Network Program

#### 10/25/2016

#### Youth, Action, and Human Rights: **New Directions from Around the**

Sujata Gadkar-Wilcox, Professor of Legal Studies, Quinnipiac University Global Ethics Network Program (off the record)

#### 10/27/2016

#### **Carnegie New Leaders Briefing** at the U.S. Mission to the UN: **Humanitarian Policy and Syria**

Gavrielle Rosenthal, U.S. Mission to the

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off-site, off the record)

#### 10/27/2016

#### **Human Rights, Global Values, and** the Ordinary Virtues

Michael Ignatieff, Former Carnegie-Uehiro Centennial Chair, President and Rector, Central European University,

Oxford-Uehiro-Carnegie Lecture in Practical Ethics, Oxford University



#### November 2016

#### 11/1/2016

#### Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle Over Islam Is Reshaping the World

Shadi Hamid, Senior Fellow, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, **Brookings Institution** 

Public Affairs Program

#### 11/3/2016

#### **Techniques of the Body**

Mark Mazower, Ira D. Wallach Professor of History, Columbia University

Constantine Giannaris, Film Director, Screenwriter, and Actor

U.S. Global Engagement Program (film screening)

Co-Sponsored by the Hellenic-American Cultural **Foundation** 

#### 11/7/2016

#### The Indispensable Role of Trust: A **Conversation with Judge William** Webster

Judge William H. Webster, Former Director of the FBI and CIA

Trustee Roundtable Series

#### 11/10/2016

#### **Perceptions of Muslims and Islam** in the United States in Light of **Trump's Victory**

Shibley Telhami, Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, College Park; Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Saban Center, Brookings Institution

Juan Cole, Richard P. Mitchell Collegiate Professor of History, University of Michigan

U.S. Global Engagement Program

#### 11/14/2016 - 11/18/2016

#### **Carnegie Council Gender Research Delegation to Tokyo**

Asia Dialogues Program

#### 11/15/2016

#### **Second Annual Student Ambassador Luncheon**

Global Ethics Network Program

Malcolm Shabazz Mosque, Harlem, New York City / photo: Spatial Information Design Lab, **Creative Commons** 

#### 11/29/2016

#### Artificial Intelligence: What Everyone Needs to Know

Jerry Kaplan, Fellow, CodeX: The Stanford Center for Legal Informatics

Joanne Myers, Director, Public Affairs Program

Public Affairs Program

#### **December 2016**

#### 12/7/2016

#### Foreign Fighters, Homegrown Terrorism, and the Prevention of Violent Extremism

Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, Deputy Director and Academic Dean, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy; Adjunct Professor, the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

Ali Soufan, Chairman and CEO, The Soufan Group

Seamus Hughes, Deputy Director, the Program on Extremism, Center for Cyber and Homeland Security, The George Washington University

Co-Sponsored by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy

Public Affairs Program

#### 12/8/2016

# Carnegie New Leaders Briefing at Open Society Foundation

Michael Paller, Program Manager, Open Society Scholarship Programs

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off-site, off the record)

#### 12/12/2016

# The Ethics and Governance of Geoengineering

Janos Pasztor, Senior Fellow and Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### 12/13/2016

# **GroundTruth's Charles Sennott on the Future of Journalism**

Charles M. Sennott, Founder and Executive Director, The GroundTruth Project

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program



Janos Pasztor

#### 12/14/2016

# Against Empathy: The Case for Rational Compassion

Paul Bloom, Brooks and Suzanne Ragen Professor of Psychology and Cognitive Science, Yale University

Public Affairs Program

#### 12/14/2016

#### Women's Rights are Human Rights: Global Challenges to Reproductive Health

Terry McGovern, Interim Chair and Professor of Population and Family Health, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University

María Antonieta Alcalde, Director of Advocacy, the International Planned Parenthood Federation/Western Hemisphere Region (IPPF/WHR); Director, IPPF UN Liaison Office

Co-Sponsored by the Bard Globalization and International Affairs Program

Ethics Matter Program

#### 12/14/2016

#### Carnegie New Leaders Dinner with Ashraf El Nour

Ashraf El Nour, Permanent Observer, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to the United Nations

Carnegie New Leaders Program

#### January 2017

#### 1/6/2017

# Top Risks and Ethical Decisions 2017

Ian Bremmer, President and Founder, Eurasia Group

Devin T. Stewart, Senior Program Director and Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council Ethics Matter Program

#### 1/11/2017

#### Thank You for Being Late: An Optimist's Guide to Thriving in the Age of Accelerations

Thomas L. Friedman, Author and Columnist, *The New York Times* 

Public Affairs Program

#### 1/24/2017

#### Europe's Last Chance: Why the European States Must Form a More Perfect Union

Guy Verhofstadt, Former Prime Minister of Belgium; President, the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe in the European Parliament

Public Affairs Program

#### 1/31/2017

# The Intersection of Ethics, the Environment, & Economics

Shalini Kantayya, Filmmaker; Head of 7th Empire Media

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### February 2017

#### 2/1/2017

#### The Populist Explosion

John B. Judis, Senior Writer, *National Journal*; Editor-at-large, *Talking Points Memo* Joanne Myers, Director, Public Affairs Program

Public Affairs Program

#### 2/1/2017

# Carnegie New Leaders Dinner with John B. Judis

Carnegie New Leaders Program

#### 2/6/2017

# Fate of Liberal Values under Trump with Max Boot

Max Boot, Senior Fellow in National Security Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off-site, off the record)

#### 2/7/2017

#### **Threats to Liberal Democracy**

Alexander Görlach, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council; Visiting Scholar, Harvard University

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program



Alexander Görlach

#### 2/10/2017

#### **A Conversation with Robert Quinn** on Scholars at Risk

Robert Quinn, Founding Executive Director, Scholars at Risk Network Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### 2/16/2017

#### **Launch of Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance** Initiative (C2G2)

Janos Pasztor, Senior Fellow and Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

Oliver Morton, Senior Editor, The Economist Jennifer Morgan, Executive Director, Greenpeace International

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

Jane Long, Board Member, Clean Air Task Force; Former Chair, Task Force on Geoengineering, Bipartisan Policy Center; Former Chair, California Council on Science and Technology's California's **Energy Future Committee** 

Douglas MacMartin, Senior Research Associate and Senior Lecturer in Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering, Cornell University; Research Professor in Computing + Mathematical Sciences, the California Institute of Technology

Simon Nicholson, Co-Executive Director and Co-Founder, the Forum for Climate Engineering Assessment; Assistant Professor and Director, the Global Environmental Politics Program, School of International Service, American University

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

#### 2/22/2017

## **Homo Deus: A Brief History of**

Yuval Noah Harari, Lecturer, Department of History, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Public Affairs Program

#### 2/27/2017

#### **Cultural Relations and their Effects** on Politics and Economics

J. P. Singh, Director, the Institute for International Cultural Relations and Chair and Professor of Culture and Political Economy, the University of Edinburgh

Randall Pinkston, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### **March 2017**

#### 3/1/2017

#### A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the **Old Order**

Richard Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations

Public Affairs Program

#### 3/8/2017

#### **Breaking Barriers: The Air Force** and the Future of Cyberpower

Lt. Gen. William Bender, Chief, Information Dominance and Chief Information Officer, Office of the Secretary of the Air Force

Public Affairs Program

#### 3/8/2017

#### Global Economy: Briefing and Reception

Dambisa Moyo, International Economist and Author

Carnegie New Leaders Program

#### 3/15/2017

#### China's Role in the World

Orville Schell, Arthur Ross Director, Asia Society Center on U.S.-China Relations Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### 3/21/2017

#### The Lockerbie Bombing: The Search for Justice

Kenny MacAskill, Former Cabinet Secretary for Justice for Scotland

Joanne Myers, Director, Public Affairs Program

U.S. Global Engagement Program



**Orville Schell** 

#### **April 2017**

#### 4/1/2017

#### Shades of Red and Blue: Uniting **Our Divided Nation**

Six talks at the New York Public Library, Co-Sponsored with The Ethics Centre and Bard Globalization and International Affairs Program

#### 4/5/2017

#### **Toward Democracy: The Struggle** for Self-Rule in European and **American Thought**

James T. Kloppenberg, Charles Warren Professor of American History, Harvard University

Public Affairs Program

#### 4/7/2017

#### Visit to West Point: Workshop on **Ethics and War**

Carnegie New Leaders Program

#### 4/12/2017

#### **Easternization: Asia's Rise and** America's Decline from Obama to **Trump and Beyond**

Gideon Rachman, Chief Foreign Affairs Commentator, Financial Times

Public Affairs Program

#### 4/12/2017

#### **Carnegie New Leaders DC Chapter:** The Future of Civilian Protection in **Armed Conflict**

Katherine Brown, Executive Director, The United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

Sarah Holewinski, Board of Directors, Center for Civilians in Conflict

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off the record)

#### 4/13/2017

# The Intersection of Religion, Identity, and Peacemaking

Rev. Robert Chase, Founding Director, Intersections International

Randall Pinkston, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### 4/27/2017

# The Coming War with China? The Ethics of Confrontation in the Pacific

Ian Buruma, Paul W. Williams Professor of Human Rights and Journalism, Bard College

Joshua Eisenman, Assistant Professor, Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin; Senior Fellow for China Studies, the American Foreign Policy Council

Jennifer M. Harris, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

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

Co-Sponsored by The Strauss Center, University of Texas, Austin

Senior Fellow Series, Asia Dialogues Program

#### 4/28/2017

# Limiting Civilian Casualties as Part of a Winning Strategy

Joseph Felter, Senior Research Scholar, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CNAS); Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### **May 2017**

#### 5/3/2017

# Third Annual Student Research Conference

Global Ethics Network Program

#### 5/4/2017

# #Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media

Cass Sunstein, Founder and Director, Program on Behavioral Economics and Public Policy, Harvard Law School Public Affairs Program

#### 5/9/2017

# Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West

Gilles Kepel, Professor, Paris Institute for Political Studies (Sciences Po)

Public Affairs Program



Audience members at "Women's Rights are Human Rights" Ethics Matter event

#### 5/11/2017

#### **Crisis of the Liberal Order**

Leon Botstein, President, Bard College Walter Russell Mead, James Clarke Chace Professor of Foreign Affairs and the Humanities, Bard College; Editor-at-Large, *The American Interest* 

Co-Sponsored by the Bard Globalization and International Affairs Program

Ethics Matter Program

#### 5/16/2017

# FBI Special Agents Briefing on Public Corruption

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off the record)

#### 5/17/2017

#### A Briefing and Discussion on Solar Geoengineering: Science, Ethics, and Governance

Janos Pasztor, Senior Fellow and Executive Director, Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

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

Douglas MacMartin, Senior Research Associate and Senior Lecturer in Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering, Cornell University; Research Professor in Computing + Mathematical Sciences, California Institute of Technology

Simon Nicholson, Co-Executive Director and Co-Founder, Forum for Climate Engineering Assessment; Assistant Professor and Director, Global Environmental Politics Program, the School of International Service, American University

Thomas Ackerman, Director, Joint Institute for the Study of the Atmosphere and the Ocean

Arunabha Ghosh, Founder-CEO, Council on Energy, Environment and Water (CEEW)

Holly Jean Buck, Ph.D Candidate, College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, Department of Sociology, Cornell University

Edward A. (Ted) Parson, Dan and Rae Emmett Professor of Environmental Law and Faculty Co-Director; Emmett Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, University of California, Los Angeles

David Morrow, Faculty Fellow, Forum for Climate Engineering Assessment, American University

Carnegie Climate Geoengineering Governance Initiative (C2G2)

#### 5/18/2017

#### Privacy in a Digital Age—Carnegie UK Trust Seminar on Future of Public Libraries Meeting

Deborah Caldwell Stone, Deputy Director, American Library Association's Office for Intellectual Freedom

Ciara Eastell, Chief Executive, Libraries Unlimited

Bruce Schneir, Fellow, Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard Law School

Albert Tucker, Independent Consultant and Trustee, Carnegie UK Trust

Co-Sponsored by the Carnegie UK Trust

#### 5/25/2017

#### 2017 Uehiro-Carnegie-Oxford Ethics **Conference on Ethics of iPS Cell** and Genetic Research and Therapy

Tokyo, Japan

#### 5/25/2017

#### **Carnegie New Leaders Meeting** with Penny Abeywardena

Penny Abeywardena, Commissioner for International Affairs, Mayor's Office, New York City

Carnegie New Leaders Program (off the record)

#### **June 2017**

#### 6/1/2017

#### The Soul of the First Amendment

Floyd Abrams, Senior Counsel, Cahill Gordon & Reindel LLP

Public Affairs Program

#### 6/6/2017

#### **Immigrants and Refugees**

James Traub, Contributing Editor, Foreign Policy; Fellow, the Center on International Cooperation

Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### 6/8/2017

#### Sea Power: The History and **Geopolitics of the World's Oceans**

Adm. James Stavridis, USN (Ret.), Dean, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Public Affairs Program

#### 6/15/2017

#### **Carnegie New Leaders Summer** Social

Carnegie New Leaders Program

#### 6/29/2017

#### The Earth Institute's Steven Cohen Offers Hope for a Sustainable

Steven Cohen, Executive Director, Earth Institute, Columbia University Stephanie Sy, Ethics Matter Host Ethics Matter Program

#### **Podcast Series**

#### **Asia Dialogues**

Podcast Series Created by Senior Program Director and Senior Fellow Devin T. Stewart (Unless otherwise noted, all interviews hosted by Devin T. Stewart)

#### 7/13/2016

#### Japan's Politics: A Move toward **Nationalism or more of the Status**

Sheila A. Smith, Senior Fellow for Japan Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

#### 7/18/2016

#### Japan's Relationship with its Past and Future

Alexis Dudden, Professor of History, University of Connecticut

#### 8/11/2016

#### What the Realities in China Mean for U.S. Policy

Joshua Eisenman, Assistant Professor, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin; Senior Fellow for China Studies, American Foreign Policy Council

#### 8/12/2016

#### The Philippines, the South China Sea, and the Many Sides of **President Duterte**

Richard Heydarian, Assistant Professor in International Affairs and Political Science, De La Salle University

Emma Lo, Pacific Delegate, 2016

#### 8/16/2016

#### **Living Together in Peace: Religious Diversity in Indonesia**

Bernard Adeney-Risakotta, Founding Director and International Representative, Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies in the Graduate School of Gadjah Mada University

Emma Lo, Pacific Delegate, 2016

#### 9/7/2016

#### What to Make of Duterte's **Phillipines**

John Gershman, Professor of Public Service and Director of International Capstone Programs, NYU Wagner

#### 10/16/2016

#### Inside an Apple iPhone Factory in China

Dejian (Ken) Zeng, Gallatin Global Human Rights Fellow

#### 10/18/2016

#### China, Japan, and America: Three **Tigers on One Mountain?**

Richard McGregor, Former Washington Bureau Chief, Financial Times

#### 10/19/2016

#### **Managing Resource Conflict with** a Human Rights Approach

Joshua Fisher, Director, Advanced Consortium for Cooperation, Conflict, and Complexity (AC4), the Earth Institute, Columbia University

#### 12/13/2016

#### Risks to U.S.-China Relations under Trump

Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, Chancellor's Professor of History, the University of California, Irvine; Editor, Journal of Asian Studies

#### 12/19/2016

#### **Indonesia's Growing Islamist Populism**

Marcus Mietzner, Associate Professor, Australian National University—College of Asia and the Pacific

#### 1/20/2017

#### Will Trump be a "Madman" in Asia?

Daniel S. Markey, Senior Research Professor and Academic Director, Global Policy Program, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University

#### 1/23/2017

#### Instability on the Korean Peninsula and the Trump Administration

Scott Snyder, Senior Fellow for Korea Studies and Director, Program on U.S.-Korea policy, Council on Foreign Relations

#### 2/1/2017

# Sensible Advice for Trump's Asia

Patrick M. Cronin, Senior Advisor and Senior Director, Asia-Pacific Security Program, Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

#### 2/2/2017

#### Trump in Asia: Back to the Future?

Christopher Nelson, Editor and Publisher, The Nelson Report; Fellow, U.S.-Asia Relations, Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA

#### 2/7/2017

# Former U.S. Ambassador to Myanmar Reflects on the Democratic Transition

Derek Mitchell, Senior Adviser, Albright Stonebridge Group and the United States Institute of Peace

#### 2/7/2017

# The Secret War in Laos and the Role of the CIA

Joshua Kurlantzick, Senior Fellow for Southeast Asia, Council on Foreign Relations

#### 2/13/2017

# Geoeconomics and Statecraft: Is China Outdoing the United States?

Jennifer Harris, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

#### 2/15/2017

#### A "Chaotic" White House, and the U.S. Role in Asia and the World

Eliot Cohen, Robert E. Osgood Professor, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University

#### 2/15/2017

# Trump and the "Trilateral Relationship" in Northeast Asia

Michael Green, Senior Vice President for Asia and Japan Chair, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Chair in Modern and Contemporary Japanese Politics and Foreign Policy, the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

#### 3/7/2017

# Pankaj Mishra on our "Age of Anger"

Pankaj Mishra, Fellow, the Royal Society of Literature

#### 3/21/2017

# Indonesia's Jihadists, and the Rise of Female Terrorists

Nava Nuraniyah, Analyst, Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC)

#### 3/23/2017

#### Duterte's Drug War and Human Rights in the Philippines and Southeast Asia

Phelim Kine, Deputy Director, Asia Division, Human Rights Watch



Jennifer Harris

#### 3/28/2017

#### **Nuclear War with North Korea?**

Joel Wit, Senior Fellow, the U.S.-Korea Institute, SAIS; Senior Research Fellow, Weatherhead Institute for East Asian Studies, Columbia University

#### 4/04/2017

## "In Cambodia, 'democracy' is just a term . . ."

Sophorn Sek, Human Rights Lawyer and Founder, Rights and Business Law Office, Cambodia

#### 4/25/2017

# Democracy and the Deep State in Myanmar

Maureen Aung-Thwin, Special Advisor, Burma Project, Open Society Foundations

#### 5/31/2017

# The U.S. Navy's View on Security in Asia and Beyond

Adm. John Richardson, Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), U.S. Navy

#### 6/19/2017

# Ali Wyne on the Risks of U.S. Disengagement with Asia

Ali Wyne, Non-Resident Fellow, Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, Atlantic Council; Security Fellow, Truman National Security Project; Carnegie New Leader

#### 6/20/2017

# Amitai Etzioni on Avoiding War with China

Amitai Etzioni, Director, Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies and Director, Communitarian Network, The George Washington University



**Devin Stewart and Admiral John Richardson** 

#### 6/22/2017

# Conversation with Raymond Kuo: Can Trump be a Bismarck in Asia?

Raymond Kuo, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Fordham University

#### 6/23/2017

#### Mira Rapp-Hooper on Subcontracting U.S. Policy Toward Asia

Mira Rapp-Hooper, Senior Fellow, Asia-Pacific Security Program, the Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

#### 6/26/2017

# Isaac Stone Fish: Facts and Fiction on North Korea

Isaac Stone Fish, Senior Fellow, Center on U.S.-China Relations, Asia Society

#### 6/27/2017

# Ziad Haider: U.S.-Asia Economic Ties Under Trump

Ziad Haider, Senior Associate and Simon Chair in Political Economy, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

#### 6/27/2017

#### Tom Nichols on the Death of Expertise

Thomas Nichols, Professor of National Security Affairs, National Security Decision Making Department; Course Director for Security, Strategy, and Forces, U.S. Naval War College

#### 6/27/2017

# Scott Kennedy of CSIS: Worst Case Scenarios for China's Economy

Scott Kennedy, Deputy Director, Freeman Chair in China Studies, and Director, Project on Chinese Business and Political Economy, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)



North Korea, Mass Games / photo Stephan, Creative Commons

# Interviews with Carnegie New Leaders

Podcast Series Created and Hosted by Carnegie Ethics Studio Producer Alex Woodson

#### 8/23/2016

#### Asha Castleberry on the 2016 Election and the Fight Against ISIS

Asha Castleberry, Professor, Political Science Department, Fordham University; Fellow, Foreign Policy Interrupted

#### 9/23/2016

#### Jayson Browder on a New Generation of Veteran Leaders

Jayson Browder, U.S. Army Veteran; Founder and Executive Director, Veterans in Global Leadership

#### 11/16/2016

#### A Conversation on Climate Change & Forced Displacement with David Sussman

David Sussman, Research Fellow, the Center on International Cooperation, New York University

#### 12/2/2016

#### Jamal Sowell on Leadership, Veterans, & Escaping the "Bubble"

Jamal Sowell, U.S. Marine Corps Veteran; Pat Tillman Military Scholar, Maurer School of Law, Indiana University

#### 12/19/2016

#### Andreas Hatzigeorgiou on Global Cities, Migration, and Stockholm's Economy

Andreas Hatzigeorgiou, Chief Economist, Stockholm Chamber of Commerce

#### 2/27/2017

#### Human Rights Narratives and Active Resistance, with Sujata Gadka-Wilcox

Sujata Gadkar-Wilcox, Assistant Professor of Legal Studies, Quinnipiac University

#### 3/21/2017

#### Teaching Ethics at the Coast Guard Academy with Lt. Tony Gregg

Tony Gregg, Instructor of Moral and Ethical Philosophy, United States Coast Guard Academy

#### 4/6/2017

# Local Politics and Criminal Justice Reform with Mohammed Alam

Mohammad Alam, External Affairs Manager, Center for Court Innovation; Vice President, Manhattan Young Democrats; Political Director, New York State Young Democrats

#### 5/23/2017

#### Asha Castleberry on Trump's Generals and the Fight Against ISIS

Asha Castleberry, Professor, Political Science Department, Fordham University; Fellow, Foreign Policy Interrupted

#### 6/19/2017

#### Waleed Alhariri on the U.S. Covert Use of Lethal Force, and the Crisis in Yemen

Waleed Alhariri, Director, Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies, New York Office

#### **Public Affairs**

Podcast Series Created and Hosted by Public Affairs Director Joanne Myers

#### 8/18/2016

# The "Living, Breathing Modern Miracle" of ASEAN

Kishore Mahbubani, Dean, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy, the National University of Singapore

#### 9/8/2016

# Peter Sutherland on the Migrant Crisis

Peter Sutherland, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for International Migration, United Nations

#### 9/27/2016

#### The Will to Lead: America's Indispensable Role in the Global Fight for Freedom

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Former Prime Minister, Denmark; Former Secretary General, NATO

#### 11/3/2016

#### What is Populism?

Jan-Werner Müller, Professor of Politics, Princeton University

#### 2/7/2017

#### Data for the People: How to Make our Post-privacy Economy Work for You

Andreas Weigend, Lecturer, Stanford University and UC Berkeley; Founder, Social Data Lab

#### 3/20/2017

#### The Gene Machine: How Genetic Technologies are Changing the Way We Have Kids—and the Kids We Have

Bonnie Rochman, Staff Writer, *Time* Magazine

#### 3/28/2017

#### A Question of Order: India, Turkey, and the Return of Strongmen

Basharat Peer, Staff Editor, The New York Times

#### 4/5/2017

# Protestants: The Faith That Made the Modern World

Alec Ryrie, Professor, Department of Theology and Religion, Durham University

#### 4/6/2017

#### **MEGATECH:Technology in 2050**

Daniel Franklin, Executive Editor, The **Economist** 

#### **Ethics & International Affairs Interview Series**

Podcast Series hosted by EIA Managing Editor Adam Read-Brown and EIA Assistant Editor John Krzyzaniak

#### 7/25/2016

#### Interview with Robert Sparrow on **Autonomous Weapon Systems** and Respect in Warfare

Robert Sparrow, Chief Investigator, Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for Electromaterials Science

Adam Read-Brown

#### 8/31/2016

#### Karin Aggestam on Sweden's **Feminist Foreign Policy**

Karin Aggestam, Professor of Political Science, Lund University, Sweden

Adam Read-Brown

#### 11/29/2016

#### **A Conversation on Effective Altruism with Jennifer** Rubenstein

Jennifer Rubenstein, Associate Professor of Politics, University of Virginia

Adam Read-Brown

#### 4/6/2017

#### **A Conversation on Statelessness** with Kristy A. Belton

Kristy A. Belton, Director of Professional Development, International Studies Association

John Krzyzaniak

#### 06/08/2017

#### Yvonne Terlingen on the UN **Secretary-General Selection Process**

Yvonne Terlingen, Steering Committee Member, 1 for 7 Billion-Find the Best UN Leader Campaign, and Senior Policy Adviser, Institute for Global Policy

John Krzyzaniak

#### **Impact: Where Business** and Ethics Meet

Podcast Created and Hosted by Julia Taylor Kennedy, Senior Vice President and Senior Fellow, Center for Talent Innovation

#### 08/15/2016

#### **The Conscious Consumer** ("Conscious Capitalism" Series Part One)

Lawrence B. Glickman, Professor of History, Cornell University

Sally Greenberg, Executive Director, the National Consumers League

Michael Hobbes, Human Rights Consultant and Journalist

Tohnain Emmanuel Njong, Survivor of Chinese Labor Camp

Stephanie Wilson, Senior Program Manager, Social Accountability International

#### 08/22/2016

#### The Conscious Company ("Conscious Capitalism" Series Part Two)

Jill Dumain, Director of Environmental Strategy, Patagonia Co.

Grant Garrison, Managing Director, **GOOD Corps** 

Amy Hall, Director of Social Consciousness, Eileen Fisher

Michael Hobbes, Human Rights Consultant and Journalist

Andrew Kassoy, Co-Founder, B Lab

#### 08/29/2016

#### The Conscious Investor ("Conscious Capitalism" Series Part Three )

Jason T. Baron, Former Managing Director and Senior Portfolio Manager, the Socially Innovative Investing Strategy, Investment Group, U.S. Trust Amit Bouri, CEO and Co-Founder, the Global Impact Investing Network Julie Fox Gorte, Senior Vice President

for Sustainable Investing, Pax World Management LLC

Audience members at "Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West" with Gilles Kepel

#### **Ethics in Security Bulletin**

Podcast Created and Hosted by USGE Program Director and Senior Fellow David C. Speedie

#### 08/18/2016

#### **Update From Ukraine**

Nicolai N. Petro, Professor of Comparative and International Politics, University of Rhode Island

#### **Additional Podcasts**

#### 2/1/2017

#### Freedom of Expression in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Beyond

Ismail Einashe, Journalist Alex Woodson, Producer, Carnegie **Ethics Studio** 

#### 2/3/2017

#### The Global Phenomenon of #GivingTuesday

Jessica Schneider, Director of Strategy & Collaboration, The Center for Innovation & Social Impact, 92nd Street Y

Amanda Ghanooni, Program Associate, Carnegie Council

#### 3/13/2017

#### Trump and the Intelligence Community: The View from a **Former CIA Analyst**

Yael Eisenstat, Founder, Kilele Global; Former CIA Analyst

Alex Woodson, Producer, Carnegie **Ethics Studio** 

#### 6/21/2017

Council

#### **Soldiers and Civilization: How the Profession of Arms Thought and** Fought the Modern World into **Existence**

Col. Reed Bonadonna (Ret.), Senior Fellow, Carnegie Council Joel Rosenthal, President, Carnegie



# Financial Summary

\$480,787

### **Statement of Activities for the** Fiscal Year beginning July 1, 2016 and ending June 30, 2017

#### **INCOME**

**Governance Project...** 

Grants for Programs	\$685,000
Climate Geoengineering Governance Project	1,071,800
Trustee & Individual Contributions	189,584
Program & Membership Fees	68,930
Other Income	425,907
Net Investment Income	1,550,000
TOTAL Revenue & Support	\$3,991,221
EXPENSES	
Education	\$744,413
Public Affairs Programs	282,076
Internet & Studio	1,005,471
Print Publications	282,849
Climate Geoengineering Governance Project	591,013
Sub-total Program Expenses	\$2,905,822
Management & General Support	881,106
Fundraising & Development	204,293
TOTAL Expenses	\$3,991,221
Net Income	
Funds Restricted for Climate Geoengineering	

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.

# Thank You to our Supporters

# We Can't Do It Without You!

Thanks to your ongoing generosity, Carnegie Council provides an independent and inclusive platform for the world's leading thinkers and decisionmakers to explore the moral imperatives confronting the global community today. By supporting us you are helping millions of people around the world to better understand the issues confronting policymakers, and the ethical challenges and choices that inform their decisions.

Your contribution—no matter how small helps ensure that Carnegie Council can continue its public service of providing free videos, audios, transcripts, and articles to millions of students, teachers, and concerned citizens worldwide. Please help us continue this important work.



For more information on these opportunities and more, please contact the Development Department at 212-838-4120 or email info@cceia.org.

# **How to Support** the Council

#### **Donate to our Fund Drives**

Contributions to our spring and fall fund drives provide the Council with unrestricted support for our work and general operating costs.

#### **Become a Subscriber to our Public Events**

If you live in the New York City area, join us for our public programs, which run from September through June. Subscriptions are available at various levels.

#### **Become a Carnegie New Leader (CNL)**

In a series of small group meetings and online dialogues, CNL members (age forty-five and under) explore how an ethical perspective can be applied to policy questions, as well as their personal and professional lives. CNL offers invaluable opportunities to network with peers and experts.

#### Join our Friends Committee

The Carnegie Council's Friends Committee is an exclusive group of advisors and investors. It plays a critical role in raising the visibility of the Council's work and deepening our impact.

#### Become a Member of the 2114 Society

Named after the year of Carnegie Council's bicentennial, the 2114 Society allows you to optimize your charitable giving through a variety of mechanisms, including trusts, life insurance gifts, and bequest. Benefits of membership in this program include invitations to special events and acknowledgment in the Council's Annual Report and website.

#### Join the Andrew Carnegie Society

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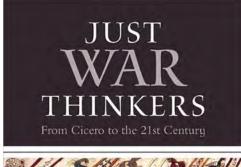
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