OUR FOUNDING CHARTER

To Advance the Cause of Peace

—ANDREW CARNEGIE 1910
The tumultuous events of the past year serve as a daily reminder of why Carnegie’s mission is so vital.

At a time of testing for the global order, Carnegie remains focused on the most consequential threats to international peace. At a moment when political discourse has broken down and special interests rule the roost, Carnegie’s independence remains beyond reproach. As nations turn inward, Carnegie transcends the perspective of any one country, region, or political group.

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to lead Carnegie’s dedicated and generous Board of Trustees at this pivotal time. We are privileged to have welcomed five new trustees whose passion for Carnegie’s mission and distinguished global careers have already proved to be an invaluable asset. And I’m delighted that Carnegie continues to attract some of the world’s brightest minds and most experienced practitioners.

I hope you will be as inspired by Carnegie’s work as I am and that you will make it your New Year’s resolution to join us in advancing the cause of international peace.

Sincerely,

Harvey V. Fineberg, MD, PhD
Chairman
Letter From Our President

Andrew Carnegie’s charge is more urgent than ever. How we rise to answer that charge is the story of this year’s annual report.

In an increasingly crowded, chaotic, and contested world and marketplace of ideas, we offer global, independent, and strategic insight and innovative ideas to solve the most consequential threats to international peace. We leverage our global network to provide sophisticated analysis of complex issues; frame the policy debate and challenge conventional wisdom; and bring diverse views and expertise together to offer creative, timely, and practical solutions.

This was another milestone-filled year for Carnegie. We launched a new Geoeconomics and Strategy Program and experienced the biggest influx of new talent to Carnegie seen in many years. We announced the Olivier-Nomellini and James Family chairs—historic gifts given by two trustees and philanthropists for peace in the very best tradition of Andrew Carnegie. We celebrated the tenth anniversary of Carnegie Europe and welcomed leading international figures from every walk of life to our global centers.

I’m deeply grateful to work with, and learn from, such extraordinary colleagues and to benefit from the partnership of a remarkable Board of Trustees and circle of friends and supporters from around the world committed to our work.

Sincerely,

Bill Burns
William J. Burns
President
Board of Trustees

CHAIRMAN
Harvey V. Fineberg
President, Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation

VICE CHAIRMAN
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Chief Economic Adviser, Allianz SE

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President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

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Former U.S. Ambassador to France and Communications Executive

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CEO, Russell Reynolds Associates

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Chairman Emeritus, Dodge & Cox Funds

Catherine James Paglia
Director, Enterprise Asset Management

Penny Pritzker
Chairman, PSP Capital Partners and Pritzker Realty Group, Former U.S. Secretary of Commerce

Victoria Ransom
Former CEO, Wildfire and Director of Product, Google

L. Rafael Reif
President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

J. Stapleton Roy
Founding Director Emeritus and Distinguished Scholar, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Vanessa Ruiz
Senior Judge, District of Columbia Court of Appeals

George Siguler
Founding Partner and Managing Director, Siguler Guff and Company

Ratan N. Tata
Chairman, Sir Ratan Tata Trust and Navajbai Ratan Tata Trust, and Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and the Allied Trusts

Aso O. Tavitian
Former CEO, Syncsort, Inc.

Daniel Vasella
Honorary Chairman, Novartis International AG

Wang Chaoyong
Founding Chairman and CEO, ChinaEquity Group

Rohan S. Weerasinghe
General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, Citigroup Inc.

Yichen Zhang
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer, CITIC Capital Holdings Limited
Our Network

Carnegie offers decisionmakers global, independent, and strategic insight and ideas to advance international peace.
Founded 1910
WASHINGTON
Global center
Nonresident fellow
Projects in 2017

Founded 2007
BRUSSELS
Ranked “Best Independent Think Tank” in the world in 2016
University of Pennsylvania’s Global Go To Think Tank Index

Founded 1994
MOSCOW

Founded 2006
BEIJING

Founded 2005
NEW DELHI

Founded 2016
BEIRUT

This map is illustrative and is not intended to represent any official boundaries.
Our History
Andrew Carnegie donated $10 million to found the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and gave it an ambitious mission: to “hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization.” The United States’ first international affairs think tank was born.

1910

Carnegie’s Board of Trustees opened a permanent European Bureau in Paris to act as a communications center between Europe and North America.

PARIS, FRANCE
Carnegie moved its Paris office to No. 173 Boulevard St. Germain in 1922, where it stayed for thirty years.

1920s

Carnegie’s work quickly gained a reputation for achieving impact: its first two presidents, Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler, both won the Nobel Peace Prize for their work on arbitration and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

1912

1944

During World War II, Carnegie hired a prominent lawyer named Raphael Lemkin (pictured right), who had fled Nazi-occupied Poland. Lemkin formulated the concept of “genocide,” which was incorporated into international law.
1950s
After the searing experiences of the war, Carnegie moved its offices to New York and Geneva to support the nascent United Nations.

1960s
Carnegie switched from being a grant-giving organization to funding its own work.

1971
Thomas L. Hughes (pictured) was inaugurated as Carnegie’s sixth president, ushering in an era of dramatic transformation. Hughes brought Carnegie back to Washington, after an absence of more than twenty years. This change in geography also symbolized an organizational shift away from UN-centric programming and toward a new model of influencing U.S. foreign policy where it is made.

1980s
Carnegie held its first International Nuclear Policy Conference, providing opportunities for policy and technical experts and government officials to grapple with urgent threats to the nonproliferation regime.

WASHINGTON, DC
**1990s**

A number of Carnegie research initiatives spin off as independent organizations, including the International Crisis Group, the Migration Policy Institute, and the Arms Control Association.

**1994**

Carnegie opened its first global center in Moscow.

**1998**

Carnegie opened the doors at its current Washington location.

**2000s**


**2017**

Following the successful launch of the Technology and International Affairs Program in 2016, Carnegie established the Geoeconomics and Strategy Program to bring public and private sector leaders together to focus on the intersection of international economic, political, and strategic issues.
NEW INSIGHTS

Providing Sophisticated Analysis
The world has never been more interconnected. What is happening in Asia matters in Europe. What is unfolding in the Middle East has real implications for North America. Navigating an evolving global order requires a deeper understanding of the realities on the ground and the pressures facing leaders in boardrooms.

With more than 100 scholars and leading practitioners in twenty countries, Carnegie goes beyond textbook theories and conventional thinking. Over the past year, our scholars offered comprehensive assessments on subjects as wide-ranging as the foreign policy implications of the Chinese Communist 19th Party Congress, the breakdown in U.S.-Russian relations, emerging threats like cybersecurity, and conflicts in key geopolitical hotspots from Libya to Ukraine.

Left
BEIJING, CHINA
Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs and Senior Fellow Ashley J. Tellis discusses China-India relations at the Carnegie Global Dialogue.
RUSSIA’S DOMESTIC TRANSFORMATION . . .

The outcome of Russia’s 2018 election is inevitable, but the future of Russian society and politics is less certain when contemplating a post–Vladimir Putin era. Senior Fellows Andrei Kolesnikov and Alexander Baunov, along with other Carnegie Moscow Center scholars, have examined shifting political currents at both the grassroots and national levels. Their work helps Russians and outside observers demystify emerging factors in Russia’s domestic evolution and the increased uncertainty about the country’s overall direction.

In cooperation with the Levada Center, Russia’s leading nongovernmental polling and sociological research organization, Kolesnikov conducted a groundbreaking study that foreshadowed the recent rise of local activism. Hot-button socioeconomic issues, including housing and property rights, are the current focus in Moscow and other major cities.

. . . AND RENEWED GLOBAL AMBITIONS

For the first time in a generation, Moscow is actively seeking to expand its global influence, presence, and, in some cases, leadership, using an unconventional and highly adaptable policy toolkit. In addition to cooperation with Iran and Turkey in Syria, the Kremlin is developing a web of new relationships in the Persian Gulf; inserting itself in the Libyan turmoil; actively stoking instability and ethnic tensions in the Western Balkans; engaging the Taliban in Afghanistan while shoring up ties to Pakistan; and seeking opportunities to secure footholds in far-flung venues in Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and beyond.

Carnegie’s Russia and Eurasia Program has launched a two-year project to examine the return of a global Russia. Carnegie experts are identifying the drivers of Russian adventurism as well as the evolving kit of Russian diplomatic, economic, military, and
cyber/information tools. The project will also examine the practical impact of Russian efforts and the return on investment from the Kremlin’s more opportunistic brand of foreign policy. As James Family Chair and Vice President for Studies Andrew S. Weiss and Russia and Eurasia Program Director and Senior Fellow Eugene Rumer wrote in the Wall Street Journal: “Russia’s renewed activism isn’t about dictating events in particular corners of the world. It is about exploiting opportunities to undermine and hollow out the U.S.-led international order, with its norms of economic openness, democratic accountability and the rule of law.”

EUROPE’S SEPARATIST TERRITORIES

A small number of people in the world live in territories that do not fit the conventional pattern. They have their own governments and parliaments and even their own currencies but are not recognized as sovereign states by most countries or the United Nations. Most of these territories were born as the result of conflict, and their citizens live in limbo because of failed peace processes.

The greatest number of de facto states were born from the breakup of the Soviet Union. To inform conflict management and mitigation efforts, including in Crimea and Donbas, Carnegie Europe is undertaking a thorough comparative analysis of these states and the diplomatic approaches pursued by the international community to settle their status. Led by Nonresident Senior Fellow Thomas de Waal, the project aims to provide nuanced assessments of often ignored but highly incendiary geopolitical fault lines in Europe.
“Vaishnav meticulously tracks the remarkable political success of India’s accused murderers, blackmailers, thieves and kidnappers. . . . When Crime Pays can be grimly amusing.”

—Economist

INDIA’S GOVERNANCE DEFICIT

India’s 2014 general election was the largest democratic exercise in world history. But when all the votes were counted, one-third of newly elected members of parliament faced at least one pending criminal case at the time of their election. In *When Crime Pays: Money and Muscle in Indian Politics* (Yale University Press, 2017), Milan Vaishnav, senior fellow and director of the South Asia Program in Washington, unravels the crime-politics nexus. He draws on unprecedented new data, extensive fieldwork, and voter surveys to explain why parties embrace “tainted” candidates and why voters cast a ballot in their favor. Voters support them not out of ignorance but because they can deliver where government institutions cannot. Vaishnav makes a powerful case that democracy itself is not the issue—it’s the failure to invest in the institutions that give it meaning.

Analyzing the roots of this governance deficit and what can be done to fix it is the subject of a second book, *Rethinking Public Institutions in India* (Oxford
University Press, 2017), edited by Vaishnav, Devesh Kapur, and Pratap Bhanu Mehta. This volume, an analysis of India’s core federal institutions, offers a road map for carrying out fundamental reforms that will be necessary for India to build a reinvigorated state for the twenty-first century.

**CHINA VITAE**

China is undergoing a critical leadership reshuffle that will shape the country’s direction for the next decade. Carnegie’s Asia Program is dedicated to helping observers navigate a political system in China often defined by opacity and secrecy. As the only English-language online database that provides more than 5,000 detailed biographies of Chinese political, military, and business elites, China Vitae also tracks the appearances and travels of approximately 500 leading Chinese officials and provides users with valuable research tools to identify connections among them. China Vitae has been accessed by policy staff, scholars, and analysts in governments, academia, and independent research institutions from more than 100 countries.

**A CYBER WORLD**

Cyber weapons and the possibility of cyber conflict require policymakers, scholars, and citizens to rethink twenty-first-century warfare. Yet because cyber capabilities are so new and continually developing, there is little agreement about how effective they can be and how they can be deployed and managed. In *Understanding Cyber Conflict: 14 Analogies* (Georgetown University Press, 2017), Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Chair and Vice President for Studies George Perkovich and Nonresident Senior Fellow Ariel (Eli) Levite bring together some of the world’s top experts to make sense of contemporary cyber conflict through historical analogies to past military-technological problems. They examine the characteristics of cyber capabilities and how their use for intelligence gathering, signaling, and precision striking compares with earlier technologies for such missions. They also explore how lessons from several wars since the early nineteenth century could apply—or not—to cyber conflict in the twenty-first century.
“Perkovich and Levite have brought together the greatest minds on cyber and national security, and in the process they have produced the most comprehensive work to date on the threats posed by cyber and how we should think about mitigating them. The book is must reading for scholars, students, analysts, and policymakers involved in this complex and rapidly growing and changing threat.”

—Michael Morell, former acting director, Central Intelligence Agency

As cyberspace has emerged as the new frontier for geopolitics, states have become entrepreneurial in their sponsorship, deployment, and exploitation of hackers as proxies to project power. Such modern-day mercenaries and privateers can impose significant harm, undermining global security, stability, and human rights. In addition to analyzing potential norms to protect the integrity of financial data, Tim Maurer, fellow and co-director of Carnegie’s Cyber Policy Initiative, has taken a deep dive into the secretive relationships between states and hackers. The culmination of the latter is an upcoming book, Cyber Mercenaries (Cambridge University Press, January 2018). In examining case studies in China, Iran, Russia, Syria, and the United States, his analysis offers a comprehensive framework to better understand and manage the impact and risks of cyber proxies on global politics.

Cyberspace has also become the newest frontier of the four-decade-long U.S.-Iran cold war. Perhaps
more than any government in the world, the Islamic Republic of Iran has been the target of uniquely destructive cyber attacks by Washington and its allies. As a result, Tehran has become increasingly adept at conducting cyber espionage and disruptive attacks against Iranian critics at home and abroad. Cyber-warfare has become a credible retaliatory threat for Iran against the political and economic institutions of its adversaries. Both the Washington Post and the New York Times profiled a report co-authored by Senior Fellow Karim Sadjadpour and cybersecurity researcher Collin Anderson, titled Iran's Cyber Threat: Espionage, Sabotage, and Revenge. The report provides an in-depth analysis of the history of and strategic rationale behind Iran's cyber activities to inform responses to the latest zone of contestation between these long-time rivals.

**TUNISIA'S FRAGILE TRANSITION**

Carnegie's Tunisia Monitor project offers a one-stop shop for analysis, debate, and information on the country's fragile but consequential democratic transition and the critical and equally uncertain nature of international support. Tunisia is often lauded as the sole success story of the Arab Spring, but while the country has made tremendous political progress, it continues to face a serious and sustained security threat from domestic extremists as well as the self-proclaimed Islamic State and its affiliates across the border in Libya. And while the country has also made some progress in reforming its economy, it has yet to see the level of growth necessary to address the root causes of the revolution, including widespread unemployment, particularly among educated youth. Using the resources of its Tunis-based coordinator and Carnegie offices in Beirut, Brussels, and Washington, the project provides timely and in-depth analysis to key decisionmakers.
In September 2017 in Tunis, Vice President for Studies Marwan Muasher and Fellow Sarah Yerkes met with President Beji Caid Essebsi, who praised Carnegie’s work on Tunisia. Back in Washington, Senator John McCain (R-AZ) quoted a *Hill* article by Yerkes while making a case for increased U.S. assistance to Tunisia, and Tunisian Prime Minister Youssef Chahed thanked Carnegie for its independent analysis and monitoring of the country’s democratic transition.

**CHALLENGES OF REFUGEE RETURN**

The Syrian conflict has generated one of the largest refugee crises since World War II. Currently, one in every five displaced individuals in the world is Syrian, putting severe economic and sociopolitical pressure on host countries. The eventual return of refugees will relieve some of this pressure, but plans for a postconflict Syria are not adequately capturing the demands of refugees themselves.

Carnegie’s Middle East Center launched the Triggers of Return project, which aims to highlight the needs of refugees and the challenges that must be addressed to achieve a sustainable political settlement. This year, focus group discussions, roundtables, and workshops were held in Jordan and Lebanon, which together host more than 1.5 million Syrian refugees. Through engaging refugees with different social, ethnic, religious, geographic, and political backgrounds, the center attempted to understand their priorities and the conditions that would lead them to return to Syria.
BRUSSELS, BELGIUM
Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan in discussion with Carnegie Europe Visiting Scholar Stefan Lehne.

WASHINGTON, DC
Carnegie President William J. Burns hosts UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra’ad Al Hussein for the inaugural Morton and Sheppie Abramowitz Lecture.

MOSCOW, RUSSIA
Senior Fellow Andrey Movchan hosts a roundtable discussion.

WASHINGTON, DC
U.S. Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC) speaks at a Carnegie board dinner.

TUNIS, TUNISIA
Fellow Sarah Yerkes and Vice President for Studies Marwan Muasher meet with Tunisian President Beji Caid Essebsi.
NEW DEBATES

Shaping Policy Discourse
At Carnegie, we don’t take an institutional policy position. With six centers across three continents, we explore problems from multiple angles and seek to frame how global issues are debated. Our goal is to guide policy discussions in new and promising directions.

This year, through research, public forums, and discrete dialogue between policymakers and key players on the international stage, we mobilized a range of voices to deliberate some of today’s most consequential challenges—from regional conflicts to fragile states and from China’s rise on the global stage to the future of the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

Left

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

Carnegie center directors Dmitri Trenin (far left), Maha Yahya (center left), and C. Raja Mohan (center) provide regional perspectives on the state of the global order with Senior Vice President for Studies Thomas Carothers (center right) at an event to celebrate Carnegie Europe’s tenth anniversary. Carnegie Europe advisory council member Maria Cattaui (far right) moderated.
A GLOBAL ORDER IN FLUX

Growing global tensions and uncertainties are unsettling all who work in the international domain. The old rules governing state behavior are receding, yet new ones are still undefined. Threats and risks are multiplying across the political, economic, and security domains. Changes within societies such as the rise of populist nationalism are having a profound effect on regional and international order. While new technologies continue to improve life, some are causing serious negative domestic and international disruptions. On top of all this, the United States is in a pivotal period of change, rethinking how it defines and safeguards its vital interests in the world and what kind of democracy it wants to be.

Carnegie is uniquely positioned to assess the key drivers and pressures shaping the future global order and their implications for policymakers. In May, it held its first annual Carnegie Global Affairs Forum, gathering leading voices from across its global network for extended private conversations with the institution’s partners. The wide-ranging dialogue included discussions on the state of the international
economy and a panel on technology and global disorder. The event culminated with a keynote address from U.S. Senator Dan Sullivan (R-AK).

**ARAB FRACTURES**

Nothing symbolizes the upheaval in the Arab world more than the rise of the self-proclaimed Islamic State—and few issues have dominated policy debate and action more in recent years. However, a singular focus on the Islamic State and other extremist groups distracts from the fundamental long-term challenge facing the region: the fracturing of citizen-state relations, national institutions, and the regional order.

In *Arab Fractures: Citizens, States, and Social Contracts*, expert scholars at Carnegie’s Middle East Program in Beirut and Washington illuminate the underlying causes of today’s turbulence in the region and the hard truth that the prevailing organizational logic of most Arab states has run its course. Policymakers must come to grips with the political, economic, social, and regional realities that require real systemic change.

Stakeholders must also take stock of the viable options. For example, amid speculation of renewed international efforts to broker Israeli-Palestinian peace, *Revitalizing Palestinian Nationalism* gauges the vitality and future of the Palestinian national movement. Based on a detailed survey of nearly sixty Palestinian thought leaders in various fields, Fellow Perry Cammack, Nonresident Senior Fellow Nathan J. Brown, and Vice President for Studies Marwan Muasher found the movement at a crossroads and the traditional instruments of Palestinian nationalism facing crises of confidence. However, Palestinians have begun to consider alternatives to a two-state solution, and a new generation of leaders might yet inject new energy and ideas into Palestinian institutions.

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**EXPERT TESTIMONY**

“The new approach to foreign assistance should have a tighter focus on the most pressing threats to Egypt’s stability: terrorism, inadequate education, unemployment, and the destruction of civil society.”

—Michele Dunne

*WASHINGTON, DC*

Middle East Program Director and Senior Fellow Michele Dunne testifies before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs on the United States’ assistance for Egypt.

Reports from the Arab World Horizons project, supported by the Asfari Foundation, were published in both Arabic and English.
A MORE STRATEGIC EUROPE

In November, Carnegie Europe celebrated its tenth anniversary. Over the past decade, the Brussels-based center has grown from a two-person office to an award-winning think tank, with a world-class roster of scholars and practitioners spanning the continent. Carnegie Europe’s core task in its first decade was to drive the debate on how Europe should and could make bigger contributions as a foreign policy actor.

The region’s persistent mix of crisis and change is a litmus test for the EU and the values system it was built upon. Carnegie Europe’s three core programs—European Influence, European Security, and European Futures—focus on how policymakers can strengthen relationships with key partners, defend against both physical and technological threats, and manage long-term challenges such as structural economic reform. The center’s scholars have advanced discussions on some of the most destabilizing forces: mass migration and the resurgence of terrorism, highly charged relationships with Russia and Turkey, an unresolved conflict in Ukraine, the rise of populism and proliferation of disinformation, the dislocation of new technologies, and Brexit.

CHINA’S RISE

The single biggest force driving geopolitics in the twenty-first century is the rise of China. How its neighbors and other great powers manage China’s shifting capabilities and interests is a central narrative of our time. The Carnegie–Tsinghua Center for Global Policy is bringing the brightest minds in government, the private sector, and the next generation together to understand this complex phenomenon.
The center’s Carnegie Global Dialogue series serves as a hub for a worldwide network of Carnegie scholars to come to China to exchange views on global trends and their intersection with China’s evolution. Its Distinguished Speakers Program enables senior policymakers, scholars, and business executives from the United States to engage with senior Chinese officials in public and private settings, in an effort to deepen one another’s understanding of divergent perspectives and prescriptions. Its scholarship and other programming has also tried to move the debate away from its dominant focus on the risk of a great power clash to look systematically at how China is seeking to shape international institutions or build alternative ones. The center’s Young Ambassadors Program seeks to address the fundamental mistrust that impedes U.S.-China cooperation by bringing together students from renowned Chinese and international universities for dialogue and professional training in a cross-cultural setting.

China’s economy is the least understood dimension of the country’s emergence, and Carnegie has two of the leading authorities on the subject: Senior Fellow Yukon Huang and Nonresident Senior Fellow Michael Pettis. In *Cracking the China Conundrum* (Oxford University Press, 2017), Huang examines widely accepted yet deeply misguided views in the conventional wisdom and analysis of China’s economy. He explains that China’s economic system is uniquely driven by both the market and state, complicating the task of designing accurate and adaptable analysis and research.

Pettis, based in Beijing, offers his own perspective, informed by many years on Wall Street and in the financial sector. In his widely read blog, *China Financial Markets*, he shines a light on China’s shaky economic fundamentals and the internal contradictions between the direction of its political system and its economic ambitions.

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**BOOK EXCERPT**

“Few countries command the public’s attention to the extent that China does. And few generate such widely varying views on its economic and political prospects. This book is about why there are such differences and why the conventional wisdom is so often wrong.”

—Yukon Huang
Also difficult to discern are China’s security goals, which have implications for future stability in Northeast Asia, especially as new technologies and growing nuclear arsenals change the threat environment. Improving understanding among U.S. and Chinese experts about potential sources of friction and developing options to promote stability are two hallmarks of Carnegie’s work in Beijing, led by one of China’s foremost arms control experts, Senior Fellow Li Bin.

A SINO-INDIAN RIVALRY

A growing Sino-Indian rivalry in the Indian Ocean has naturally extended to the Bay of Bengal, home to India’s closest maritime neighbors. China’s deepening military and commercial ties with the bay’s coastal states is significantly altering India’s maritime environment. In response, India is building partnerships with Japan and other like-minded countries to offer alternative connectivity initiatives to states in the region.

To understand the implications of these shifts, Carnegie India has instituted a program on the Bay of Bengal, convening leading policymakers and soliciting research from experts across the region on economic integration and the emerging security architecture. In February and April, respectively, Carnegie India hosted a Track 1.5 dialogue on the development of Sri Lanka’s Trincomalee port and a conference on enhancing connectivity in the Bay of Bengal. In October, a daylong seminar on Indo-Japanese cooperation identified options for developing regional connectivity corridors and strengthening maritime security in the bay. Through these forums, Carnegie has engaged high-level stakeholders such as India’s foreign secretary, the secretary general of the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation, and the ambassadors of Australia, Indonesia, Japan, Singapore, and Sri Lanka.

EROSION OF THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION REGIME

In January, outgoing U.S. vice president Joe Biden spoke at Carnegie, outlining the achievements of president Barack Obama’s administration in addressing the dangers posed by nuclear weapons. He also previewed the nuclear security challenges facing Donald Trump’s incoming administration.
Most observers credit the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty with playing a pivotal role in stemming the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Today, however, its continued efficacy is in doubt as disagreements grow over the implementation of each of its three main pillars—nonproliferation, disarmament, and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The time, therefore, seemed ripe for an assessment of the treaty and its prospects. In March, on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the treaty’s conclusion, the 2017 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference brought together more than 800 experts and officials from more than forty-five countries and international organizations. Panels focused on the future of the global nuclear order, as well as emerging trends in deterrence, disarmament, nonproliferation, nuclear security, and nuclear energy. Featured speakers included EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs Federica Mogherini, U.S. Senator Tim Kaine (D-VA), and U.S. National Security Council Senior Director Christopher Ford.
SPOTLIGHT ON
DEMOCRACY AND
RULE OF LAW PROGRAM

PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE

Without having a better understanding of the scale and manifestations of violence and how they interact, it is difficult to measure true progress toward a more peaceful world. Senior Fellow Rachel Kleinfeld has been researching why some democracies are so suffused with violence and what enables some to bounce back. The culmination of her work is the upcoming book *A Savage Order: How the World’s Most Violent Countries Can Recover* (Knopf, 2018). Policy recommendations have already grown from the research, including how to better measure and evaluate political change, improve peace treaties, and optimize aid to militaries and police in other countries.

In a Carnegie paper, “Reducing All Violent Deaths, Everywhere: Why the Data Must Improve,” Kleinfeld calls for an independent collection of more accurate, comparable numbers across multiple types of violent death: homicides, battle deaths, and government violence. Current data that direct policy attention and development funding are woefully inaccurate and incomplete. Among the top ten countries receiving British government assistance, four reported only a year’s homicide data or less over the past quarter century. Nigeria’s murder rate would be 40 percent higher if it included state killings, a problematic oversight since government repression can trigger insurgency and political unrest, serving as a crucial early warning for violence to come.

After reading the report, the U.S. State Department’s Advanced Analytics group and the United Nations’ Department of Peacekeeping both scheduled personal briefings, while the BBC commissioned an op-ed. In this age of data, we are exploring better ways to get the numbers policymakers need.

After several decades of notable expansion, democracy is stagnating or even receding globally. A host of maladies—from political polarization and populism to elite co-optation—are corroding not just new democracies in the developing world but long-established democracies in Europe and North America. This worrisome trend is fostering greater instability and less common space for common action on global governance challenges.

Since its establishment in the 1990s, Carnegie’s Democracy and Rule of Law Program has served as a leading source of rigorous research on the global state of democracy and its advancement by the United States and other international actors. The program connects democracy’s fortunes to a broader set of intersecting areas, including governance, human rights, justice, and security. Its team of experts—guided by Senior Vice President for Studies Thomas Carothers—are analyzing the many challenges to democracy worldwide and the pressures facing the field of international democracy support.
The Rising Democracies Network convened international workshops in Tokyo and Johannesburg to examine the nexus between democracy, conflict, and geopolitics in Asia and Africa.

Senior Fellow Rachel Kleinfeld critiqued standard international methods of quantifying violence, proposing steps to capture more comprehensive and accurate data.

The Civic Research Network brought its experts to Prague to compare insights on effective activism with a group of researchers and activists from Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia.

Senior Fellow Sarah Chayes illustrated how corruption, as an operating system of sophisticated networks, threatens both nascent and established democracies worldwide.

Senior Vice President for Studies Thomas Carothers assessed the reshaping of democracy support under U.S. President Donald Trump and its consequences for democracy around the world.

Associate Fellow Saskia Brechenmacher and Senior Fellow Richard Youngs engaged policy actors from a range of countries to evaluate the trend toward closing space for civil society and new forms of civic activism.
BRUSSELS, BELGIUM
Member of the European Parliament Marietje Schaake and Visiting Scholar Marc Pierini discuss the rise of populism and the degradation of the rule of law in Europe.

BEIRUT, LEBANON
Carnegie Chief Operating Officer Elizabeth Dibble and Carnegie Moscow Center Director Dmitri Trenin at the Carnegie Middle East Center's annual conference.

NEW DELHI, INDIA

WASHINGTON, DC
Senior Visiting Fellow Kim Ghattas moderates a discussion with Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency Yukiya Amano, Baroness Catherine Ashton, United Arab Emirates Ambassador to the United States Yousef Al Otaiba, and Nonresident Senior Fellow Ariel (Eli) Levite at the Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference.
BEIJING, CHINA
Fellow Tong Zhao comments on nuclear security issues in the Indo-Pacific region at Carnegie’s Global Dialogue.

BEIJING, CHINA
U.S. Ambassador to China Terry Branstad at a Carnegie–Tsinghua Center roundtable discussion.

LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM
Carnegie President William J. Burns participates in a discussion with Gideon Rachman, chief foreign affairs columnist for the Financial Times.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM
BBC journalist Ritula Shah (center) moderates a discussion about the future of Europe for a special edition of BBC Radio 4’s The World Tonight with Carnegie Europe Director Tomáš Válčík (center left), Open Society European Policy Institute Director Heather Grabbe (center right), member of the European Parliament Daniel Hannan (far left), and Bruegel Director Guntram Wolff (far right).

WASHINGTON, DC
Jessica T. Mathews Chair and Nuclear Policy Program Co-Director James M. Acton testifies before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission.
Advancing Solutions to Global Threats
Carnegie actively promotes practical, timely ideas and initiatives. We work in close partnership with the most influential players in policy, business, and civil society to demonstrate the power and purpose of innovative solutions and the risks of a failure of imagination.

Our role is to push the boundaries of what is possible. In 2017, Carnegie’s scholars helped advance practical policy solutions to rising global concerns, such as how to guide behavior in cyberspace, design new approaches to democracy assistance, and better integrate economic policy and national security strategies.

*Left*
BANGALORE, INDIA
Technology and International Affairs Program Director Katherine Charlet at Carnegie India’s Global Technology Summit.
TECHNOLOGY’S DOUBLE EDGE

There is an urgent need for public and private actors to join together in maximizing the benefits of innovation while minimizing its risks. This requires identifying and bridging the gaps between the pace of innovation and the rules, norms, and strategies guiding the most consequential domains of technology—cyberspace, artificial intelligence, and biotechnology.

In 2017, Carnegie launched its Technology and International Affairs Program, led by George Perkovich, Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Chair and vice president for studies, and Katherine Charlet, program director. In joining Carnegie, Charlet brings her expertise as a former senior official in the Pentagon responsible for cyber policy. With team members based in Silicon Valley and Bangalore, the program regularly works with government and industry players, holding events and workshops in both cities.

The program’s inaugural endeavor, the Cyber Policy Initiative, aims to identify new international approaches to reduce the risk of cyber incidents. One early effort focused on establishing a global
norm against manipulating the integrity of financial data. Carnegie staff engaged privately with experts, policymakers, and industry representatives to refine the idea. A year later, the G20 finance ministers and central bank governors issued a communiqué warning that “the malicious use of Information and Communication Technologies could . . . undermine security and confidence and endanger financial stability.” Carnegie published a report shortly thereafter proposing, as a next step, that the G20 states commit not to engage in offensive cyber operations that could undermine financial stability and to cooperate when such incidents occur.

Another important effort focused on clarifying appropriate and internationally accepted defensive behavior in cyberspace. Increasingly frequent and costly cyber attacks are driving calls to allow the private sector to engage in more aggressive self-defense measures known as active cyber defense (ACD). A growing international gray market for ACD services—facilitated by ambiguous regulations in many countries—is filling the vacuum created by governments’ inability or unwillingness to provide sufficient defense of the private sector. Private sector ACD has systemic risks but could also improve the cybersecurity environment if conducted with appropriate principles and constraints.

In *Private Sector Cyber Defense: Can Active Measures Help Stabilize Cyberspace?*, Nonresident Research Analyst Wyatt Hoffman and Nonresident Senior Fellow Ariel (Eli) Levite argue that rather than continuing to debate whether to allow private sector ACD, it is time to create space for a legitimate and responsible practice of ACD. National regulations have limited influence over a global market of ACD services. The creation and incentivization of international norms is essential to guide these activities and mitigate their risks.

*Epochal technologies such as synthetic biology and artificial intelligence affect societies across national boundaries. But devising international approaches to risk management is even more arduous than national policymaking, which already lags way behind advancements. To maximize the benefits of these technologies, the big players—be they countries or companies—will need to develop and implement shared norms and rules. George Perkovich, Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Chair and vice president for studies, is overseeing a new Technology and International Affairs Program that seeks to catalyze the international management process through answering some of the most crucial questions. What applications are too dangerous, and under what conditions? Are there international responses to harmful applications that could help maintain confidence in a technology? Perkovich, co-editor of *Understanding Cyber Conflict: 14 Analogies*, has assembled a team of experts to engage with leading technology and policy innovators from many of the globe’s hotspots: Silicon Valley, Cambridge, Washington, Bangalore, Beijing, New Delhi, and cities across Europe. When resources allow, Carnegie will work with international counterparts to develop prototype norms of conduct that could become precursors to more formal rules.*
Hoffman and Levite have proposed instituting a set of principles to govern a spectrum of legitimate private sector ACD and harnessing industry-driven mechanisms, including insurance, to promote their adherence internationally.

Technology issues have been central to the work of Carnegie India. Over the past year, Fellow Ananth Padmanabhan and other scholars have argued for increased investments in government-backed artificial intelligence projects, for reformed civil aviation guidelines to facilitate the adoption of civilian drones, and for the promotion of market-led, innovation-driven growth in India’s emergent digital sector through greater investment on research and development and an innovation policy. Following Carnegie India’s research and workshops on electric vehicles, Karnataka became the first Indian state to announce a policy for adopting the vehicles. The state’s industries minister, R. V. Deshpande, noted Carnegie’s contribution, and the cabinet passed the policy in September.

In another effort led by Visiting Senior Fellow Denis McDonough, Carnegie is bringing together leaders and thinkers to develop clear policy objectives and initiatives in support of a relevant, skills-based labor force. A former White House chief of staff and senior principal at the Markle Foundation, McDonough has been closely studying the skills gap, particularly in light of advances in automation and artificial intelligence. Rapid changes in the nature of work and the labor market are having far-reaching and highly disruptive impacts. The implications go well beyond the type, number, and availability of jobs to include the adequacy of social safety nets, how workers effectively organize, and what infrastructure is needed.

AFGHANISTAN STRATEGY

The Afghanistan conflict is America’s longest war and one of the primary policy challenges facing the Trump administration. Carnegie’s Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs and Senior Fellow Ashley J. Tellis—with scholars from the United States, Europe, India, and Russia and senior governmental and nongovernmental officials from seven key countries—analyzed and debated U.S. political objectives in Afghanistan, alternative options going forward, and the prospect of reconciliation with the Taliban. Tellis and Jeff Eggers, former senior director for Afghanistan and Pakistan at the U.S. National Security Council, published the findings in “U.S. Policy in Afghanistan: Changing Strategies, Preserving Gains” and presented them at a public event in Washington and in private briefings with high-level government officials.
As part of Carnegie’s Geoeconomics and Strategy Program, senior fellows Salman Ahmed, Christopher Smart, and Jake Sullivan are leading a new bipartisan task force on a grand strategy for the U.S. middle class. The task force aims to shed light on how U.S. foreign, international economic, and defense policies impact the middle class, as it contends with slower economic growth, rising income inequality, wage stagnation, and job losses due to technological advances, globalization, and domestic policy choices. Findings and recommendations will be shared with presidential campaigns on both sides of the aisle in 2019, as well as current government agencies, congressional delegations, and private sector stakeholders.

The task force will draw on former national security strategists, international economics experts, trade negotiators, and military officers who served in prior Republican and Democratic administrations. It will work closely with business and trade associations, organized labor, and consumer advocates. It will also conduct case studies, holding public debates and convening private discussions in various parts of the country that have fared very differently in today’s global economy.

The task force exemplifies the new program’s interdisciplinary, collaborative approach. Salman Ahmed came to Carnegie from the White House. As special assistant to the president and senior director for strategic planning, he oversaw preparation of the 2015 National Security Strategy and convened interagency discussions on long-term trends shaping the international system. Prior to this, he served with the U.S. Department of State and the United Nations and taught at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School.

Christopher Smart also served at the White House, as special assistant to the president and senior director for international economics. Previously, he led the U.S. Treasury Department’s response to the European financial crisis. He also worked in Moscow, advising on Russia’s economic transition and authored The Imagery of Soviet Foreign Policy and the Collapse of the Russian Empire. He has extensive private sector experience as well, formerly serving as director of international investments at Pioneer Investments.

Jake Sullivan came to Carnegie fresh off the 2016 presidential campaign trail, where questions of globalization, trade, and the U.S. role in the world featured prominently. He previously served as national security adviser to vice president Joe Biden, director of policy planning under secretary of state Hillary Clinton, and chief counsel to U.S. Senator Amy Klobuchar (D-MN).
U.S.-CHINA TRACK II

In July, Carnegie hosted the seventh annual U.S.-China Civil Strategic Dialogue. In the context of the new Trump administration and potential political shifts in China ahead of the 19th Party Congress, participants discussed North Korea’s nuclear program, bilateral trade, and territorial disputes in the South China Sea.

Through additional meetings and briefings in Beijing and Washington, leading experts and former and current senior officials from both governments helped identify new ideas and potential initiatives to reduce bilateral tensions and deal with shared challenges. Two reports detailing recommendations from the briefings were delivered to the Chinese and U.S. administrations.

U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE

The U.S.-Japan relationship was teetering on irrelevance amid high-stakes trade competition in the early 1990s but soon found its strategic focus in addressing growing threats in East Asia and maintaining a stable global financial system. Over the next quarter century, the two countries forged
a stronger security and economic partnership that has served them well. In a comprehensive report, *Uncommon Alliance for the Common Good: The United States and Japan After the Cold War*, Senior Fellow James L. Schoff assesses the alliance’s post–Cold War development and charts an even more productive course for the future. Schoff explores options for the allies to leverage their full range of diplomatic, economic, and technological collaboration—such as deepening cooperation on common economic and regional issues in Southeast Asia to balance Chinese influence and working together to shape artificial intelligence development and future global regulation.

**CLIMATE DIPLOMACY**

As Carnegie’s inaugural visiting distinguished statesman, former secretary of state John Kerry is leading work to build on recent historic achievements in oceans and climate diplomacy.

On oceans diplomacy, Carnegie is partnering with the Monterey Bay Aquarium to support Kerry’s recently launched Southeast Asia Fisheries and Aquaculture Initiative. Southeast Asia, a leading global producer of seafood, has a burgeoning “blue economy” and is home to more than 600 million people who rely on healthy natural resources for their livelihood and food security. Over the next three years, the initiative will leverage a network of expertise and diplomatic strategies to engage governments, producers, the private sector, and other stakeholders on issues related to environmental sustainability, legality, and social responsibility. Key objectives will be to identify solutions to the challenges and make progress toward achieving the 2020 Sustainable Development Goal to “conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources.”

**EXPERT TESTIMONY**

“The time has come to think more seriously about China as an emerging global competitor . . . rather than merely as a local Asian power that will forever be content to subsist under the umbrella of unchallenged American global hegemony.”

—Ashley J. Tellis

**WASHINGTON, DC**

Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs and Senior Fellow Ashley J. Tellis testifies before the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee.
Carnegie is also partnering with the Pew Research Center and the Bertarelli Foundation on efforts to engage and educate the global public about the importance of marine protected areas. Technological advances and international cooperation, such as through the Port States Measures Agreement, are beginning to stem the tide of illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing—a $23.5 billion industry responsible for one in five fish that lands on a U.S. plate. In the past decade, global commitments for highly or fully protected marine reserves have preserved approximately 3 percent of the ocean. But the best available science demonstrates that at least 30 percent must be protected to ensure the continued functioning of ocean ecosystems. Kerry is leading a group of prominent “Ocean Ambassadors”—including government officials, business leaders, conservation luminaries, and ocean champions—to focus on this critical task.

On climate diplomacy, Kerry continues to champion the Paris Agreement, which he helped negotiate, building on his decades-long advocacy for multilateral action to address a long-term existential threat to the planet and an immediate “threat multiplier” in national security. In September, during the United Nations General Assembly, Kerry met with foreign ministers, philanthropists, and subnational leaders in New York to underscore the continued commitment and interest of the United States in finding solutions. He also initiated Track II dialogues to help build partnerships with developing countries and show them how they can maintain their commitments under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change even as they grow their economies.

**CLIMATE MONITORING**

As the petroleum industry further integrates gas into its operations, Senior Fellow Deborah Gordon, in partnership with researchers at Stanford University and the University of Calgary, has expanded Carnegie’s Oil-Climate Index (OCI) to model gas sector emissions. The OCI—a groundbreaking web tool launched in 2015 to model the oil sector’s lifecycle greenhouse gas emissions—assesses widely varying climate risks associated with one-quarter of the oil now traded on global markets. Adding gas to the next generation of the OCI allows industry, investors, governments, nongovernmental organizations, academics, and citizens to improve regulatory policy and better manage the global effects of fossil fuels.

**NUCLEAR FIREWALL**

States have historically struggled to regulate the dual character of atomic power, a technology used for peaceful energy production or for nuclear weapons. A web of international treaties, regimes, and agreements has established an international nuclear order, but a missing key ingredient hampers its effectiveness: an agreed definition of what activities distinguish peaceful from nonpeaceful pursuits. Carnegie’s Nuclear Policy Program experts are
seeking to redress this definitional gap by designing a nuclear “firewall,” similar to an internet firewall. The project aims to define activities, alone or in combination, that states would agree are strongly associated with nuclear weapons. States could agree to forego such activities or at least make them subject to greater scrutiny, while facilitating the overwhelming majority of peaceful nuclear activity. This methodology could illuminate diplomatic pathways to resolving the North Korea crisis, as well as future proliferation concerns. The concept—born from a multiyear, innovative consultation process with top nuclear, missile, and policy experts—is detailed in “Toward a Nuclear Firewall: Bridging the NPT’s Three Pillars.” It was presented at Carnegie’s International Nuclear Policy Conference in 2017 and will undergo further development and application in partnership with a range of government and nongovernmental actors worldwide.

CIVIC RESEARCH NETWORK

The spread of large-scale protests to every corner of the world is a major trend in contemporary global politics. The increased intensity of protest goes hand in hand with new forms of civic activism, involving changes to the very essence of civil society. This has engendered widespread debate about the demise of traditional political processes and the arrival of a new style of politics. International actors committed to supporting global civil society need to understand these trends more fully if their funding initiatives are to be effective.

Carnegie’s Democracy and Rule of Law Program has set up a Civic Research Network to explore the significance of these new dynamics. The initiative has assembled experts from Brazil, Egypt, India, Kenya, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, and Ukraine, as well as from elsewhere in Europe and North America. Through regular meetings and events in different regions, ongoing fieldwork, and publications, the group aims to investigate and document, in an open-minded fashion, the nature, effectiveness, and potential of emerging civic activism efforts and how outside actors can meaningfully support this work.

EUROPEAN SECURITY

Three years into Russia’s confrontation with the United States and its alienation from the rest of Europe, the Russia-West relationship continues to deteriorate. Although often compared to the Cold War, the current adversity is very different although no less dangerous. The failure of the Minsk agreement and volatile situation in eastern
Ukraine demonstrate that even limited accords are difficult to implement. From the United States to Europe to Russia, there is a palpable deficit of practicable ideas about how to manage ongoing disputes and prevent their escalation.

To bridge this deficit, the Carnegie Moscow Center is using its Carnegie.ru online portal to share proposals and new ideas, including those fostered through the center’s special project, Minimizing the Risk of an East-West Collision: Practical Ideas on European Security. Dmitri Trenin and other prominent members of the Russian and European security policy communities have examined key issues such as the drivers of Russian foreign policy through 2022 and practical ways to manage the risk of Russian-Western conflict—for example, through confidence-building measures, improved military-to-military communication, and confidential dialogue on strategic stability.

Carnegie’s scholars continue to provide up-to-date analysis on Iran policy, including implementation of the nuclear deal. In an op-ed published by the New York Times, President William J. Burns and Senior Fellow Jake Sullivan argued that being smart on Iran means keeping the world’s powers united and the burden of proof on Iran. In the Washington Post and Wall Street Journal, Visiting Distinguished Statesman John Kerry illustrated how the Iran deal is working, and Senior Fellow Jarrett Blanc highlighted the risks of noncertification to the transatlantic relationship and how to address Iran’s ballistic missile threat.

The growing question not just in Washington but in Europe and around the world is what is the path forward with Iran? Carnegie and the Center for a New American Security joined efforts to lay out an integrated strategy to address the nuclear and regional challenges Iran poses. The report, Contain, Enforce, and Engage, explores some of the most difficult issues, including how to counter Iran’s dangerous use of regional proxies, extend limits on its nuclear program, and engage it economically and diplomatically.
WASHINGTON, DC
Pakistani Ambassador to the United States Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry delivers remarks on prospects for peace in South Asia.

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA
The Rising Democracies Network convenes in Johannesburg to examine the nexus between democracy, conflict, and geopolitics in Africa.

NEW DELHI, INDIA
Research Analyst Darshana M. Baruah with former commander of the Sri Lankan Navy Jayanath Colombage and former Indian Navy officer Shekhar Sinha at Carnegie India’s Bay of Bengal conference.

BEIJING, CHINA
C.V. Starr & Co. CEO Hank Greenberg (left) and Carnegie Trustee Wang Chaoyong (right) discuss U.S.-China relations at the Carnegie–Tsinghua Center.

SOUTHERN LIBYA
Senior Fellow Frederic Wehrey with members of Libya’s ethnic Tuareg minority.
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
Senior Fellow Jake Sullivan gives remarks at the Lowy Institute.

BANGALORE, INDIA
Fellow Ananth Padmanabhan moderates a discussion with Vice President of DENSO International America Inc. Manji Suzuki (left) and Vice President of the Global Innovation Policy Center at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Patrick Kilbride (right) during the Carnegie India Global Technology Summit.

BANGALORE, INDIA
Foreign Secretary of India Subrahmanyan Jaishankar at the Global Technology Summit.

GANDHINAGAR, INDIA
Nuclear Policy Program Co-Director Toby Dalton speaks with participants in a workshop on strategic issues for young scholars, held in partnership with the Central University of Gujarat.
top
SINGAPORE
Fellow and Cyber Policy Initiative Co-Director Tim Maurer discusses Carnegie’s proposal for a G20 agreement on cybersecurity and financial stability at the Swift Institute’s Cyber Security 3.0 conference.

center left
WASHINGTON, DC
Former Syrian prime minister Riad Hijab (left) with Carnegie Middle East Center Director Maha Yahya and UK Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Ministry of Defense Tobias Ellwood at a conference on Syria’s Trajectory and Challenges for the United States.

center right
WASHINGTON, DC
European Union Ambassador to the United States David O’Sullivan delivers remarks on addressing climate change through innovation.

bottom
WASHINGTON, DC
Vice President for Studies Marwan Muasher and Carnegie Trustee Ayman Asfari.
Philanthropy for Peace

With his founding gift of $10 million in 1910, Andrew Carnegie launched a think tank that addresses the most consequential issues around war and peace. We are now fortunate to be partnering with an array of global citizens, foundations, and corporate leaders who share Carnegie’s commitment to building a more peaceful world.
In 2017, we reached new highs in program funding and received substantial gifts from a generous group of trustees. We elected a terrific slate of new board members, diversifying membership and expanding the scope of expertise.

The board continues to lead by example, whether through spearheading the launch of cutting-edge programs, supporting our global centers, or hosting policy discussions to share Carnegie’s unique perspective. In the past year alone, trustees have hosted events in Beijing, Brussels, Hong Kong, London, New Delhi, New York, Palo Alto, and Zurich.

Sunil Bharti Mittal and Ratan N. Tata have been indispensable in the successful launch of Carnegie India. Yichen Zhang’s valuable commitment to the Carnegie–Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, combined with Wang Chaoyong’s transformational gift in 2016, have enhanced the center’s work at a critical moment in China’s evolution on the world stage. In late 2017, the team in Beirut welcomed its fourth El-Erian fellow. The annual fellowship program, endowed by Carnegie Vice Chairman Mohamed A. El-Erian, provides a platform for the best and brightest among the next generation of Arab scholars.
Carnegie trustees have also shown tremendous leadership by endowing chairs in critical fields of scholarship. Kenneth E. Olivier and his wife Angela Nomellini named the first vice president chair in Carnegie’s history, creating a cornerstone of support for the new Technology and International Affairs Program. As the chair, Vice President for Studies George Perkovich will oversee the growth of this timely initiative. Through the Robert and Ardis James Foundation, Catherine James Paglia named the James Family Chair. Vice President for Studies Andrew S. Weiss, who oversees Carnegie’s Russia and Eurasia Program, will be the inaugural holder, demonstrating Carnegie’s continued commitment to addressing the sources of disorder in Europe and Eurasia.

Numerous institutions have displayed their generosity by funding some of Carnegie’s most innovative and insightful work. This year, Carnegie’s new Arab Defense Atlas project—a groundbreaking study of civil-military relations and security sector reform in the Arab world—received a total commitment of $2.8 million in support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the governments of Canada, Germany, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The MacArthur Foundation committed $585,000 in support of the nuclear firewall project, which seeks to clearly define nonpeaceful pursuits toward nuclear weapons development. Over the last year, the Carnegie Corporation of New York committed more than $1 million to support research on cyber threats to nuclear stability and political Islam across the Middle East. The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation committed $500,000 to support, in the year ahead, research promoting multilateral action on long- and short-term climate threats to the planet and national security.

Carnegie continues to build its Global Council, a group of private sector companies and individuals who engage closely with Carnegie’s thinkers and doers through a curated calendar of conversations and briefings with leading figures in business, politics, and international affairs.
New Trustees

ELIZABETH F. BAGLEY

Elizabeth F. Bagley served as the senior adviser for special initiatives in the Department of State from 2014 to 2017, during which time she helped launch the U.S. Diplomacy Center. Previously, among other positions, she served as senior adviser to the former secretary of state and as U.S. ambassador to Portugal. Bagley is an attorney specializing in trade and international law and owns a cell phone operating business.

She is on the board of a number of organizations, including the National Democratic Institute, Atlantic Council, Council of American Ambassadors, and Council on Foreign Relations. Bagley has a JD in international law from Georgetown University Law Center.

JANE HARTLEY

Jane Hartley served as the U.S. ambassador to France and Monaco from 2014 to 2017. Prior to her career in public service, she was the CEO of the Observatory Group, and previously the G7 Group, providing macroeconomic and political analysis to global investors. She also held senior management positions at Group W Cable, Westinghouse Broadcasting, and MCA (Universal Pictures).

Hartley has been a member of various boards, councils, and committees, including at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, the Economic Club of New York, and the Wall Street Council of Boston College. She is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and holds a BA in political science from Boston College (Newton College).
MAHA IBRAHIM

Maha Ibrahim is a general partner at Canaan, an early-stage venture capital firm based in Silicon Valley. She focuses on investments in innovative enterprise, cloud, and e-commerce companies. Recent investments include supporting the development of data infrastructure and storage at Unifi, Komprise, and Agile Stacks.

Ibrahim is a member of the MIT/Stanford Venture Lab, a nonprofit organization that promotes the growth of high-tech entrepreneurial ventures by connecting ideas, technology, and people. She frequently lectures at UC Berkeley’s Haas School of Business and Stanford’s Graduate School of Business and is a passionate mentor for female founders and entrepreneurs. She holds a BA in economics and an MA in sociology from Stanford University and a PhD in economics from MIT.

PENNY PRITZKER

Penny Pritzker is the founder and chairman of PSP Capital and Pritzker Realty Group, a global private firm that invests in and builds market-leading businesses in various sectors, including technology, industrial services, and consumer products. From 2013 to 2017, Pritzker served as U.S. secretary of commerce. She was a core member of the economic team and the country’s chief commercial advocate, promoting trade and investment efforts. She was also a member of the Council on Jobs and Competitiveness and the Economic Recovery Advisory Board.

Pritzker is currently on the boards of Microsoft, the Aspen Strategy Group, the Aspen Economic Strategy Group, and the Obama Foundation. She is also a member of The Hamilton Project’s advisory council. Pritzker earned a BA in economics from Harvard University and a JD and an MA in business administration from Stanford University.
CLARKE MURPHY

Clarke Murphy is the CEO of Russell Reynolds Associates and serves on the Board of Directors. Previously, he was the global leader of the firm’s CEO/Board Services Practice. He joined Russell Reynolds Associates in 1988 and served in its Frankfurt and London offices before leading the Americas division. The company has forty-six offices in twenty-seven countries. Murphy has more than twenty-five years of experience in the executive recruiting industry.

He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Board of Directors for the New York City Ballet. He is also a former trustee of the College Foundation of the University of Virginia and received a BA in history from the university.

FROM THE CHAIRMAN

“With decades of experience in business, technology, and diplomacy, our latest additions to Carnegie’s Global Board will bring invaluable insights and expertise. I am excited to have their voices on the Board and I am convinced that the Carnegie Endowment will benefit enormously from their intellect, judgment, and commitment to its mission and priorities.”

—Harvey V. Fineberg
WASHINGTON, DC
British Ambassador to the United States Sir Kim Darroch with Carnegie Trustees David Burke and Penny Pritzker.

WASHINGTON, DC
Carnegie Trustee Scott D. Malkin and Carnegie Moscow Center Director Dmitri Trenin.

WASHINGTON, DC
Nonresident Senior Fellow Ariel (Eli) Levite and Carnegie Trustee Pat House.

WASHINGTON, DC
Former secretary of state and Visiting Distinguished Statesman John F. Kerry and Carnegie President William J. Burns speak at a Carnegie board dinner.
WASHINGTON, DC
British Ambassador to the United States Sir Kim Darroch, Carnegie President William J. Burns, and German Ambassador to the United States Peter Wittig in discussion at a Carnegie board dinner (left to right).

WASHINGTON, DC
Carnegie Trustee Elizabeth Bagley, Carnegie Board Chairman Harvey V. Fineberg, and Carnegie Trustee Maha Ibrahim.

WASHINGTON, DC
Carnegie Trustee Aso O. Tavitian speaks with James Family Chair and Vice President for Studies Andrew S. Weiss.

WASHINGTON, DC
Carnegie Trustee Yichen Zhang.
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We are grateful for the generous support of our donors who encourage our mission to advance peace. The following list reflects cash and in-kind contributions received from July 1, 2016, through June 30, 2017.

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Open Society Foundations
UK Department for International Development

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The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini
Stephen Schwarzman
Tata Education and Development Trust
Aso O. Tavitian/The Tavitian Foundation

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U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office
U.S. Department of Defense

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Delegation of the European Union to the United States
Exxon Mobil
General Electric
Mission of Georgia to the European Union
Fiat Chrysler Automobiles
Finland Ministry for Foreign Affairs
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The Hauser Foundation Inc.
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Rohan S. Weerasinghe
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U.S. Department of State
U.S. Trade Representative
Volvo India
Warwick University
Byron and Anita Wien
## Financial Statements

### Statements of Financial Position

**June 30, 2017 and 2016**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>2017</th>
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<td><strong>Assets</strong></td>
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<td>$336,200,920</td>
<td>$315,975,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total assets</strong></td>
<td>$354,369,173</td>
<td>$327,244,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liabilities and Net Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current Liabilities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts payable and accrued expenses</td>
<td>$2,967,999</td>
<td>$2,812,981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bond interest payable</td>
<td>150,873</td>
<td>111,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note payable, current portion</td>
<td>373,854</td>
<td>353,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total current liabilities</strong></td>
<td>$3,492,726</td>
<td>$3,277,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Long-Term Liabilities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note payable, net of current portion</td>
<td>2,486,527</td>
<td>2,860,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest rate swap agreement</td>
<td>10,269,407</td>
<td>14,701,964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds payable, net</td>
<td>32,589,587</td>
<td>32,566,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total long-term liabilities</strong></td>
<td>$45,345,521</td>
<td>$50,128,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total liabilities</strong></td>
<td>$48,838,247</td>
<td>$53,406,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net Assets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrestricted</td>
<td>10,738,090</td>
<td>4,221,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporarily restricted</td>
<td>275,150,461</td>
<td>254,434,462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently restricted</td>
<td>19,642,375</td>
<td>15,182,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total net assets</strong></td>
<td>$305,530,926</td>
<td>$273,838,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total liabilities and net assets</strong></td>
<td>$354,369,173</td>
<td>$327,244,988</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Statement of Activities

**Year Ended June 30, 2017**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operating Revenue and Other Support</th>
<th>Unrestricted</th>
<th>Temporarily Restricted</th>
<th>Permanently Restricted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Investment income allocation</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$ 15,613,813</td>
<td>$</td>
<td>$ 15,613,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions</td>
<td>3,778,713</td>
<td>15,163,272</td>
<td>4,459,519</td>
<td>23,401,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental income</td>
<td>1,518,876</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,518,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earned revenue–projects</td>
<td>627,556</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>627,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>159,916</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>159,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference center rental income</td>
<td>187,190</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>187,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publications</td>
<td>21,283</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net assets released from restrictions</strong></td>
<td><strong>30,266,941</strong></td>
<td><strong>(30,266,941)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total operating revenue and other support</strong></td>
<td><strong>36,560,475</strong></td>
<td><strong>510,144</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,459,519</strong></td>
<td><strong>41,530,138</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operating Expenses</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>15,283,727</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15,283,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payroll taxes and employee benefits</td>
<td>4,891,664</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,891,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consulting and professional fees</td>
<td>3,123,137</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,123,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>1,915,483</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,915,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General and administrative</td>
<td>2,252,172</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,252,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest expense</td>
<td>1,523,003</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,523,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property management</td>
<td>1,261,816</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,261,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depreciation and amortization</td>
<td>1,046,393</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,046,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication expenses</td>
<td>827,582</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>827,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>641,700</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>641,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings and seminars</td>
<td>1,115,645</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,115,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate taxes</td>
<td>593,936</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>593,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total operating expenses</strong></td>
<td><strong>34,476,258</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>34,476,258</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Change in net assets from operations</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,084,217</strong></td>
<td><strong>510,144</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,459,519</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,053,880</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-operating Revenues and Expenses</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Investment income in excess of spending rate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,205,855</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,205,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair value gain on interest rate swap</td>
<td>4,432,556</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,432,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Change in net assets</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,516,773</strong></td>
<td><strong>20,715,999</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,459,519</strong></td>
<td><strong>31,692,291</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net Assets, beginning of year</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,221,317</strong></td>
<td><strong>254,434,462</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,182,856</strong></td>
<td><strong>273,838,635</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Net Assets, end of year</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 10,738,090</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 275,150,461</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 19,642,375</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 305,530,926</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Management Transitions

JEN PSAKI
Jen Psaki joins Carnegie as Vice President for Communications and Strategy after serving as White House communications director in Barack Obama’s administration from 2015 to 2017 and as the spokesperson at the State Department under then secretary of state John Kerry from 2013 to 2015.

Prior to joining the State Department in 2013, Psaki spent more than a decade in senior positions in the White House as the deputy communications director, as a senior adviser and traveling press secretary on both Obama campaigns, as communications director for Congressman Joseph Crowley, and as a spokesperson for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and for John Kerry’s presidential campaign.

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Receptionist
BEIJING, CHINA
Carnegie–Tsinghua Center launches the Ruth Mulan Chu Chao Young Ambassadors Program with the support of James Chao, Angela Chao, and Tsinghua University President Qiu Yong.

WASHINGTON, DC
U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT) discusses the rise of authoritarianism and emerging threats to democracy.

WASHINGTON, DC
Fellow Frances Z. Brown, Senior Fellows Sarah Chayes and Rachel Kleinfeld, and Senior Vice President for Studies Thomas Carothers.

WASHINGTON, DC
Carnegie President William J. Burns testifies before the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee.
WASHINGTON, DC

Director of the U.S. National Counterterrorism Center Nicholas J. Rasmussen with the 2017–2018 class of James C. Gaither Junior Fellows (top), and in an interview with Vice President for Communications and Strategy Jen Psaki for DiploPod (right). Rasmussen was a junior fellow in the class of 1988–1989.

Jen Psaki and Nicholas J. Rasmussen discuss how the threat of terrorism has changed since 9/11.