

CARNEGIE COUNCIL *for Ethics in International Affairs*

Moral Rupture — *and Moral Courage*



ANNUAL REPORT 2025

Our Role *in a Turbulent World*

From time to time, a single phrase captures the spirit of an era. Consider Winston Churchill proclaiming, “An iron curtain has descended across the continent,” bookended by Ronald Reagan demanding, “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.”

We are living in such a moment now.

“We are in the midst of a rupture, not a transition,” are the indelible words of Canadian Prime Minister Mark Carney at Davos in January.

Carney’s words have already become the signature phrase of the end of the post-World War II order. They have launched countless debates over the next era of geopolitics and grand strategy, as they rightly should given the stakes and uncertainties they imply.

The order that shaped much of the modern world is giving way, and what emerges in its place remains uncertain.

This is not only a geopolitical shift. It is moral and generational, global, and deeply local. And it is a challenge no nation, sector, or institution can meet alone.

This time reflects a breakdown in shared values—a growing gap between the complexity of the decisions we face and the ethical frameworks guiding them. This is precisely the space Carnegie Council was created to fill.

For more than a century, the Council has advanced a simple but powerful idea: Ethics is not optional in international affairs—it is the foundation for cooperation, peace, and progress.

We were founded in a time of profound upheaval. On the cusp of World War I, Andrew Carnegie assembled a group of leaders in religion, academia, and politics to promote moral leadership and find alternatives to armed conflict. Like today, old orders were giving way through violent conflict, and uncertainty reigned.

Carnegie’s response was an act of courage, and that legacy continues to guide us today. The world we are leaving behind was shaped by commitments to cooperation, democratic inclusion, truth, and humanitarian responsibility—anchored by principles of pluralism, rights, and fairness. Despite imperfections, it offered a framework for collective progress.

Our task is to carry forward the values that matter most and reimagine how they come to life in a changing world. Tradition should not bind us; it should inspire us to adapt, innovate, and act with purpose.

This is where a new model of collaboration becomes essential. The responsibility to shape a more just and stable world does not simply rest with governments, but is shared across citizens, philanthropists, policymakers, business leaders, and scholars—each contributing unique strengths to a common effort.

Andrew Carnegie believed philanthropy could be a powerful force for good—one that is expansive and imaginative. Philanthropy has helped build institutions and advance new forms of cooperation that improve lives at scale. Today, that spirit must extend further, fostering partnerships that cut across boundaries and disciplines.

In a world defined by complexity and interdependence, meaningful progress will depend on this kind of collaboration: grounded in human dignity, driven by shared responsibility, and sustained by a collective commitment to moral courage.

This is the work of Carnegie Council. And it is an invitation—to engage, to question, and to build alongside us.

Joel H. Rosenthal
President
Carnegie Council



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“Ethics is infrastructure. People often turn their focus to issues of ethics after a major catastrophe, and sometimes that’s too late. Ethical infrastructure is living and needs nurturing and cultivation over time. It has the ability to atrophy when we don’t pay attention to it. There is painstaking work involved in both building ethics as infrastructure and building it in a way that is resilient and sustainable and a consistent part of our social fabric. We must invest in our ethical infrastructure on a consistent basis because it’s indispensable and the challenges of today require it so we may support the unglamorous work of building ethical infrastructure before a crisis erupts.”

EDDIE MANDHRY
BOARD MEMBER



MISSION

We empower ethics by identifying and addressing the most critical ethical issues of today and tomorrow.

What We Do

For more than a century, the Council has been the leading independent voice advancing the role of ethics in international affairs. We mobilize thinkers, practitioners, and global leaders from across disciplines and sectors to wrestle with hard questions that shape global stability.

So many of today's global challenges come down to people making enormously consequential decisions without clear ethical guideposts. Carnegie Council's programs and our Global Ethics Hub ensure that ethics is practical and useful to the people shaping the future.

We bring together leaders working across policy, business, academia, civil society, and more for honest, thoughtful conversation—where disagreement is welcomed and clarity emerges. This dialogue helps them identify ethical blind spots and make decisions that serve the public good.

Our work is not theoretical. It shapes public understanding and strengthens the ethical foundations of global decision-making.

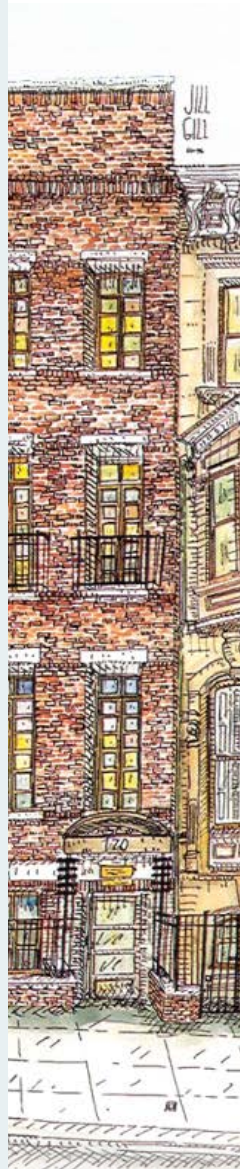
The Council's portfolio of programs and interventions is organized around five key themes:

- Next Generation Leadership
- Security
- Technology
- Climate
- Shaping public understanding of the ethical stakes of global decisions and why they matter for society and the public good

Across each theme, our expertise and approach is defined by:

- **Convening power:** we create a trusted space and bring together diverse leaders so bold ideas, evidence, and multi-sector perspectives can be discussed to shape responsible action.
- **Cross-sector insight:** we unite experts who rarely share a table to generate insights and collaborations that none could achieve alone.
- **Translating principles into practice:** we turn ethical commitments, shared values, and long-term thinking into concrete strategies, tools, and collaborations that drive real-world impact.
- **A global resource:** we provide access to experts, research, and applied ethics knowledge that support wiser choices across borders, institutions, and disciplines.

The **guiding principle** for all areas of our work is to **build the relationships, insight, and trust** required for ethical leadership at scale.





Uehiro-Carnegie Endowment for Future Generations Study Tour Delegation in Shibuya Scramble Crossing. CREDIT: Carnegie Council.

Connecting Leaders *Across* Generations

From New York to Japan, next generation leadership was a key area of focus for Carnegie Council in 2025. With the launch of the *Ethics Empowered: Leadership in Practice* event series, the continued success of the Carnegie Ethics Fellowship, growing momentum for the College Outreach program, and a study trip to Japan, the Council sees great promise in engaging and educating young leaders on the practice of ethics.

Launched in March, the *Ethics Empowered* event series brings together scholars and practitioners to discuss pressing ethical issues, reflect on their careers, and provide guidance to young leaders. Moderated by members of the Carnegie Council community, these convenings focused on global health, climate migration, and the principle of just peace. In total, 280 people from 35 different nations attended these events, both in-person and virtually, and the series will continue in 2026. After the convenings, the audio, video, and transcript from the events are showcased on the Council website as an educational resource, packaged with discussion questions and relevant articles from the *Ethics & International Affairs* journal and website.



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“In a time when many seem to feel increasingly helpless to influence global politics, I have found the opportunity to work with Carnegie Council exceptionally rewarding. Developing tools that redirect students’ attention to their own moral compass and agency, and then bringing those tools to the classroom, has been both inspiring and empowering.”

TANISHA FAZAL

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

“As we see values like international cooperation, democracy and pluralism, and humanitarianism eroding, this event series provides an important civic space for young leaders,” said Brian Mateo, Carnegie Council’s director of education and special projects. “Bringing scholars and practitioners together in conversation with the next generation is an impactful way to bridge ethical theories with application.”

“The discussion of ethics is crucial to building understanding among diverse groups”

ETHICS EMPOWERED ATTENDEE

The start of 2025 brought together both the first and second cohorts of Carnegie Ethics Fellows for a gathering in February for the inaugural Symposium marking the culmination of the first Fellowship. Over four panels, the first cohort discussed the topics of their final research projects with experts from Columbia University, NYU, Rutgers, Tufts’ Fletcher School, and Cybersecurity for Democracy. The reports—on AI and election integrity, child poverty in the United States, AI in education and healthcare, and climate migration—can be viewed on the Council’s website.

The second cohort was selected in early 2025, and is composed of ten young leaders drawn from business, academia, tech, government, and nonprofits. Cohort gatherings in 2025 oriented the new class of Fellows to the Council and explored democracy and pluralism, and humanity and the environment. In 2026, the second cohort will conclude with a module in San Francisco, focusing on ethical issues in the tech community, and the completion of research projects and the Symposium in October.

“The Fellowship has exceeded my expectations for the depth and relevance of topics we discussed, and the level of openness our cohort has shown during our conversations,” said Nadav Avihay, a Fellow in the second cohort.

The College Outreach program, in which Carnegie Council’s Next-Gen team works directly with educators to develop bespoke convenings, also began in 2025, with over 200 visitors to the Global Ethics Hub representing 17 nations. The guests attended presentations from Council staff, learned about the Council’s history and goals, and participated in experiential learning activities that emphasized the importance of ethics. Surveys taken after these visits showed that the vast majority left the Global Ethics Hub with a



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greater understanding of ethics, values-driven leadership, and the work of the Council.

“We learned that an ethical lens can be adopted in our daily lives. We do not need to be experts in ethics to be involved in improving the world around us. Also, we can be realistic while maintaining an ethical framework to deploy these solutions.”

CARNEGIE COLLEGE PROGRAM PARTICIPANT



Visit to Center for iPS Cell Research and Application, Kyoto University. CREDIT: Carnegie Council.

One of the most promising and exciting investments at the Council is the Uehiro-Carnegie Endowment for Future Generations, endowed by the Uehiro Foundation on Ethics and Education to create novel educational programs and global-scale engagements for emerging leaders. In November, the first study tour of Japan took place, sponsored by the Uehiro Foundation and supporting eight participants. Led by Council President Joel Rosenthal, participants attended meetings with scholars, university leaders, think tank partners, and civil society leaders on an itinerary designed and managed by Foundation staff that included stops in Tokyo, Sendai, Kyoto, and Hiroshima. Reflections from the tour participants can be viewed on the Carnegie Council website.



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Carnegie *Ethics Fellowship*



The 2025-2026 Carnegie Ethics Fellows cohort. CREDIT: Bryan Goldberg Photography.

“Above all, I feel energized by my cohort—a talented group dedicated to promoting ethics and genuinely passionate about making the world a better place. Through collaboration, we can make a real difference.”

NADAV AVIHAY



“The prospect of learning alongside practitioners who approach ethics from varied vantage points felt not only enriching but essential. In that sense, the Fellowship did not simply align with my interests. It reflected the way I already engage with ethical questions and promised to deepen that engagement in meaningful ways.”

**RUTH NASHIPAE
MUIGAI**



“Carnegie brings together people who understand that leadership rarely happens under ideal conditions—you make progress through competing priorities, incomplete information, and systems that evolve slower than the mission requires. The program offers a community where I can look back at earlier decisions with more clarity, refine how I navigate complexity today, and strengthen the foundation I’ll need for the public-facing roles I hope to take on next.”

DENVER BARROWS



“Since joining the Fellowship, I’ve felt much more comfortable invoking moral or ethical reasoning into everyday discussions and decisions at work (and in my personal life!). It’s not a huge difference in the way I think, but my approach is stronger, better informed, and I am feeling much more confident and empowered as a champion of ethical leadership. And that is a great feeling!”

NICHOLAS BAYER



“The environment created by Kathleen Egan and Brian Mateo (our program leadership) and the willingness of my cohort to share the implications of our work as a group is truly special. So, in my opinion even beyond learning, we have decided that as a cohort, whether we deliberate about the future of democracy, ethical perspectives of emerging tech, or climate governance, we will build an agenda of thought leadership that is needed in a fractured world.” **JOSH ACOSTA**

An Enduring Enthusiasm *for Ethics*

In 2023, the Council launched the Charles W. Kegley, Jr. Annual Lecture Series to honor Professor Kegley's many contributions to the Council, including as a trustee for nearly two decades and helping to advance the Council's mission through his own scholarship. Dr. Kegley and the Council have collaborated on many projects, including timely video content to accompany his best-selling international relations textbook, World Politics: Trend and Transformation. He and his wife, Debra, have long championed the Council in their philanthropic giving.

What motivated you to become involved in the Council?

I first learned about the Council through my father, an accomplished philosophy professor who had served as a Council trustee in my formative years. I learned from him the importance of thinking in terms of ethical values.

I recognize with hindsight that my own research agenda—focused at the start of my academic career on applying empirical methods to the analysis of international affairs—always aligned closely with Carnegie Council's mission. My work was primarily on the normative foundations of international behavior, testing contending hypotheses between changes in international law and the prevailing moral climate of opinion, and transformations in customary inter-nation conduct. Central to my work were questions about international ethics. These shared values made the Council a natural home for me.

How did you “seal the deal” with Carnegie Council’s coordination?

My formal involvement with the Council began almost by accident. In 1987, Bob Myers, then president of the Council, reviewed the speech I gave in honor of my father for a memorial at the Kegley Institute of Ethics at California State University-Bakersfield, entitled “Ethical Values as a Matter of Fact.” Bob asked to publish it in *Ethics & International Affairs*. I was hooked. I had found a meaningful home for my research, and immediately shifted serious attention to morality matters, because, well, I have always believed that morality matters.

Why the Kegley Annual Lecture?

Carnegie Council is the sole vital voice with the reach to inspire global citizens, and even adherents of a parochial nationalism, to consider the moral consequences of their actions.



Charles Kegley and Joel H. Rosenthal at the Global Ethics Hub. CREDIT: Bryan Goldberg Photography.

As my wife, Debbie, and I thought about our own inevitable “endgames,” we asked what we could do to respond to the reality that the world is in trouble and the trajectory of current trends is alarming. The Council is the only institution built to pursue the quest for moral meaning in the international arena. So, we chose to leave the Council a bequest, with no conditions, to help continue its mission.

To our surprise and deep appreciation, Joel organized the lecture series while we are still alive, allowing Debbie and me to witness its impact. We are truly honored. Thank you!

“We hope our gift will inspire others to make their own philanthropic contributions to the Council. The world is fractured, fissures are widening, and the Council needs financial support as it strives to heal the globe’s ruptured moral underpinnings.”

Accelerating *Action on Climate*



In a desert city, where nearly one in six residents is over the age of 65, extreme heat due to climate change has become a growing public health risk. As residents increasingly rely on social media and untrustworthy AI to get their information, certain municipal climate action programs have been misunderstood, contested, or ignored—with deadly consequences. When city leaders find common language and build trust with vulnerable constituencies—by emphasizing health facts and aligning communication methods with vulnerable peoples’ daily routines—life-saving public health interventions in the era of climate crisis are more successful. In 2025, the Carnegie Ethics Accelerator created a tool that uses the principles of applied ethics to catalyze the implementation of climate action in cities, demonstrating the importance of applied ethics in the age of climate catastrophe.

As the climate crisis deepens, cities are experiencing mounting challenges. From protecting at-risk populations to addressing climate emissions, and simply because they are home to most of the world’s population, it is vital to ensure that cities have ethical strategies for managing climate devastation.

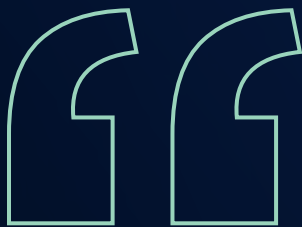
The Accelerator’s four-step methodology begins with identifying an emerging ethical issue. The next step convenes experts with varying backgrounds and experiences who have been selected to analyze the issue and brainstorm potential solutions. The Council then produces unique instruments and tools that practitioners can deploy and strategically promotes those resources to key stakeholders around the world.

“The goal of our collaborations with experts seeking to address emerging issues in international affairs is to produce novel tools that support ethical decision-making,” said Samuel Bradshaw, Ethics Accelerator lead at Carnegie Council.

Led by Senior Fellows Nicholas Harrison and Kai Uwe Barani Schmidt, and building from successful past projects that focused on data fusion and AI in diplomacy, the Climate Action in Cities project kicked off in March 2025. In a two-day workshop, participants explored potential intervention points for novel activities, tools, or collaborations to implement in cities that would improve climate outcomes across government, energy, public health, and waste management.

Based on this process, they produced the Climate Action in Cities tool. Through the presentation of illustrative examples based on real-world challenges faced by cities internationally, the tool aims to demonstrate how applied ethics strategies can accelerate the implementation of climate solutions. In addition, users of the tool have an option to submit their own climate action challenge that can be addressed using applied ethics.

In 2025, the Accelerator also started accepting proposals from outside researchers and teams. With a focus on addressing emerging ethical issues in technology and public policy, similar to the first three Council-led initiatives, the Accelerator team is looking for projects based on a clear and succinct research question with profound ethical implications. Teams are selected based on demonstrable expertise in their research domain, interest in developing an ethics-based output with the prospect of real-world application, and ability to work closely with Carnegie Council for a roughly 15-month period following proposal acceptance and funding. New areas of focus could include ethical issues surrounding the use of biotechnology in space exploration and the power of transnational networks to influence policy.



“The goal of our collaborations with experts seeking to address emerging issues in international affairs is to produce novel tools that support ethical decision-making.” **SAMUEL BRADSHAW**, ETHICS ACCELERATOR LEAD AT CARNEGIE COUNCIL

The screenshot shows the Carnegie Council logo at the top left. A dark blue button at the top right says "ALL APPLIED ETHICS STRATEGIES EXPLAINED" with a plus icon. The main heading reads "Overcoming climate action implementation challenges in Energy using applied ethics strategies". Below this are two download links: "Download this tool for offline use" and "Download applied ethics strategies definitions". At the bottom, there's a section "Explore challenges by system:" with four buttons: "Energy", "Governance", "Public Health", and "Waste Management".

A QR code is centered in the image, enclosed in a white frame. Below the QR code, the text "SCAN HERE" is written in white. At the bottom, the text "to explore the Climate Action in Cities tool" is written in a white, italicized font.

CARNEGIE COUNCIL

GLOBAL ETHICS HUB

In 2025, the Global Ethics Hub served as a global gathering point to address humanity's most pressing challenges. From expert panel discussions and fireside chats to the Carnegie Ethics Fellow Symposium, visits from universities and colleges, and off-the-record workshops and discussion groups, it has been an eventful year of events and programs. Located on Manhattan's Upper East Side, the Hub is the only civic space with the sole purpose of empowering ethics in international affairs.



Top: College visit. CREDIT: Michael Kelty/UPenn.
Bottom: Avril Haines and Carnegie Ethics Fellows, October 30, 2025. CREDIT: Bryan Goldberg Photography.



Convening our community is what makes the Global Ethics Hub such a powerful place to be.

Learn more about past and future events →



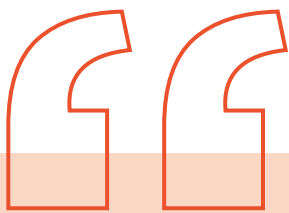
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Top left: College visit. CREDIT: Michael Kelty/UPenn. Top right: College visit. CREDIT: Bryan Goldberg Photography. Middle images: Carnegie Ethics Fellowship Symposium, February 6-7, 2025. CREDIT: Noha Mahmoud. Bottom image: Global Ethics Day panel, October 15, 2025. CREDIT: James Lanci.

Nuclear Ethics

in a New Era



“We are living through a perilous moment when an old order is fading and new arrangements are emerging. Nuclear weapons—always a threat—must now be understood in a new way. Against this background, we find a strangely complacent political scene as instability grows along with burgeoning arsenals.”

Joel H. Rosenthal
President
Carnegie Council

Since the development and use of the first nuclear bomb in the 1940s, ethical questions around these weapons have been a focus of Carnegie Council’s work. The current environment—marked by growing capabilities in the U.S., China, and Russia; the possibility of proliferation among middle and small powers; and complacency about the threat among the general public—has sparked a reexamination of the issue. Perhaps most alarmingly, once robust international agreements that governed the use and development of these weapons no longer exist to rein in and hold accountable nuclear-armed states.

In 2025, the Council convened a one-day workshop in partnership with The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation and held under the Chatham House Rule, to gather academics, practitioners, journalists, and religious leaders to discuss, assess, and evaluate the current international strategic nuclear environment.

Takeaways from the convening included:

- The field of nuclear deterrence, disarmament, and non-proliferation is underfunded, and experts are siloed and complacent with no formal mechanisms for cooperation, coordination, or co-funding. Stronger collaboration among funders is needed, as well as greater transparency and community-building.
- There is a need for greater support and discussion of nuclear weapons in the media—the 1983 TV film *The Day After* and its effect on President Ronald Reagan is an example of how influential this can be. The issue needs to be made personal in order to combat complacency in the public.
- There needs to be a reinjection of ethics into the nuclear policy conversations. The framing of the issue through religion or secular ethics could be impactful, as could a renewed focus on the work of scholars like Michael Walzer and Paul Ramsey.

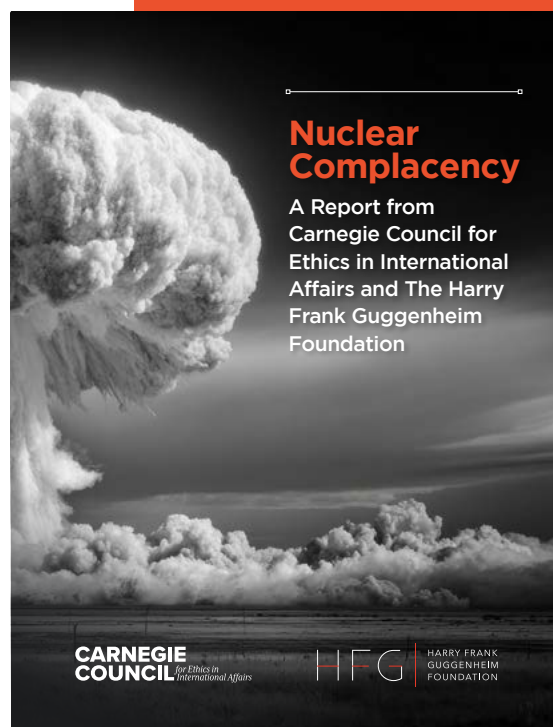
These findings and much more were collected in a report, *Nuclear Complacency*, co-authored by Joel Rosenthal and Kathleen Egan, senior program associate at Carnegie Council. Published in August 2025, the report summarizes the discussions held during the April convening and offers insights that are both descriptive and prescriptive, sketching a new political reality and paths to international peace and cooperation. To date, the report has been downloaded in 45 countries, by people working in government, international NGOs, academia, and media.

“Humankind’s most destructive weapon poses enduring ethical questions: Who should have these weapons, and how, and in what manner, if ever, should they be developed, tested, deployed, and stockpiled?” asked Egan. “Carnegie Council’s decades-long work on nuclear ethics remains as pressing and relevant as ever.”

Egan followed up the release of the report with a review of *A House of Dynamite*, a Netflix film that explores what would happen in the event of a nuclear weapon being launched at the U.S., which received critical acclaim and numerous award nominations.

“The film reflects the current geopolitical reality; a world with few guardrails on nuclear weapons; a binder full of retaliation plans that do not include pathways for deescalation and diplomacy; a house of dynamite,” wrote Egan.

The renewed focus on nuclear ethics continues into 2026 with an event in May in collaboration with PBS. The network recently released the documentary *American Experience: Bombshell*, examining the media coverage and justification around the dropping of the atomic bombs in Japan in 1945. Rosenthal was joined by Ben Loeterman, producer and director of the documentary, and Emma Belcher, president of Ploughshares, in a panel discussion moderated by acclaimed journalist Ann Curry. More reports, events, and convenings are planned for future months.



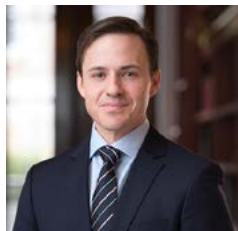
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to read the report

Examining Our Values & Interests: Conversations on the Ethics of Geopolitics

By Kevin Maloney

One of the most meaningful parts of my role as the Council's chief public affairs officer is being in conversation with leading experts and thinkers for the *Values & Interests* podcast.



"*Values & Interests*" is both descriptive and prescriptive: It captures the unique angle of the podcast at the intersections of personal values and professional life, and morality and power in geopolitics. We're not reactive, we're reflective—a virtue becoming more endangered in our current information ecosystem. We unpack what a "pragmatic idealist" might look like in the current geopolitical environment: the values that drive them, the virtues they prioritize, and how they think about tradeoffs in the practice of politics, the private sector, academia, and more.

As global security deteriorates, the international affairs space and the information ecosystem are becoming increasingly zero-sum. What is often missing—from the local community level to geopolitics between great powers—is the ability to create an environment free



Kevin Maloney and Björn Holmberg, executive director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, recording a *Values & Interests* podcast at the Global Ethics Hub. CREDIT: Carnegie Council.

of moral absolutism, where differences in values can be interrogated instead of framed as a clash of civilizations.

Conversations grounded in applied ethics create a space that recognizes our shared humanity, not artificial political constructs and differences in values. The shared lesson from most of my guests is that peace and pluralism are achievable, even in these trying times, if we seek in good faith to temper and shape power. These are often the most difficult conversations, but if we aren't willing to have them, we surrender to a winner-take-all public sphere. As Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal has written: "Power without restraint is a dark vision that ends badly."

I hope you'll subscribe to "Carnegie Council" wherever you stream your podcasts, and stay tuned for future episodes with global leaders sharing their reflections and insights about navigating today's ethical landscape.

Listen to the podcast



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The shared lesson from most of my guests is that peace and pluralism are achievable, even in these trying times, if we seek in good faith to temper and shape power.

Expanding Access to *Ethical Scholarship*

Since 1987, Carnegie Council's *Ethics & International Affairs (EIA)* journal has published a combination of peer-reviewed scholarly research articles, shorter standalone essays, and themed essay collections, as well as a curated selection of book reviews and review essays. At the start of 2025, the journal became open access, making all new research content free to read and expanding the reach of the journal to a wider audience worldwide, including in underserved academic communities and policymaking circles. This change has resulted in transformative growth in reach for the journal's content, with downloads increasing five-fold, from 50,000 to over 250,000.

“Expanding access ensures that some of the best scholarly thinking on ethics available anywhere in the world is now reaching more people,” said Adam Read-Brown, *EIA*'s executive editor. “We couldn't be more pleased with the growth in downloads and are eager to ensure the trend continues.”



The four issues in 2025 covered a range of timely topics, including migration policymaking and ethical dilemmas; global governance in hard times; and political violence and affluent democracies. The editorial team also increased the output of shorter “Online Exclusives” published on the *EIA* website, allowing the journal to more readily respond to global events as they unfold and provide robust ethical frameworks for commentary on current issues. Topics as diverse as the militarization of outer space, territorial integrity, the ethics of diplomacy, and military strikes on Venezuelan boats in the Caribbean were covered across nearly a dozen essays.

Ethics & International Affairs

In collaboration with other Council departments, the editors of *EIA* have worked to integrate the journal more deeply into the broader Council programming. *EIA* authors have been featured as panelists for the *Ethics Empowered* events series, contributing to convenings on the future of peacekeeping and the ethics of climate change migration. The journal also curated a special essay collection to recognize Global Ethics Day, publishing four wide-ranging essays from high-profile scholars on the theme of “Ethics Reenvisioned.” These pieces covered ethical literacy, the history of global ethical thought, moral complexity, and ethical leverage in modern political life. This collaboration has gone both ways, as the “Ethics Reenvisioned” editors have begun working with authors who have connected with the journal through the Council's Accelerator program, the Next-Gen Leadership Initiative Advisory Board, and Illiberal Narratives project.

In 2026, they will celebrate the 40th volume of the journal and will be featuring commissioned essays from some of the journal's top cited authors of the past two decades. These essays will cover AI and drone use, the ethics of foreign intervention, and the legitimacy of global governance institutions. *EIA* will continue to publish on the most pressing global issues, as well as those that often go under the radar—keeping ethics centered in the conversation.

***Read the
journal***



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In case
you missed it...



Global Ethics Day

Re-envisioning Humanitarianism for a Changing World, October 15

In the keynote event of Global Ethics Day 2025, a panel of experts explored vital questions around power, accountability, and the need for greater inclusivity in the design, funding, and delivery of humanitarian aid, both today and into the future.

Scan the QR code to read
the full Recap for Global
Ethics Day.



Save *the* Date

October 21

Global Ethics Day 2026

EVENTS FROM 2025

CEF Symposium, February 6-7

The work of the first Carnegie Ethics Fellowship cohort concluded at Carnegie Council's Global Ethics Hub with a four-part Symposium. Fellows hosted discussions with experts on the topics of AI and election integrity, AI and education, climate change-induced migration, and fighting childhood poverty in the United States.

The State of Migration in 2025: Balancing Values and Interests at the International and Local Levels, April 23

This event featured discussions led by Senior Fellow Michael Doyle and journalist Molly O'Toole. The event began with a presentation and fireside chat on the state of international migration featuring Doyle and Greg Maniatis, director, refugees & migration at Open Society Foundations. Following this, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Molly O'Toole moderated a panel discussion on key challenges facing migrants within the U.S. and at the Southern border.

The Ethics of Decision-Making in National Security (Charles W. Kegley, Jr. Annual Lecture), October 30

Avril D. Haines, former director of national intelligence, visited Carnegie Council in October to deliver the Second Charles W. Kegley, Jr. Annual Lecture. Reflecting on her distinguished career in public service, Haines shared her thoughts on current trends and future needs for building strong and vibrant public institutions. Following the lecture, she was joined by Carnegie Council President Joel Rosenthal for a discussion on public service at this vital moment in international affairs.

REPORTS PUBLISHED IN 2025

Ethical Stimulus for a Time of Climate Crisis, November 7

Authors: Nicholas Harrison & Kai Uwe Barani Schmidt

Responding to climate change while balancing other urgent priorities has become not only a technical, economic, and political challenge but a deeply human one. Central to meeting this challenge are socio-cultural and behavioral changes that—if implemented—have the potential to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions by up to 70 percent. Applied ethics offers promising potential to identify new pathways to motivate action at a deeper human level and trigger positive tipping points to normalize and accelerate implementation.

A Policy Framework for International Cooperation in Space Biotechnology, September 8

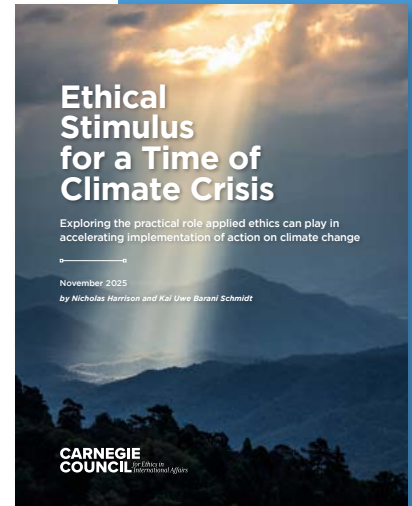
Authors: Mai'a K. Davis Cross, et al.

Biotechnology is an indispensable tool for long-term human space exploration, especially if the goal is for humans to not only be able to survive in space, but to flourish. Future scientific, resource, and security benefits are tremendous, but there are also many ethical risks. In this report, published in collaboration with Northeastern University, a team of interdisciplinary experts in the fields of political science, international affairs, biotechnology, philosophy, ethics, environmental science, and chemistry, argue that deeper and deliberate international and transnational cooperation will be crucially important to expand space diplomacy and governance as the genomic and space revolutions collide.

Illiberal Narratives and Shifting Values: Examining Competing Visions of the U.S. and its Role in the World, August 5

Authors: James Ketterer & Kevin Maloney

Geopolitical narratives—and the policies they supported in the post-World War II international system—are in a moment of transition, driven in part by an illiberal shift unfolding within democracies, including in the United States. On June 10, 2025, Carnegie Council assembled a group of scholars and practitioners from the policy, media, communications, legal, and academic sectors to examine this issue. The following report showcases key insights from the initial convening and explores the potential consequences for the international system.



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Interview *with the Board Chair*

In January 2026, Max Angerholzer became chair of the Council's Board of Directors. A board member since 2019, he is currently senior advisor at Upsher Management Company, and senior fellow at the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress.

What is meaningful to you about serving on the Council board?

The Council was created by Andrew Carnegie for the reason we serve now: to be a safe space to bring people together for difficult conversations. The Council is thought-provoking in how we look at international affairs, and employs a different lens from other organizations. What we do by favoring alliances, engaging allies, bringing people together to find common ground—that's out of favor right now, if you pay attention to the press. But it remains deeply important to the majority of people around the U.S. and the world.

What does it mean to recommit to ethics in a time of rapidly shifting norms and changes in the world order?

In the dynamic, fast-changing, and often volatile world we live in, it's easy to make decisions and draw conclusions quickly and in a vacuum. It's important to ensure the decisions we're making and changes we're supporting are informed by a backbone of ethics and values, and that we bring a moral compass to the decision-making table.

Who are the leaders you are most enthusiastic about partnering with right now?

Historically, the Council has done an incredible and unique job of bringing together leaders from government, academia, and the business world, in the U.S. and abroad. We're called to do that now more than ever. Today, there's often a blurred line between where public policy and the business community meet and intersect. When you consider our namesake and founder, being able to engage the Andrew Carnegies of 2026 is important, and I think we're positioned to do that better than anybody.

What programs and opportunities most excite you?

I really appreciate that we're a 112-year-old organization that looks to the lessons of history while being on the forefront of what's happening today, and examining all of it through the unique lens of ethics. I get excited about what we're doing on AI and space—trends that are at the top of everyone's minds whether you're a government official or private sector leader. We're not chasing the bright, shiny object, but asking people to pause and consider—as we

move forward in new areas of technology, how are we making decisions that balance progress with ethics?

What does investing in next generation leadership mean to you?

Sometimes partnership and bridge-building are drowned out by everything we see on TV and social media. And, the Council is able to do this for multigenerational leaders from different walks of life. We provide a platform where we can come together with people we may not agree with, beyond wanting to find ways to move forward in a more constructive way. When we think of the challenges we're faced with it's easy to become pessimistic about what's happening around us. But when you look at the next generation of leaders, they're optimistic and want to engage with an organization like Carnegie Council. The more people find out about us the more hopeful they become—so we need to make sure our mission reaches more people, everywhere.

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We welcomed the following new Board members in FY25

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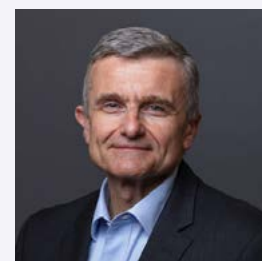
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Amir Pasic

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Statement of Activities for the Fiscal Year beginning January 1, 2025 and ending December 31, 2025.

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Program Grants, Trustee & Individual Contributions	\$ 471,984	Impact Initiatives	\$ 1,547,652
Royalties	\$ 75,073	Communications & Internet Multimedia	\$ 1,237,548
Dividend & Interest Income & Other	\$ 1,502,217	Print Publications	\$ 492,762
Board Designated Funds	\$ 3,000,000	Carnegie Climate Governance Initiative	\$ 353,835
Total Revenue & Support	\$ 5,049,274	Sub-total Program Expenses	\$ 3,631,797
		Management & General Support	\$ 720,965
		Fundraising & Development	\$ 696,512
		Total Expenses	\$ 5,049,274
NET ASSETS			
Endowment (as of Apr. 2026)	\$ 52,915,927		

Carnegie Council's audited financial statement and operational report have 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 Donors

Carnegie Council thanks the many individual and institutional donors who share our vision of empowering ethics to support greater understanding in the face of the most urgent issues of our time. Your contributions ensure that Carnegie Council can continue to serve as the foremost global convener of ethical approaches in international affairs. With your support, we're educating and informing the public, convening leaders and key stakeholders, publishing cutting-edge research, and offering expertise to anyone, anywhere free of charge. We are deeply grateful for your support.

To Our Senior Fellows & Partners

It is not possible to forge an ethical future alone. Carnegie Council could not create transformative awareness or cultivate deep impact in the work of applying ethics without your thought leadership and partnership across sectors: from education to government, nonprofits, and business. Thank you for your collaboration and the work that you do in service of our shared goals.

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The world is facing profound tests—of democratic values, international cooperation, and our shared sense of responsibility to one another. These challenges are not only political or technical. At their core, they are ethical.

That is why **Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs** exists.

For more than a century, the Council has brought ethical reasoning to the heart of international affairs—not as abstract philosophy, but as a practical guide for leaders, institutions, and citizens navigating real-world dilemmas. From climate and conflict to migration and emerging technologies, today’s challenges demand reflection, judgment, and moral courage.

At Carnegie Council, we convene scholars, policymakers, students, and an engaged public to examine values, test ideas, and engage in good-faith dialogue across difference. In an era when thoughtful conversation is increasingly rare, we create space for reflection when the pressure is to react—and for complexity when the temptation is to simplify.

Ethics has meaning only when it is actively engaged and sustained by a community. Your participation—through learning, dialogue, and philanthropic support—helps ensure that ethics remains central to the global decisions that matter most.

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Your involvement is a statement of confidence that values still matter, and that thoughtful engagement can shape the world for the better.



“Courage is the antidote to fear. Aristotle considered courage to be the cardinal virtue as it is the one virtue that guarantees all the others. Without courage, we can expect more self-censorship and obsequious flattery, until the moment when, as the story goes, it is revealed that the emperor has no clothes.”

JOEL H. ROSENTHAL
PRESIDENT
CARNEGIE COUNCIL

