




2022

*Carnegie Endowment
for International Peace*

ANNUAL REPORT

The background of the page features a light gray topographic map. The map lines are more prominent in the top right and bottom left corners, framing the central text. The lines represent varying elevations, with some forming closed loops and others following the contours of the land.

In a complex, changing, and increasingly contested world, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace generates strategic ideas and independent analysis, supports diplomacy, and trains the next generation of international scholar-practitioners to help countries and institutions take on the most difficult global problems and advance peace.

An abstract topographic map pattern in a lighter shade of blue, featuring concentric, wavy lines that resemble contour lines on a map, set against a darker blue background.

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Mariano-Florentino "Tino" Cuéllar
President
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

In 1910, Andrew Carnegie created this institution to help the world avoid international conflict, which he called the "foulest blot upon our civilization." That goal remains our north star in 2022 and is perhaps more relevant than ever. Our pursuit of global cooperation and peace engages more than 150 scholars in twenty countries generating analysis and strategic ideas, supporting diplomacy, and preparing the next generation of scholar-practitioners.

Over the past year, millions of people have experienced profound tragedy due to Russia's war in Ukraine. Amid the turmoil, our scholars—especially those in the region—have brought incisive analysis to explain the conflict's evolution, strategies to end it, and ways to reduce risks of future conflict in the region. More than thirty years ago, we opened the Carnegie Moscow Center to engage the region's leading thinkers and promote stable relations between the West and the former Soviet Union. The Russian government forced Carnegie to shut the Moscow center as part of its wartime crackdown on independent institutions and free media. But we are undaunted. Our Russian colleagues have consistently stayed at the forefront of the public conversation about the war in Ukraine. They also launched a new online publication, Carnegie Politika, which serves as a

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

unique source of nonpartisan, evidence-based analysis with a devoted following in Russia and the wider region numbering in the millions. Soon the Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center in Berlin will open its doors, serving as a worthy successor to the Moscow center and generating much-needed ideas and debates about the immense challenges facing the entire region.

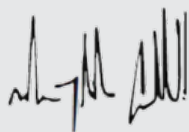
Our work elsewhere continues to engage with immediate and long-term challenges on vital global security issues. Carnegie scholars are exploring how recent U.S. restrictions on exporting semiconductors to China will affect strategic tensions between the two countries. Others are analyzing the profound political changes underway in Iran, where widespread protests challenge its government. Still others are raising the alarm and offering solutions to widening cracks in the nuclear nonproliferation regime and fissure to democracy in America.

We also broke new ground beyond Washington and Europe in 2022. We are following the technological, demographic, and economic dynamism of countries across Africa, helping policymakers better understand the enormous challenges and opportunities. Our scholars are engaging innovative subnational regions like California to highlight their unique roles in generating economic prosperity and reducing conflict. At a time when billions of people around the world are experiencing economic and political turmoil, our scholars in India and the Middle East are engaging deeply with political economy issues,

from data protection to relations between the state and private sector. Our new Sustainability, Climate, and Geopolitics Program is catalyzing new lines of work on how the world can mitigate the climate crisis and repair key institutions needed for a sustainable future. Scholars from across Carnegie's network also decamped to Sharm El Sheikh for the COP27 climate conference, leading conversations with leaders and activists worldwide. Finally, as the need to reform and empower key international institutions grows, our new Global Order and Institutions Program marks a reinvestment in Carnegie's historical role: to build and strengthen the foundations of the international system at a time of enormous geopolitical, technological, and economic disruption.

Through it all, we are committed to keeping Carnegie strong so it can continue having an impact in future generations. In the face of global economic headwinds, we have developed a financial strategy to minimize risks while continuing to support new lines of work. Our collaboration with Princeton University to create the Institute for Research on the Information Environment is one example of how like-minded organizations can amplify respective strengths. As with the rest of our mission, we will be at it for decades to come—but we have made headway even in this daunting year.

Several times during the last few months my colleagues and I have reflected on the irony that institutions dedicated to global cooperation and peace are never more important than in times of dislocation and war. As we face the world's many challenges, it is heartening that we do so with the unwavering support of our extraordinary trustees, supporters, and allies. The strength of that commitment is the wind in our sails.




LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

The core mission of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—to provide global decisionmakers with the credible information and rigorous analysis they need to devise smart policy solutions to the world's most significant challenges—has never been more important.

The effects of climate change are impacting millions across the globe, and the policy world is grappling with the increasingly challenging geopolitical shifts this brings. At the beginning of this year Russia invaded Ukraine, upending lives and bringing the threat of nuclear conflict back into focus in a way we have not seen for decades. It is at troubling times like these that I am extremely grateful to chair the board of an institution whose first-class analysis, scholarship, and direct experience from centers across the world has such deep impact and relevance not only for the most urgent threats but also for the longer-term challenges to international peace and global order.

I have no doubt that the year ahead will bring its share of challenges, but I am confident that Carnegie and its network of scholars will help light the way toward a more peaceful and prosperous world.



Penny Pritzker
Chair
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NEW LEADERSHIP



DAN BAER

In 2022, Carnegie welcomed new leadership at the senior vice president and chief operating officer levels and created a new vice president role to oversee programs.



Enjoying Carnegie's newly renovated Washington offices are Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch with Tino Cuéllar and Dan Baer (left to right) at the October 2022 board meeting.

Dan Baer was appointed as senior vice president for policy research in July 2022, adding to his role as director of the Europe Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Baer is a former diplomatic fellow at the University of Denver's Josef Korbel School of International Studies and served in former governor John Hickenlooper's cabinet as executive director of the Colorado Department of Higher Education. Under former president Barack Obama, he was U.S. ambassador to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and was a deputy assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. Before his government service, Baer was an assistant professor at Georgetown's McDonough School of Business, a faculty fellow at Harvard's Safra Center for Ethics, and a project leader at the Boston Consulting Group. He holds a doctorate in international relations from Oxford, where he was a Marshall Scholar, and a degree in social studies and African American studies from Harvard. Baer succeeds fellow Marshall Scholar Thomas Carothers, who remains a senior fellow and co-director of Carnegie's Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program and holder of the Harvey V. Fineberg Chair for Democracy Studies.



FRANCES Z. BROWN

Carnegie also created a new vice president role to address the expansion of its research streams. Frances Z. Brown was promoted to vice president for studies in July 2022, adding to her role as co-director of Carnegie's Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program. Before joining Carnegie in 2017, she served as a director on the White House National Security Council (NSC) staff, where she helped manage policy processes on democracy support and conflict stabilization, serving under both the Obama and Trump administrations. Prior to the NSC, Brown worked at the U.S. Agency for International Development's Office of Transition Initiatives, managing political transition programs in Afghanistan, the Middle East, and Africa. Prior to government service, she consulted for the Pentagon's Quadrennial Defense Review; led projects in Afghanistan, Lebanon, and elsewhere; and held research roles with the Council on Foreign Relations and Columbia University. She holds a doctorate in international relations from Oxford and a BA from Yale.



ALISON MARKOVITZ

Alison Markovitz was appointed as chief operating officer in July 2022. Markovitz joined Carnegie from Fermilab, the United States' leading particle physics and accelerator laboratory. As the chief strategic partnerships officer at Fermilab, she oversaw several operational areas, including chairing the board of international funding agencies supporting the Deep Underground Neutrino Experiment, the lab's flagship project. Markovitz also held leadership positions at the U.S. Department of Energy, including as senior adviser to the secretary of energy with a focus on agency operations. Previously, she worked as a deputy associate counsel at the White House, as a lawyer in private practice in San Francisco, and as a law clerk at the California Supreme Court and at the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California. She received a JD from Yale Law School and an undergraduate degree from Yale University in political science and international studies.

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NEW TRUSTEES

T. R. BASS

T. R. Bass is president and chief operating officer at the Keystone Group, a private investment firm based in Washington, DC, where he oversees all investment strategies and operations. Prior to joining Keystone, he founded Park Loop Management Company, a private investment firm focused on identifying investment opportunities in emerging economies, with a focus on China and East Asia.

EILEEN DONAHOE

Eileen Donahoe is executive director of the Global Digital Policy Incubator at Stanford University's Cyber Policy Center, where she works to develop global digital policies that address human rights, security, and governance challenges. Previously, she served as the first U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva during the Obama administration and was the director of global affairs at Human Rights Watch, where she represented the organization worldwide on human rights foreign policy.

BOON HWEE KOH

Boon Hwee Koh is the chairman of Altara Ventures, a venture capital firm providing early- and growth-stage capital and expertise to entrepreneur-led start-ups and small and medium enterprises (SMEs) largely in Southeast Asia. Previously, he was a director of the Hewlett Foundation in the United States from September 2007 until his retirement in March 2022. Boon Hwee is also chairman of Sunningdale Tech, Rippledots Capital Advisers, Agilent Technologies, and the Securities Industry Council.

SUNIL KANT MUNJAL

Sunil Kant Munjal is chairman of Hero Enterprise and a member of the family that founded the Hero Group, India's premier automotive manufacturer. Beyond his business work, Munjal has set up the Serendipity Arts Foundation in an effort to revive patronage in the arts. He also wrote the Indian bestseller *The Making of Hero*, which chronicles the company's founding.

SUSAN LIAUTAUD

Susan Liautaud is the founder and managing director of Susan Liautaud & Associates Limited, a boutique firm advising on complex ethics matters for leaders in the corporate, nonprofit, and governmental sectors internationally. She teaches cutting-edge ethics courses at Stanford University and serves on a number of advisory councils, including as chair of council at the London School of Economics and Political Science and chair of the Stanford University Freeman Spogli Institute for International Affairs Advisory Council.

ALEJANDRO RAMÍREZ MAGAÑA

Alejandro Ramírez Magaña is chief executive officer of Cinépolis, one of the largest film exhibition companies in the world. Previously, he served as Mexico's representative to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and as chief of staff of the social cabinet in the executive office of the president of Mexico. He has also worked for the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme in the areas of poverty and human development.

ANDREW SPOKES

Andrew Spokes is the managing partner and co-chief investment officer of Farallon Capital Management. Before joining Farallon in 1997, he worked in the investment banking division of Goldman Sachs for ten years, most of which he spent in Europe and Asia. He is a Fleming Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford and an adviser to the board of the William & Flora Hewlett Foundation.

SONGYEE YOON

Songyee Yoon is president and chief strategy officer of NCSoft, a leading global video game developer and publisher headquartered in South Korea. Yoon is currently a member of the Advisory Council for the Stanford Institute for Human-Centered AI at Stanford University, an advisory board member of RAND's Center for Asia Pacific Policy, and a visiting fellow at the Center to Advance Racial Equity Policy at RAND, where she continues to explore the social impacts of AI, equity, and ethical sides of technology.

NEW PROGRAMS

Since its founding in 1910, Carnegie has empowered generations of world-class policy experts producing research and actionable ideas to help address the world's most challenging problems.

The scale of the challenges that the world faces today, from nuclear threats to AI regulation to climate change, could not have been imagined in the early 1900s, but the Carnegie Endowment has always, throughout its 112-year history, adapted and grown to better understand the threats and opportunities of the time.

In 2022, Carnegie created three new streams of work: the Global Order and Institutions Program; the Sustainability, Climate, and Geopolitics Program; and an office in California's Silicon Valley to address the growing importance and impact of subnational regions and subnational diplomacy.

Global Order and Institutions

The rules-based world order is under unprecedented strain, buffeted by geopolitical competition, economic inequality, populist nationalism, technological innovation, transnational threats, and a planetary ecological emergency. The Global Order and Institutions Program analyzes the shifting landscape of international cooperation and identifies promising new multilateral initiatives and frameworks to advance a more peaceful, prosperous, just, and sustainable world. The rationale for this new program is plain. Conflict and strategic rivalry, from the Russian invasion of Ukraine to rising Sino-American antagonism, are complicating multilateral efforts to address the shared dilemmas of interdependence. Meanwhile, established intergovernmental organizations and bodies, such as the UN and the G7, lack the agility and capability to manage complex, multifaceted challenges on their own, particularly at a time of rising disorder and distrust, not only between East and West but also between North and South. This historical moment requires fresh thinking about new forms of international cooperation to manage global conflict, build a more inclusive and equitable world economy, and bring humanity into balance with the natural world. Its inaugural director, Stewart Patrick, is among the leading thinkers of challenges to global order and will deepen Carnegie's engagement on this important work.



Matt Sheehan and Tino Cuéllar host one of the first Carnegie California events on the trajectory of California-China climate ties. (left)



Olivia Lazard delivers a TED talk on the blind spots of the green energy transition. (Photo: TED)

Sustainability, Climate, and Geopolitics

The Sustainability, Climate, and Geopolitics Program builds on Carnegie’s already strong portfolio of research and convening relating to the geopolitical implications of climate change. In the next several years, Carnegie will develop wider work on various transnational policy dimensions of climate change, with a particular emphasis on how climate change is affecting non-Western states, how climate justice can find a much larger place in the concerns of Western policymakers, and how non-Western states can play a greater role in climate solutions. The program will leverage Carnegie’s network of centers and scholars to bring new insights, analysis, and ideas to the climate policy conversation.

Carnegie California

From climate change to technology policy and innovation, many of the world’s most pressing issues are driven by developments in subnational regions like California. Carnegie California aims to bring our distinctive mix of research and analysis, support for diplomacy, and action-oriented collaboration to one of the world’s most dynamic, innovative, and economically significant regions: the American West Coast. Carnegie scholars affiliated with our new office are already studying topics including AI governance, California-Asia linkages to address climate change, and the role of diaspora communities in California politics. Over the next year, we expect to expand work on these and related topics crucial to California and the world.

NEW SPACES



Australian Foreign Minister Penny Wong delivers a speech on Canberra's priorities and policies. (top)



United States National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan (right) and Tino Cuéllar discuss President Joe Biden's accomplishments in the first two years and the challenges that still lie ahead. (right)



The Pritzker Traubert Conference Center

For over twenty-five years, Carnegie's building in Washington has served as a convening space for independent analysis, innovation, and global thought leadership. Through the generous support of the Pritzker Traubert Foundation, Carnegie has just completed a spectacular renovation of its shared spaces, creating the Pritzker Traubert Conference Center.

The Pritzker Traubert Conference Center provides state-of-the-art spaces to host VIP and public

events, both large and small. The new center includes a conference room designed to be Carnegie's premier meeting room with capacity for up to 200 people, in addition to several smaller meeting rooms. It also boasts a stunning public-facing entrance from the lobby in addition to a designated VIP entrance for private access and a media studio with advanced acoustic properties for top quality audio and video interviews, podcasts, and more.

A RENEWED FOCUS

In a complex, changing, and increasingly contested world, Carnegie's global network of experts generates strategic ideas and independent analysis, supports diplomacy, and trains the next generation of international scholar-practitioners to help countries and institutions take on the most difficult global problems.

READ ABOUT OUR 2022 RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS —————>

Carnegie's Network of Russian Scholars

The effects of the war in Ukraine will be felt for years, if not decades, to come. The impact on Carnegie's work has also been profound, and our scholars across the globe have looked closely at the second- and third-order effects of Russia's unprovoked aggression against Ukraine.

Russian wartime censorship restrictions imposed in the immediate wake of the invasion sought to choke off all independent sources of information. Yet the Carnegie Moscow Center's scholars would not be silenced, and they continued to share their unmatched insights via international media and other outlets. Most members of our Russian team chose to leave the country for safety reasons. In April 2022, the Kremlin formally ordered the Carnegie Endowment to close the Moscow center after more than twenty-eight years of operation.

We will soon launch the Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center in Berlin under the leadership of Alexander Gabuev, a longtime Carnegie senior fellow who is also Russia's preeminent expert on Sino-Russia relations. The Berlin center will bring together longtime members of our team and create a physical and intellectual home for a wider network of experts on the entire post-Soviet region.

The Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center will also provide a platform for contributions from across Carnegie's global network to help policymakers address the consequences of the war in Ukraine, to develop real-world policy responses to Vladimir Putin's aggression, to cut through a Kremlin-sponsored web of falsehoods and disinformation, and to understand the transnational and societal trends shaping the trajectory of a vast region.

We also have launched Carnegie Politika, a new online publication that is the successor to the highly popular Carnegie.ru, which long enjoyed an audience numbering in the millions inside Rus-

sia and other parts of the region. Carnegie Politika has already established itself as an essential source of ideas and strategic insight on the entire region with a loyal following in international policy, analytical, and media circles. Carnegie Politika is also key to the Endowment's efforts to circumvent the Kremlin's information blockade and to reach a mass audience for our work inside Russia.

With the addition of Ukraine expert Eric Ciaramella in Washington, we are expanding our efforts to analyze Ukraine's long-term challenges and to collaborate with Ukrainian scholars, policy practitioners, thought leaders, and civil society activists.



Andrew S. Weiss discusses his new book, *Accidental Czar: The Life and Lies of Vladimir Putin*, with Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch during an in-store book release event at Politics and Prose in Washington, DC.





Tino Cuéllar joins International Monetary Fund (IMF) managing director Kristalina Georgieva for a fireside chat to discuss the global economic outlook during the IMF/World Bank Spring Meetings.

U.S.-China Tech Decoupling

The partial “decoupling” of U.S. and Chinese technology is rewiring international relations and the global economic order. Although Washington spurred this process, it lacks clear objectives, priorities, and plans, and it hasn’t acknowledged the risk of a costly overreach. Jon Bateman’s major report, “U.S.-China Technological ‘Decoupling’: A Strategy and Policy Framework,” is widely recognized as the definitive account of these challenges. In a foreword, Eric Schmidt—former Google CEO and chair of the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence—called the report “an exceptional guidebook and blueprint for U.S. action” that “stands out for its ambition, clarity, and rigor” and “will remain a touchstone for years to come.” The report has earned praise from a U.S. cabinet secretary, a high-level White House official, and senior leaders in export control policy. It has also been widely discussed in China and other Asian as well as European countries and was briefed to the World Trade Organization, international trade and finance associations, and leading global tech companies.





IAEA Director General Rafael Grossi joins Tino Cuéllar for a keynote conversation at the 2022 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference. (above)

Ambassador Gustavo Zlauvinen discusses his experience as president of the Tenth Review Conference for the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty with Ambassador Laura Kennedy. (right)



Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference

Growing nuclear threats—from Russia’s occupation of a nuclear power plant in Ukraine to North Korea’s development of tactical nuclear weapons—were front of mind for the over 600 participants who joined the 2022 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference.

Held regularly since 1987, the Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference gathers experts, officials, journalists, and students from around the world to debate options to mitigate nuclear dangers.

Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency Rafael Grossi and German State Minister for Foreign Affairs Katja Keul were among the keynote speakers to address the conference.

Carnegie’s Nuclear Policy Program also organized a day-long training and mentoring session prior to the conference for 175 young professionals interested in nuclear policy.

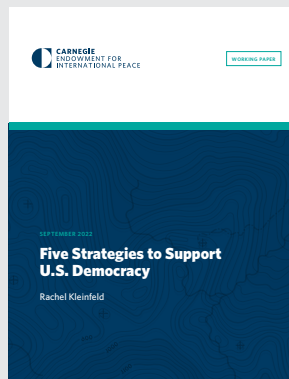


Senior Advisor of the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance at the U.S. Department of State Mareena Robinson Snowden (pictured center) at a panel discussion on the role of open source information in nuclear policy. (top)

Senior Research Associate at the Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Center Mariana Budjeryn, Professor Michiru Nishida of Nagasaki University, and Director for Strategy and Policy at the French Atomic Energy Commission Mélanie Rosselet, (pictured left to right) discuss the implications for nonproliferation and disarmament in the wake of the war in Ukraine. (bottom)

U.S. Democracy and the January 6 Insurrection

The January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Congress during the certification of the Electoral College vote disrupted the peaceful transfer of presidential power for the only time since America's founding. To ensure that such a democratic failure would not occur again, the U.S. House of Representatives convened a bipartisan select committee tasked with determining what occurred, why, and how future political violence could be prevented. Soon after the committee began its work, it requested multiple interviews with Carnegie's Rachel Kleinfeld to gain insight into matters ranging from the role of foreign actors in undermining democracies to the relationship between the January 6 insurrection and long-term political violence trends in the United States. Kleinfeld was also asked to submit written testimony to the committee, which helped it frame and contextualize the eventual public hearings. Her work, including her major recent paper, "Five Strategies to Support U.S. Democracy," has continued to play a crucial role in helping the United States understand its current democratic peril and consider what can be done to put U.S. democracy back on a stronger footing.



Rachel Kleinfeld's recent paper, "Five Strategies to Support U.S. Democracy," has played a crucial role in helping the United States understand its current democratic peril and consider what can be done to put U.S. democracy back on a stronger footing.



Evan A. Feigenbaum (left) with the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Tonga, Siaosi Sovaleni, at the second annual Indo-Pacific Islands Dialogue in New York City. (top)



Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Fiji to the United Nations Satyendra Prasad (pictured right) gives an island perspective on the geopolitical developments in the Indo-Pacific during a panel discussion with Carnegie's Darshana M. Baruah (left) and Nilanthi Samaranayake from the Center for Naval Analyses (not pictured). (bottom)

Track II Dialogues

During a time of rising bilateral mistrust, when Washington and Beijing have few operational communication mechanisms, Carnegie China has facilitated several U.S.-China Track II dialogues in partnership with Chinese institutions to engage American and Chinese scholars and former government officials on both strategic and short-term tactical issues. These meetings allow participants to address misperceptions and offer ideas about how to stabilize the relationship. Findings from these discussions are shared with government officials on both sides.

Indian Ocean Interactive Map

The Indian Ocean is often divided into continental silos—South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East—undermining the importance of the maritime domain and the ocean as one theater. These artificial divisions also marginalize island nations, which otherwise would act as important regional players. To help break down this continental approach to the maritime domain and consider the region holistically, Darshana M. Baruah and the South Asia Program launched a digital map on the “Strategic Importance of the Indian Ocean.” Designed to convey the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean and its trading routes, the map presents the ocean as one continuous theater from the eastern coast of Africa to the western shores of Australia.

The first phase of the map, launched in May 2022, features layers on maritime boundaries, trade, disputes, shipping routes, and regional players, while future phases will visualize military presence and capabilities to underline the traditional and emerging players in the space. The map will also highlight the impact of climate change, a key national security threat for island nations, and its implications on geopolitical developments. Through building and expanding on this project, Baruah intends to shift the understanding of the Indian Ocean to a more holistic view.



New Scholars' Work on Asia

The Washington-based Asia Program and Carnegie China welcomed several new scholars in 2022, building research capacity on a variety of issues affecting East Asia and on U.S.-China dynamics in Southeast Asia.

Kenji Kushida and Matt Sheehan are integral to a major buildout of Carnegie research on alternative Asian technology futures, allowing the program to broaden its impact on tech policy and regulatory models in China, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and India.

Kushida leads a new work stream on Japan's innovation ecosystem and its connections to the world. This includes programming in both English and Japanese on the country's burgeoning start-up culture. His work provides unconventional answers to the questions of Japan's economic openness, whether Japan has models that can be emulated internationally, and how tech can become more central to the U.S.-Japan partnership.

Sheehan focuses on China's artificial intelligence ecosystem, the future of Chinese technology policy, and the role of technology in China's political economy. He is the author of *The Transpacific Experiment: How China and California Collaborate and Compete for our Future* (Counterpoint Press, 2019).

Ashley Townshend is an Australian expert on Indo-Pacific security. Townshend's work focuses on how to foster a collective Indo-Pacific strategy—involving Australia, India, Japan, the United States, and beyond—against the backdrop of rising Chinese power. He aims to prepare policymakers to navigate the region's increasingly complex security landscape.

Chong Ja Ian and Evan Laksmana have joined the Carnegie China team as nonresident scholars to publish research on how regional countries are responding to mounting U.S.-China tensions in the Asia-Pacific region.



KENJI KUSHIDA

Japan | Silicon Valley



MATT SHEEHAN

China's artificial intelligence ecosystem | global technology



ASHLEY TOWNSHEND

Indo-Pacific security



CHONG JA IAN

Regional consequences of U.S.-China competition



EVAN LAKSMANA

U.S.-China dynamics in Southeast Asia



External Affairs Minister of Affairs S. Jaishankar (left) and Ashley J. Tellis (right) discuss India's role as a leading power during Carnegie India's 2022 Global Technology Summit.



CHRISTOPHER SHELL

American Statecraft

Christopher Shell is a fellow in the American Statecraft Program at the Carnegie Endowment. At Carnegie, Shell leads a project that examines the impact of U.S. foreign policy on African Americans since the end of the Cold War. His writings on the relationship between African Americans and international politics have appeared in *Picturing Black History*, the *Journal for African American History*, and *Gotham: A Blog for Scholars of New York City History*. Shell received his BA from Howard University and his PhD from Michigan State University in history.



ALICIA WANLESS

Partnership for Countering Influence Operations

The Partnership for Countering Influence Operations (PCIO) developed a multistakeholder crisis response in Ukraine called Info Integrity Ukraine, which has been operating as a pilot project since July in partnership with the G7 Rapid Response Mechanism. The project is an experiment in addressing gaps between stakeholders while generating data from operations to inform strategy for responding to future crises. The PCIO is also developing a multinational research facility in partnership with Princeton University to study the information environment in the context of democracies. The Institute for Research on the Information Environment aims to speed up policy-relevant research to identify what interventions in the information environment might foster democracy as well as counter threats.



Marwan Muasher, Tino Cuéllar, and Maha Yahya (left to right) discuss the key global challenges for 2023 during the Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center's sixth annual conference in Beirut.

Climate Change and the Middle East

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region is likely to be disproportionately affected by climate change. Demographic patterns of growth, severe water scarcity, reliance on fossil fuels, food insecurity, rising sea levels, and migration are all challenges that MENA governments are grappling with today and that will be exacerbated by climate change. The effects of climate change will, therefore, act as an accelerant on long-standing problems of governance and socioeconomic inequalities while also posing new disruptions.

In Beirut and Washington, DC, Carnegie scholars explore the intersection between political and socioeconomic reforms and climate change resilience in the MENA region by focusing on the sectors of society most exposed to climate change hazards. We leverage Carnegie's field-based expertise on marginalized communities, governance, and human security across the region to showcase how our scholars can contribute to analytical and policy deliberations on climate adaptation.

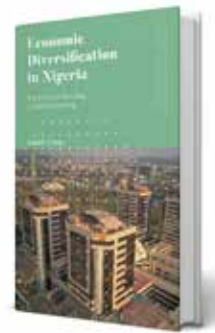
Aftershocks of the Ukraine War in the Middle East

Russia's war on Ukraine is sending shock waves across the Middle East. Key American allies, especially in the Gulf Cooperation Council, are resisting U.S.-led efforts to isolate Russia and are working with Moscow to shore up oil prices. Meanwhile, worsening inflation and food insecurity are degrading the living standards of millions across the region. Carnegie's Frederic Wehrey testified before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs about these ripple effects and how the United States should respond. He called in remotely from Libya, an oil-rich and conflict-wracked country that was the target of a brutal Russian intervention from 2019 to 2020 involving thousands of mercenaries from the Wagner Group as well as regular personnel. In many respects, Russia's Libya campaign epitomizes its activism in the Middle East, which has blended high-level political ties, military intervention, arms sales, diplomacy, energy projects, and propaganda. Though some Russian capabilities have taken a battering because of the Ukraine war, Moscow remains a serious player in the Middle East, especially as it tries to drive a wedge between America and its Arab partners.



U.S. Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Ervin Massing (left) and Zainab Usman (right) discuss the just energy transition with the African Union Commissioner for Infrastructure, Energy, and Digitalization Her Excellency Dr. Amani Abou-Zeid (center).

Zainab Usman's *Economic Diversification in Nigeria* was named one of the Best Books of 2022 by the *Financial Times*.



Africa Program Growth

Since its inception in February 2021, the Carnegie Africa Program has closely followed the changing relationships between major global powers and African countries, which will be affected not just by climate change, trade patterns, and other geoeconomics shifts but also by how the world's major economies react to these geoeconomic shifts.

For example, the UK has fundamentally reshaped its foreign policy with the release of its integrated review, a strategy document aimed to support the UK's vision for a Global Britain. A shift to the Indo-Pacific, cuts to international development

funding, and changing migration policy could have far-reaching impacts for relations between African countries and the UK. Jonathan Glennie and Zainab Usman anticipated the UK government's shift toward decreasing development engagement in the February 2022 paper "Sign of the Times: How the United Kingdom's Integrated Review Affects Relations with Africa." Similarly, the U.S. government's recent publication of "U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa" will reshape strategic partnerships with African countries as long as the United States successfully centers economic diplomacy at the core of its engagement, according to the program's director, Zainab Usman.



JANE MUNGA

Jane Munga is a fellow in the Africa Program focusing on technology policy. Her career has centered on policymaking with an emphasis on the potential of digital technologies for digital development, and her research at Carnegie centers on Africa's digital transformation, aiming to provide insights that will offer new framing and perspectives on Africa's digital development. Prior to joining Carnegie, Munga worked for the Government of Kenya as an adviser and economic expert. In this capacity she specialized in digital economy policies and strategies for digital transformation with particular attention to innovation, the gig economy, and digital inclusion.

PODCASTS

Podcasts have become the medium of choice for audiences on the go who want to catch up on the issues of the day. On eight podcasts across our global network, Carnegie hosts a variety of guests, including some of the world's top policymakers, diplomats, journalists, and experts.

In 2022, Carnegie launched *Europe Inside Out* to amplify European voices on global foreign policy challenges; *Tamakon*, an Arabic-language podcast that highlights often forgotten female voices on critical issues in the Middle East; and *Carnegie Politika*, which delivers world-class analysis on what's happening in Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia. Carnegie China's *China in the World* podcast expanded its scope to bring on experts from Singapore and Southeast Asia to discuss U.S.-China dynamics in the broader region. And, *The World Unpacked* welcomed a new host in November, Stewart Patrick, whose debut episode on COP27 was one of the all-time most-downloaded episodes for the show.



Stewart Patrick discusses global issues with experts, journalists, and policymakers who can explain what is happening, why it matters, and where we go from here.



Milan Vaishnav breaks down the latest developments in Indian politics, economics, foreign policy, society, and culture.



Voices from India and around the globe unpack how technology, the economy, and foreign policy impact India's relationship with the world.



Paul Haenle discusses China's foreign policy, evolving global role, and relations with the world with leading scholars and former policymakers.



Aaron David Miller tackles the most pressing foreign policy issues of the day in conversations with journalists, policymakers, historians, and experts.



Carnegie Europe brings experts together to explain Europe's foreign policy challenges and opportunities.



This Arabic-language podcast focuses on presenting women's perspectives on the critical issues impacting the region.



Alexander Gabuev hosts a variety of guests to discuss emerging trends in Russia and Eurasia, the future of Russian geopolitics, and how the region is shaping the world.



NEXT GENERATION

Carnegie has long been committed to training the next generation of scholar-practitioners working on global challenges and offers a variety of opportunities for young professionals to engage with the international policy community.

Internships

In 2022, we continued an internship program aimed at boosting diversity in the next generation of foreign policy experts. The program provides a paid opportunity for students from twelve minority-serving institutions to spend ten weeks at Carnegie on a part-time basis to develop practical work experience, including formal education sessions on policymaking, research skills, writing, presentation and media skills, and career planning.

James C. Gaither Junior Fellows

In August, Carnegie welcomed fourteen recent graduates as its newest class of James C. Gaither Junior Fellows. The program helps train future generations of leaders in foreign policy and international affairs. This work constitutes a lasting investment in seeking international cooperation and a commitment to improving the diversity of thought, experience, and ideas in the realm of global affairs.



Paul Haenle (pictured right) greets members of the Carnegie China Young Ambassadors alumni community. (top)



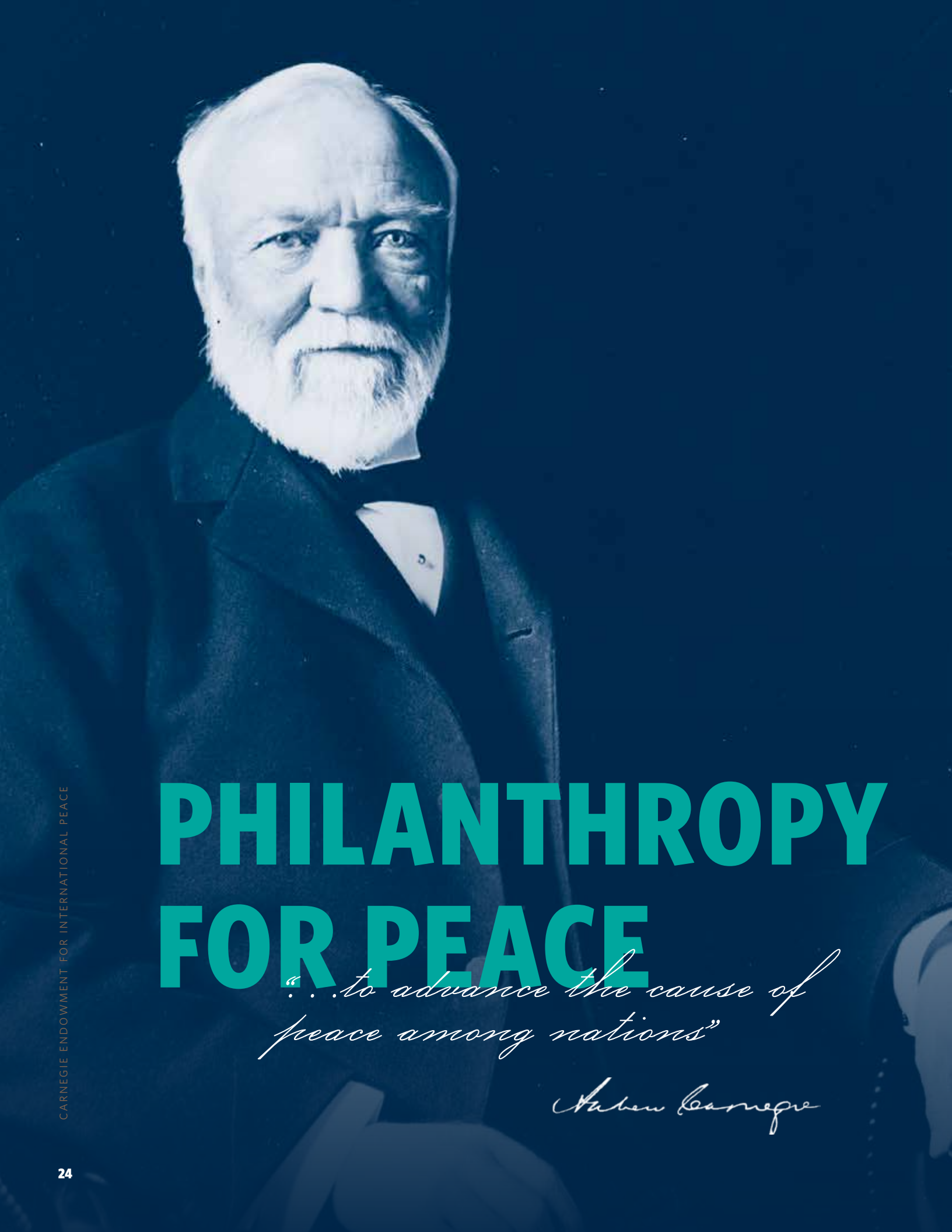
Participants in the Young Professionals Track at the Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference listen to a presentation on open-source tools for nonproliferation by Jeffrey Lewis, professor and director of the East Asia Nonproliferation Project at the Middlebury Institute for International Studies. (left)

Young Ambassadors

Carnegie China's Young Ambassadors program continued to serve as a premier internship for training the next generation of global leaders, despite the disruptions of the global pandemic. For over ten years, the program has equipped hundreds of young people from the United States, China, and the international community with the skills they need to navigate an increasingly complex world and solve pressing international problems.

Young Professionals in Nuclear Policy

The Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference offered a Young Professionals Track for attendees with fewer than five years of professional experience and graduate students. The programming was designed to give young professionals a focused, more intimate opportunity to engage core debates in the field, network with senior experts and their peers, and build the skill set for a successful career.



PHILANTHROPY FOR PEACE

*"...to advance the cause of
peace among nations"*

Andrew Carnegie



We are grateful to our generous donors and supporters around the world, both new and established, for their ongoing commitment to independent, impactful, and incisive analysis.

Since its founding in 1910, Carnegie has empowered generations of world-class policy experts producing research and actionable ideas to help address the world's most challenging problems. As a uniquely global think tank, Carnegie leverages its network of over 150 experts to better understand the threats and opportunities affecting global security and well-being and to prepare the next generation of foreign policy leaders through training and mentorship. By convening strategic dialogues and back-channel diplomacy, Carnegie helps deepen and strengthen the relationships between international actors as they pursue solutions to complex and contentious issues.

Thanks to a visionary eight-figure philanthropic investment by a trustee, Carnegie has established a new program on Sustainability, Climate, and Geopolitics to address the global crisis of our time and analyze and respond to the profound entanglement of the climate crisis and geopolitics. This generous gift will focus on the impact of climate

on democratic governance; the political economies of regions like the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and South Asia; and the consequences of the climate crisis for global security.

In early 2022, led by Carnegie's Partnership for Countering Influence Operations, Carnegie scholars rapidly responded to the unfolding crisis in Ukraine thanks to a grant from the Canadian government to create a Multi-Stakeholder Crisis Response Network. The network's aim is to facilitate multistakeholder coordination to counter disinformation and to ensure the integrity of the Ukrainian information environment as the crisis escalates. The network will also aim to develop and establish models for coordination in future crises.

The Carnegie Asia Program, based in Washington, DC received a large grant from a major U.S. foundation to explore China's artificial intelligence ecosystem, the future of Chinese technology policy, and the role of technology in China's political economy. In addition, recognizing the growing strategic importance of the Indo-Pacific region, a Japan-based foundation pledged multi-year support for the South Asia Program's "Ocean Nations: An Indo-Pacific Islands Dialogue." This dialogue is one of the few platforms highlighting the perspectives of island nations and creating a forum for engagement and interactions between bigger and smaller nations in the region and beyond. Early 2022 also heralded the launch of the Japan-Silicon Valley Innovation Initiative, which is made possible by the generous support of numerous corporate donors.



United States Ambassador to the United Nations Linda Thomas-Greenfield in conversation with Tino Cuéllar at a Carnegie board of trustees meeting. (top)



United States Secretary of Commerce Gina Raimondo gives remarks at a Carnegie board of trustees meeting. (bottom)

Recognizing the importance of subnational regions to global policy, Carnegie established Carnegie California with a \$2 million dollar gift from a California-based foundation. The state is a key setting for innovation in technology, media, governance, and sustainability and climate with strong cross-border ties through migration and diasporas, trade, and finance. At the same time, California's own trajectory and priorities are heavily affected by global developments. On-the-ground analysis of trends, opportunities, and challenges in California will bring important insights to the Carnegie Endowment's work worldwide and, conversely, Carnegie's global expertise will bring new solutions and fresh perspectives to California.

Carnegie's Middle East Program in Washington received a significant seven-figure grant from a major international foundation to address global challenges in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region and to expand further the work of its online journal, Sada. Additionally, the largest film association in the United States pledged multiyear support to fund the newly formed documentary arm of Sada with the goal of amplifying the voices of young journalists, artists, and vulnerable communities from the region to effect policy change.

Corporate Circle

The Carnegie Corporate Circle provides representatives and decisionmakers from leading private sector companies with global and strategic insights for navigating a rapidly changing international landscape. Over the past year, through a series of closed-door convenings and private individual briefings, the Corporate Circle and its members have engaged with scholars across the Carnegie network to discuss topics such as the state of U.S.-China relations; transatlantic relations and NATO; and global AI regulatory approaches.

Donor Circles

This year marked the continued engagement of Carnegie donors through events and publications. The Carnegie Donor Circle and Carnegie President's Circle provided opportunities for supporters to engage with Carnegie scholars and like-minded peers through convenings, both virtual and in person. We look forward to further engagements in the coming year.

DONORS

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace relies on the philanthropic support of a diverse group of foundations, corporations, governments, and individuals who invest in our programs and core operations each year.

We are grateful for the generous support of our donors in fiscal year 2022 who encourage our mission to advance the cause of peace. The following list reflects cash contributions received from July 1, 2021, through June 30, 2022.

\$2,000,000 and above

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Middle East Program

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Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program

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Middle East Program

Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office, UK

Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program

Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center

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Technology and International Affairs Program

\$550,000 to \$999,999

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Africa Program
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United States European Command

Russia and Eurasia Program

\$250,000 to \$549,999

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The New-Land Foundation

Nuclear Policy Program

Oaktree Capital Management

Russia and Eurasia Program

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Sherry L. Ferguson**

General



India's External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar (center right) joins C. Raja Mohan, Bibek Debroy, and Ashley J. Tellis for the launch of their new book, *Grasping Greatness: Making India a Leading Power*, at Carnegie India's 2022 Global Technology Summit. (top)



Tino Cuéllar (right) greets His Excellency President Hage G. Geingob (left) of the Republic of Namibia as he takes the stage to discuss the synergies that exist between the United States' strategic interests in global climate action and African priorities for a just energy transition to a low-carbon future. (bottom)

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Consolidated Statement of Activities and Change in Net Assets

Year Ended June 30, 2022

	Without Donor Restrictions	With Donor Restrictions	Total
Operating revenues and other support:			
Contributions of cash and other financial assets	\$ 5,539,355	\$ 28,241,977	\$ 33,781,332
Contributions of nonfinancial assets	42,083	-	42,083
Investment return distribution to fund operations, net	-	14,978,215	14,978,215
Rental income	1,253,411	-	1,253,411
U.S. Government revenue	591,318	-	591,318
Publications	11,199	-	11,199
Other	15,250	-	15,250
Net assets released from restrictions	36,717,201	(36,717,201)	-
Total operating revenues and other support	44,169,817	6,502,991	50,672,808
Operating expenses:			
Program services	30,413,041	-	30,413,041
Supporting services:			
Management and general	5,489,778	-	5,489,778
Fundraising	1,742,755	-	1,742,755
Total operating expenses	37,645,574	-	37,645,574
Change in net assets from operations	6,524,243	6,502,991	13,027,234
Non-operating revenues and expenses:			
Investment return in excess of spending rate	157,068	(26,161,248)	(26,004,180)
Fair value gain on interest rate swap	5,587,035	-	5,587,035
Change in net assets	12,268,346	(19,658,257)	(7,389,911)
Net assets, beginning of year	19,561,780	462,165,907	481,727,687
Net assets, end of year	\$ 31,830,126	\$ 442,507,650	\$ 474,337,776

Consolidated Statements of Financial Position

June 30, 2022 and June 30, 2021

Assets	2022	2021
Current assets		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 17,087,588	\$ 15,881,081
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	1,299,836	2,153,862
Contributions receivable, net	17,718,911	12,099,321
Total current assets	36,106,335	30,134,264
Long-term assets		
Investments	441,048,847	464,768,452
Contributions receivable, net	10,252,759	14,369,408
Property and equipment, net	33,107,199	24,098,685
Right of use asset - leases	1,052,515	1,313,339
Total long-term assets	485,461,320	504,549,884
Total assets	\$ 521,567,655	\$ 534,684,148
Liabilities and net assets		
Current liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 6,752,700	\$ 6,167,279
Future lease obligations	319,405	353,882
Bond interest payable	121,968	101,326
Note payable	486,088	468,010
Total current liabilities	7,680,161	7,090,497
Long-term liabilities		
Future lease obligations	744,903	968,838
Note payable, net	251,031	737,119
Interest rate swap agreement	5,890,181	11,477,216
Bonds payable, net	32,663,603	32,682,791
Total long-term liabilities	39,549,718	45,865,964
Total liabilities	47,229,879	52,956,461
Commitments and contingencies		
Net assets		
Without donor restrictions	31,830,126	19,561,780
With donor restrictions	442,507,650	462,165,907
Total net assets	474,337,776	481,727,687
Total liabilities and net assets	\$ 521,567,655	\$ 534,684,148

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS



Managing U.S.-China Tensions Over Public Cyber Attribution

Ariel E. Levite, Lu Chuanying, George Perkovich, and Fan Yang, editors



Rewiring Globalization

Sinan Ülgen et al.



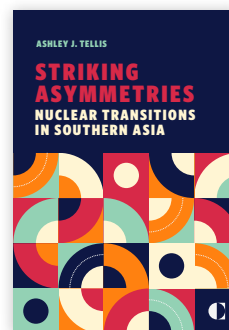
The Southern Mirror: Reflections on Europe From the Global South

Rosa Balfour, Lizza Bomassi, and Marta Martinelli, editors



Data Governance, Asian Alternatives: How India and Korea Are Creating New Models and Policies

Evan A. Feigenbaum and Michael R. Nelson, editors



Striking Asymmetries: Nuclear Transitions in Southern Asia

Ashley J. Tellis



How Washington and New Delhi Can Further Tech Ties

Rudra Chaudhuri, editor



How South Korea Is Honing a Competitive Edge

Chung Min Lee, editor



Global Civil Society in a Geopolitical Age: How Civic Activism Is Being Reshaped by Great Power Competition

Richard Youngs, editor



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