THE POWER OF ETHICS TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD
What more urgent a time than now for Carnegie Council’s mission of public education, centered on a premise that seems almost provocative today: that ethics should be central in international affairs. I believe more strongly than ever: We cannot, we must not, avoid the most difficult questions of what is right, what is just, in our work. This is the work.

Molly O’Toole
Pulitzer Prize-winning Journalist
ETHICS IN A DIVIDED WORLD

As you read the headlines, you’ve no doubt felt a growing concern about the state of our world. Deep fault lines in international politics only got deeper this past year. As the war in Ukraine grinds on, finding shared values and goals on virtually any global issue seems to be getting harder by the day.

Brazil, Russia, China, India, and South Africa are banding together to oppose NATO’s alliance in support of Ukraine while exploring new ideas to challenge the West. De-dollarization and new trade policies to circumvent Western sanctions are two prominent examples.

Worldwide challenges to democracy persist as ethno-nationalist and illiberal movements threaten media, judiciary, and university independence in democracies as diverse as Hungary, Israel, and the United States. Meanwhile, authoritarian rule is consolidating and hardening in Russia and China.

Emerging technologies and explosive advances in artificial intelligence are now live and operational, many without ethical guidelines or norms to govern their use. States and mega-companies are gaining power without accountability as they co-opt these new instruments for their own purposes.

Lack of governance is increasingly concerning on issues that depend on global cooperation — especially managing climate change, food and energy security, and the flow of refugees and migrants around the world.

How can ethics support our understanding of not just these evolving issues, but the ethical actions that might light the way towards a more democratic world?

At Carnegie Council we believe ethics begins with the idea that principled disagreements are real and persistent. Yet such disagreements need not be insurmountable. Time and again, ethics has played a powerful role in negotiating differences.

This report reflects the Council’s commitment to offer a fresh take on world affairs, one that seeks to create a positive role for ethics. In the Council’s work, ethics is other-regarding and solutions-oriented. Imperfections and tradeoffs are embraced as intrinsic to the process of policymaking.

Ethics requires a certain kind of dialogue and reflection — open, rigorous, and inclusive. As you read through this report, you will notice our programs reflect a collaborative spirit.

We warmly invite you to join us as we seek to empower ethics as our answer to the divided world in which we live together.

Joel H. Rosenthal
President, Carnegie Council
We empower ethics by identifying and addressing the most critical ethical issues of today and tomorrow.

Ethics is at the heart of our greatest global challenges. By empowering ethics, we can discover common values and interests that light the way towards solutions to our world’s most pressing problems. We are the world’s catalyst for ethical action.

**We set the global ethical agenda and work for an ethical future by:**

**Identifying** current and future critical ethical issues that affect politics and business, education and journalism, religion and science, and the armed forces

**Convening** leading experts and thinkers to catalyze the creation of ethical solutions to global problems

**Creating** communities and activating constituencies by embracing multilateralism and exploring shared values

**Framing** ethical perspectives by broadcasting, publishing, educating, and engaging with audiences around the world
We live in a moment when new ethical questions are appearing at an exponential rate. Technological systems emerge seemingly daily across all sectors, leading to more real-time dilemmas and conundrums than humans are able to process and address. In this environment, simple misunderstandings can lead to catastrophes, inequities proliferate, and disinformation can become the norm.

In response, Carnegie Council launched its first Ethics Accelerator in May 2023. Guided by Senior Fellow Arthur Holland Michel, author, expert on emerging technology and founder of the Center for the Study of the Drone at Bard College, this collaborative workshop will look at what could be the next technological flashpoint: data fusion. How should this technology be governed across borders? How can we make sure it’s available for all people? What are the policy and technical gaps that need to be addressed before this technology is rolled out at a large scale?

“It’s widely believed that technology development will always outpace the ethics discourse,” says Michel. “We vigorously reject that view. When the right people are brought together by the right organization, ethics can be both robust and agile.”

In collaboration with other experts and researchers, this first workshop will lean on whiteboarding, design thinking, human-centered design, Q&A, and other methodologies to achieve the goals of the project. The aim of the first gathering is to build a foundational understanding of this technology and its regulatory environment. Once established, future workshops will focus on finding solutions to the challenges posed by this emerging technology.

As with Carnegie Council’s ongoing Impact Initiatives, the end goal of the Ethics Accelerator is to raise the visibility of the misunderstood and underreported ethical issues connected to the topic, and influence policymakers and the informed public. For over 100 years, Carnegie Council has set the global ethical agenda. And as the worlds of technology and geopolitics collide on the issue of data fusion, Carnegie Council’s Ethics Accelerator is the perfect platform to host these conversations and act as a catalyst for ethical action.

“It’s widely believed that technology development will always outpace the ethics discourse. We vigorously reject that view.”

Arthur Holland Michel
Senior Fellow
Crisis by crisis, we see accelerating growth in global challenges facing humanity. Emerging technologies that reflect the best of human ingenuity and innovation might provide critical new responses to these challenges — but only if built for public purpose instead of maximizing profits. Carnegie Council brings a deep history and commitment to ethical decision-making — experience and wisdom that is critical as we develop and deploy new tools. The Patrick J. McGovern Foundation is delighted to support the launch of the Ethics Accelerator to advance practices that center community interests, pose difficult questions about core values, and shape our best possible human-centered, tech-enabled future.

Vilas Dhar
President, Patrick J. McGovern Foundation
In today’s world of geopolitical upheaval and global economic transformation, where can young leaders learn the power and potential of ethical leadership? How can they truly understand its impact on multilateral cooperation and collaboration? What can they do to apply ethical principles to their personal and professional lives? The Carnegie Ethics Fellowship was created to explore these inquiries and more.

A new program created by Carnegie Council’s leadership team, the Fellowship is a space for talented young professionals to develop their capabilities and learn the principles of values-driven responsible leadership. Selected from dozens of qualified applicants, the sixteen inaugural fellows are collaborating on projects curated by Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs. Among other opportunities, they will have the chance to contribute to work that has deep connections to both New York and the broader world.

The Fellowship represents an evolution from the Carnegie New Leaders program and complements Carnegie Council’s Impact Initiatives. New Leaders was designed as a community for emerging leaders to explore ethical issues through discussions, events, podcasts, and publications. The Fellowship is taking this to the next level, with a dedicated and intensive program focused on giving young and mid-career professionals the tools to make a tangible and positive effect on society by training in several modules focused on applied ethics. This is not a basic workplace or entry-level theoretical ethics course: This program is building the next generation of international thought leaders, creating a community dedicated to applied ethics, and providing the platform for a high level of learning, discussion, and introspection.

My journey with Carnegie Council began as a Carnegie New Leader more than ten years ago, and since then, I’ve been grateful to call myself a member of the Carnegie family. When I heard that the Carnegie Ethics Fellowship was being offered, I saw a brilliant opportunity to take my relationship to the next level, deepening my ties not just with Carnegie Council but with a group of young professionals who have made ethical living an essential part of their lives. I’m grateful that the Carnegie Ethics Fellowship has cultivated a community of kindred spirits, trusted advisors, and close friends with whom to address diverse ethical considerations, and I look forward to seeing what we can do as an inaugural cohort buoyed by Carnegie Council’s support.

Travis Gidado
Carnegie Ethics Fellow
ANNUAL REPORT 2022-23

Fellow Christine Jakobson has made a career in ethics, working for Principia Advisory and completing a Ph.D. in moral philosophy from the University of Cambridge in 2022. She sees firsthand both the power of and need for ethics in her work with corporate clients.

“I believe that we need to rethink what ethics is and what it can do for business. Instead of thinking of it reactively after a crisis has taken place, we should think about ethics as a proactive and preventative tool,” she said. “Ethics enables businesses to do the right things and to do things right.”

The first meeting featured a visit to the United Nations and the Cooper Hewitt Museum, group sessions focused on getting to know the cohort and developing ethical leadership, and discussions led by leaders from education, business, and foreign policy.

Over the next two years, the Fellowship will continue to enrich this next generation of ethical leaders through six modules: Ethics of Leadership, Ethics of Need, Ethics of Entrepreneurship, Ethics of Human-AI relationship, Ethics of Human-Environment Relationship, and Leading and Strategic Positioning for the Future. Since its inception just a few months ago, it has already become a vital component of Carnegie Council’s commitment to developing ethics in leadership and to the communities of experts that work toward this end, aligning the power of decision-making with reflective right action.

Just as AIEI and CNL have led to the Fellowship, this cohort will connect Carnegie Council and its community to the next stage of the organization and ethical discourse. As the curriculum develops and the fellows connect inside and outside of the modules, collaborative opportunities will naturally arise to connect this group to the world through institutions, themes, and projects.

As the fellows move through the world, the leadership cohort will stay nested in a set of Carnegie Council networks — experts, affiliates, and alumni that will grow from the Fellowship. The Council will provide opportunities for the fellows to share their findings and research with the world through podcast and publication platforms.

Indeed, the opportunities provided by Carnegie Council’s extensive networks are what animates Jakobson’s excitement about the Fellowship. “One of the things I am particularly excited about is building up a network of inspiring and impressive people. Ethics is a network, it is an ecosystem, it is something that we collectively have to take back to the communities we serve to effect the greatest change possible.”

Fellows at their spring 2023 module at the United Nations.
OUR HISTORY OF IMPACT

1914
A VISIONARY IDEA
Carnegie Council was founded in New York on the eve of World War I. Andrew Carnegie hoped to mobilize the world’s religious organizations and other ethical resources to join in promoting moral leadership and finding alternatives to armed conflict.

1940s-50s
PUTTING REFUGEES FIRST
We spearheaded a multipronged effort to support refugees, particularly European Jews, and we stood as a leading advocate for U.S. leadership in the formation of the United Nations.

1970s
PRINCIPLE AND POWER
We established the Distinguished Lecture on Ethics and Foreign Policy in honor of longtime trustee Hans J. Morgenthau. Through his study of the relationships between principle and power, Morgenthau interpreted the realities of international politics for the Cold War generation.

1990s
HUMAN RIGHTS IN PRACTICE
We launched the Human Rights Initiative program featuring meetings, seminars, and workshops to explore ethical dilemmas occurring when human rights ideals confront realities on the ground. Special attention was given to the UN-sponsored Responsibility to Protect doctrine and the moral imperative of humanitarian intervention.

2014
ETHICS FOR A CONNECTED WORLD
We celebrated our 100th anniversary by launching “Ethics for a Connected World” to address six core themes: Corruption and Trust; Environment and Growth; Citizenship and Difference; War and Reconciliation; Democracy and Its Challenges; and Technology and Risk. Programs included the creation of a Global Ethics Network of universities and students, and the launch of the first annual Global Ethics Day to explore the role of ethics in international affairs.

2017-present
IMPACT INITIATIVES
We launched our first Impact Initiative: Carnegie Climate Governance Initiative (C2G) to catalyze the creation of governance for climate-altering approaches, such as solar radiation modification and large-scale carbon dioxide removal. We currently operate Impact Initiatives across the areas of artificial intelligence, climate, global engagement, and migration.
Democracy and internationalism define the Carnegie legacy. And it is precisely these two principles that are most at risk today. As we confront major disruptions—including wars in Europe and the Middle East, climate change, rising tensions in the Pacific, isolationism, threats to democracy, mass migrations of displaced peoples, vast wealth inequality, and the continued fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic—a new chapter is beginning, and it is tinged with doubt. The risk is felt by all, but especially by a rising generation of young leaders.

Compounding today’s challenges are the issues of increasing polarization and the vanishing public and civic spaces—and the recognition that these spaces are critical tools to gather, converse, and provide a way forward on divisive and difficult topics that demand collaboration in service of solutions. We believe this moment is serious, and it should be answered with a renewed commitment to responsible leadership.

This is why Carnegie Council is launching a new call to ethical action focusing on next generation leadership and course-correcting the global rise in polarization. This call inspires us to reclaim civic spaces in the fight for democracy and internationalism and to invest in and engage our future generations to enhance their opportunities to live in free, open, and non-authoritarian societies.

If we are to effectively empower ethics as a tool for practitioners across international affairs, Carnegie Council believes there must be a central gathering point, recognized around the world, where those committed to multi-disciplinary ethical action can convene and have access to ethics experts and resources to tackle shared challenges—a true Global Ethics Hub.

The idea is to make this an open and truly independent, nonpartisan physical space dedicated to applied ethics and designed to facilitate and promote ethics as a framework for problem-solving in the real world; a place where the next generation can learn skills that are essential to navigate the work and lead public conversations around ethical issues like artificial intelligence, climate change, war, international cooperation, and so much more. It will convene experts, provide a library of resources, and facilitate dialogues to help ensure that ethics play a central role in addressing critical global-scale challenges.

The Global Ethics Hub will create nothing less than a generational civic space for ethics and public dialogue—a transformational town square—that helps to shape the ethical leaders of today, tomorrow, the next century and beyond.
AI AND ETHICS: EQUITABLE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

It’s a question on many people’s minds right now: Will AI be deployed in ways that enhance equality, or will these systems worsen existing structural inequalities and create new ones? This is the straightforward and important question around which Carnegie Council’s Artificial Intelligence & Equality Initiative (AIEI) has been developed.

“I’ve been asking this question for more than a decade,” said Carnegie-Uehiro Fellow Wendell Wallach, one of the experts in the world of emerging technology and international affairs guiding this new initiative. “With the deployment to the public of ChatGPT and other forms of generative AI without appropriate guardrails, weighing benefits and risks has become a critical issue for all.”

The past year has seen the rise of large language models, the ubiquity of generative AI, and an increased use of drones for military purposes. In this environment, AIEI is well-positioned to drive conversations and policies that center the ethical questions around these and other technological systems. Senior Fellow Anja Kaspersen joins Wallach in leading AIEI, a standout among the many initiatives looking at AI’s impact on society with its focus on ethics, its diverse and high-level board of advisors, and high-quality podcasts and articles.

“We emphasize asking the right questions and engaging in deep deliberation to address and grapple with potential tradeoffs and tension points,” said Kaspersen. “Only by doing so, can we meaningfully navigate AI’s impact responsibly and ethically.”

In this new world, one of AIEI’s greatest strengths is its board of advisors. With representation from six continents; members from academia, government, NGOs, business, and more; and interests and expertise across the technological and geopolitical spectrums, the board is a true collection of diverse voices. It is poised to respond to developments of emerging technology, and to push forward policies and probing questions focused on the ethical considerations at the heart of AI.

For over three years, guided by Kaspersen, Wallach, and the board, AIEI has been focused on building a foundation of knowledge for policymakers, students and researchers, and the informed public. The Artificial Intelligence & Equality podcast has covered arms control, neuroscience, regional issues, policy discussions, and all the major developments related to AI systems and international relations over the past several years. With tens of thousands of downloads and listeners in over 150 countries, it has broad and deep influence in the growing AI community.
Articles and essays by the co-directors, board members, and expert guests have been similarly influential, as these issues become more of a mainstream concern day by day. The articles cover the same breadth of topics as the podcasts and have been shared and quoted across social media platforms by industry thought leaders, researchers, and observers. As these systems proliferate in our everyday lives, there is a clear need for informed and analytical perspectives, and a growing desire to learn about these subjects from all corners of society.

In the past year, AIEI has also branched out, with advisors hosting their own podcast series, focusing on some of the most pressing societal issues facing emerging technology. Cordel Green, executive chairman of Jamaica’s Broadcasting Commission, helped to create and produce AI for Information Accessibility in the Fall and Winter of 2022, in association with UNESCO’s Artificial Intelligence for Information Accessibility Conference. Hosted by Ayushi Khemka, a Ph.D. student at the University of Alberta in Canada, the podcast looked at grassroots issues affecting AI, focusing on law enforcement, women’s issues, and social justice, all with goal of making sure that emerging technological systems are built and used in an equitable way for all people.

From Another Angle, created and hosted by Hilary Sutcliffe, the UK-based director of SocietyInside, looks at many of the same issues, but with a more policy-focused approach. Launched in March 2023, the ongoing series has started with discussions on human rights, freedom of thought, and democracy. With an aim to explore fresh perspectives from some of the world’s most innovative thinkers, this series challenges foundational understanding of familiar concepts.

With this structure in place and concerns about emerging technology proliferating through all corners of society, AIEI is ready for its next phase. Having amplified issues related to making AI equitable for all, the directors, advisors, and Carnegie Council are bringing the initiative to real world scenarios and looking to make a tangible impact on the debates and processes related to new technologies.

“The antidote to fear surrounding these emerging technologies will be our ability to put in place effective regulations and technological tools that minimize the downsides,” said Wallach. “Ameliorating the exacerbation of inequality by AI and developing innovative approaches for the international governance of AI have been among the primary goals for AIEI.”

As AI technologies progress, the risks of their ubiquitous presence grow, impacting democratic systems and global security. Upholding ethical and scientific integrity is crucial for informed and engaged public discourse. To safeguard global stability, it is important to understand who and what drives the race for AI supremacy and its potential costs. There is a need to confront the societal, environmental, and political effects arising from this relentless race, neglecting responsible innovation and governance norms. Preserving human dignity, equality, and meaning is imperative.

Anja Kaspersen, Senior Fellow
Foreign Policy: “The Climate Conversation No One Wants”
In an op-ed for Foreign Policy, Senior Fellow and C2G Executive Director Janos Pasztor argues that it’s time to talk about managing the world’s likely overshoot beyond 1.5 degrees Celsius.

The Wall Street Journal: “Russian Drone Flights Into NATO Skies Test Alliance’s Red Lines”
The crossing of Russian drones into the airspace of NATO countries is emerging as a test of the alliance’s red lines. Senior Fellow Arthur Holland Michel discusses the role of drones in the invasion of Ukraine in an article for The Wall Street Journal.

Fortune: “The battle between autocracy and democracy has blinded us to the A.I. oligopoly”
In this op-ed for Fortune, AIEI Carnegie-Uehiro Fellow Wendell Wallach explores how we are blinded to the rapidly growing influence of the AI oligopoly and questions whether this is making the traditional distinctions between forms of government irrelevant.

TechCrunch: “Artificial intelligence is already upending geopolitics”
In an op-ed for TechCrunch, Angela Kane, former under-secretary-general of the UN and Carnegie-Uehiro Fellow Wendell Wallach analyze how AI is already disrupting geopolitics.

The Washington Post: “Seize, don’t just freeze, Putin’s billions”
In an op-ed for The Washington Post, Model International Mobility Convention Senior Fellow Michael Doyle discusses mechanisms to sanction Putin for the benefit of refugees fleeing the war in Ukraine.

The Economist: “The technology of seeing and shooting your enemies”
In the technological age, it’s getting harder for soldiers to stay hidden. In this article for The Economist, Senior Fellow Arthur Holland Michel is quoted about the implications of wide-area drone-based video surveillance.

Wired: “The Nightmare Politics and Sticky Science of Hacking the Climate”
In this Wired article, Janos Pasztor, executive director of the Carnegie Climate Governance Initiative (C2G), discusses the complex issues around the governance of “solar radiation management.”
ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

Through our Impact Initiatives, Senior Fellows and staff are working both behind the scenes and publicly to ensure that ethical considerations are top of mind for decision-makers, young leaders, educators, and advocates.

One such example of this multi-pronged work is the Carnegie Climate Governance Initiative (C2G), which was launched in 2017 to catalyze the creation of effective governance for climate-altering techniques, in particular solar radiation modification and large-scaled carbon dioxide removal.

Over the past 6 years, C2G has catalyzed conversations around the world with senior representatives of governments, the UN system, civil society, and many other stakeholders on the need for effective governance of these techniques. Ethical concerns are an important part of these governance discussions. To further these goals, the C2G team has produced an array of impartial, evidence-based learning materials, convened globally diverse communities of experts, empowered young climate leaders, and ensured that the voices and views of under-represented and climate-impacted communities are fully included in these activities.

At a time of rapid climate and ever-increasing technological change, war in Europe, and global food insecurity that present profound ethical challenges, the mission of Carnegie Council has never been more important. It is an honour to join the Board and support the visionary work of the Council’s executive leadership team.

Dr. Leslie Vinjamuri
Director, U.S. and the Americas Programme; Dean, Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs, Chatham House
Global Ethics Day participants across the world
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We welcomed the following new Board members in FY23

Eddie Mandhry  
Schmidt Futures

Dr. Leslie Vinjamuri  
Chatham House

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

Statement of Activities for the Fiscal Year beginning July 1, 2021 and ending June 30, 2022

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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
Building a more ethical world takes all of us. 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 ethical issues of our time. Your contributions ensure that Carnegie Council can continue to serve as the foremost global convener of ethical approaches to the world’s most pressing challenges. With your support, we’re educating, informing, convening, publishing, and offering expertise to anyone, anywhere free of charge. We are deeply grateful for your support.

To Our Senior Fellows and Partners
Carnegie Council could not create the transformative awareness or deep impact in our work without your thought leadership or partnership across the education, government, nonprofit, and business communities. It is not possible to make change alone. Thank you for your collaboration and for the work that you do in service of our shared goals.

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WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO ELEVATE ETHICS?

As the stories in this report reflect, the need to elevate ethics is as necessary now as it’s ever been.

To many, it feels as though we’re on the cusp of World War II all over again, with tensions running high over Taiwan and the ongoing war in Ukraine. When one factors in climate change and the sheer scale of emerging technologies, alongside shifts towards greater authoritarianism and a departure from democratic norms, the challenges compound even faster.

The work of the Council is important, urgent, and required.

Our Impact Initiatives identify and address the ethical issues reshaping society. Our Ethics Accelerator infuses ethics into emerging technologies and public policies in real time. Our fellows empower ethics in business, government, academia, and non-governmental organizations through next generation leadership, modeled by our senior fellows — the foremost experts at the intersection of ethics and international affairs.

Global ethics has an internationally recognized home at the Carnegie Council, and in the diverse leaders we support, the events we host around the world, and resources we create — from the Ethics & International Affairs journal to our many podcasts and papers. Yet there is no central convening place — the literal home — where experts, students, politicians, and activists can convene in person with each other to create new communities of practice committed to identifying and facilitating ethical solutions and action. As we look ahead, building this Hub in New York City is one of our core goals.

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs is the only organization elevating ethics to its proper and essential place within international affairs, while demonstrating how ethics can be a tool that is applied to various circumstances as both a reactionary and preventative tactic. Ethics can be used at both the decision-maker and institutional levels to improve situations — and do better.
Ethics is about making the effort to evaluate competing points of view and then truly caring about the impact of the choices you have made. Ethics is not some cure-all for the world’s problems, but it is an actual process for finding solutions. It is positioning ethics at the center of key decisions and conversations on the most complex and precarious topics that society faces. Our interconnected and complicated world requires that we think about central questions like the difference between ethics vs. power, or the role of ethics in economics when examining policies, emerging technologies, the ethics of war or medicine, or new business models. Ethics bridges both a traditional and modern practice.

Joel H. Rosenthal
President, Carnegie Council