

## The Operating Mechanism and Development Dynamics of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Postprint)

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### Abstract

[Purpose/Significance] To understand the operational mechanisms and development dynamics of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—the oldest international affairs think tank in the United States—and to provide reference for constructing new-type think tanks with Chinese characteristics. [Method/Process] Employing a case study approach, this research collects relevant data through literature review and website investigation, consulting the headquarters and various regional center websites of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to comprehend its developmental history, financial status, etc.; and through examination of primary materials such as global think tank ranking reports, conducts a comparative analysis of the Endowment's research priorities and development trends in recent two years. [Results/Conclusion] The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace emphasizes the recruitment of global talent, conducting in-depth analyses of major international issues through a global perspective. Simultaneously, it promptly establishes research programs according to the demands of the international situation, integrating local realities and insights from indigenous experts to publish high-level research outcomes. These experiences offer valuable lessons for China's construction of think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

### Full Text

## The Operational Mechanism and Developmental Dynamics of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

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## Abstract

**[Purpose/Significance]** This study examines the operational mechanism and developmental dynamics of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, America's oldest international affairs think tank, to provide reference for constructing new-type think tanks with Chinese characteristics. **[Method/Process]** Using a case study approach, relevant data were collected through literature review and website investigation. Drawing upon the official websites of Carnegie Endowment headquarters and its various centers, the study documents the foundation's developmental history and financial status. By analyzing primary sources such as the Global Go To Think Tank Index Reports, the study comparatively examines the foundation's research priorities and developmental trends over the past two years. **[Result/Conclusion]** The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace emphasizes recruiting global talent to analyze major international issues from a worldwide perspective. Simultaneously, it promptly establishes research projects according to international situation demands, combining local realities with indigenous expert insights to publish high-level research outcomes. These experiences offer valuable lessons for building think tanks with Chinese characteristics.

**Keywords:** Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; think tank; operational mechanism; management structure; Global Go To Think Tank Index Report

## 1. Research Background

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (hereinafter referred to as "the Foundation") was founded in 1910 as America's oldest international affairs think tank. It is renowned worldwide for its scholarly excellence, proactive response to the evolving global environment, and commitment to improving public policy. The Foundation has established policy research centers in Russia, China, Europe, the Middle East, and the United States, forming a unique global network structure. For over a century, its mission has been to analyze and devise new policies while directly engaging with decision-makers in government, business, and society to advance the cause of peace. The Foundation's development has profoundly influenced U.S. international relations, while its operational mechanisms and developmental dynamics offer guiding significance for constructing new-type think tanks in China.

### 1.1 Developmental History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Like his contemporaries in the internationalist movement, American steel magnate Andrew Carnegie believed that strong international law and organizations could eliminate war. In 1910, he donated \$10 million from his personal fortune to establish the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, endowing it with the great mission to "hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot

upon our civilization.” Thus was born America’s first international affairs think tank.

On December 14, 1910, Carnegie invited leaders from political and business circles to form a Board of Trustees, granting members the broadest discretionary powers to determine what measures and policies the Foundation should adopt to promote world peace. Carnegie appointed his long-time advisor Elihu Root as the Foundation’s first president. Root was a New York Senator, former Secretary of War, and former Secretary of State who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1912. Founding board members included Harvard University President Charles Eliot, philanthropist Robert S. Brookings, former U.S. Ambassador to Britain Joseph Hodges Choate, former Secretary of State John Foster, and Henry Smith Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

#### **The First Fifty Years: 1910-1960**

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the Foundation initially focused on international arbitration. In December 1918, Foundation Secretary James Brown Scott traveled with President Woodrow Wilson aboard the USS George Washington to France for peace negotiations. In 1925, Nicholas Murray Butler succeeded Root as president. Butler had participated in the Kellogg-Briand Pact and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. In November 1944, the Foundation published Raphael Lemkin’s *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*, which first introduced the term “genocide.” In April 1945, James Shotwell, Director of the Foundation’s Economics and History Department, served as head of the semi-official advisory group to the U.S. delegation at the San Francisco Conference, participating in drafting the UN Charter. As head of the delegation, Shotwell urged the establishment of a UN Commission on Human Rights, which was subsequently created and continues to this day. In 1947, the Foundation headquarters moved to New York to be closer to the United Nations, with the Washington office becoming a branch. The Washington office was closed in 1949, and in 1950, the Board appointed historian and former State Department official Joseph Johnson as president.

#### **The Cold War Period: 1960-1990**

In 1963, the Foundation reorganized its international law program to address emerging international issues: the growing importance and influence of international organizations; the technological revolution promoting new weapons of war; the spread of communism; the increasing number of newly independent states; and new forms of economic activity posing challenges, including global cooperation and intergovernmental collaboration. This program eventually led to the creation of the New York Study Group focusing on the UN and the Geneva European Center’s International Organization Study Group. In 1970, Thomas Hughes became the sixth president. Hughes moved the Foundation headquarters back to Washington, D.C., and closed the European Center in Geneva. In spring 1978, the Foundation acquired ownership of *Foreign Policy* magazine, which was later purchased by *The Washington Post* in 2008. The

Foundation witnessed vigorous development in international affairs throughout the 1980s while cultivating and supporting numerous new forces, including the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Arms Control Association, the Stimson Center, the International Crisis Group, and the Migration Policy Institute.

#### **Post-Cold War: 1990-2000**

In 1991, Morton Abramowitz was appointed the seventh president. A former State Department official more focused on political situations, Abramowitz shifted the Foundation's research emphasis to post-Soviet Russia. Consequently, the Foundation established the Carnegie Moscow Center in 1994 as a forum for Russian scholars and commentators. In 1997, Jessica Mathews joined as the eighth president. Under her leadership, Carnegie's goal became to become the first multinational/global think tank. In 2000, Mathews announced the creation of the Migration Policy Institute led by Demetrios, the first independent think tank focusing on international migration issues.

#### **Global Think Tank: 2000-Present**

Since the 2007 release of *The Global Expansion*, the Foundation has strived to become the first global think tank. Mathews believed her goal was to bring world ideas into U.S. policy through the Carnegie Endowment and transmit these ideas to global audiences. During her presidency, the Foundation established the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut in 2006, Carnegie Europe in Brussels in 2007, and the Carnegie-Tsinghua Global Policy Center at Tsinghua University in 2010. Additionally, in cooperation with Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, the Foundation launched the Al-Farabi Carnegie Program on Central Asia in Kazakhstan in the second half of 2011. In February 2015, after 18 years as president, Mathews stepped down, and former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State William Burns was elected as the ninth president. In April 2016, Carnegie's sixth international center, Carnegie India, was established in New Delhi.

### **1.2.1 Establishing a Global Perspective**

Although today's international situation differs greatly from that which motivated Andrew Carnegie's actions, the challenges of maintaining global order and the threat of war remain as before. Throughout its 107-year history, the Foundation has continuously pursued Carnegie's noble goal of seeking solutions to reduce world conflict through independent, non-partisan, and policy-relevant research. As the world trends toward disorder, the Foundation aims to understand ongoing global developments while providing solutions to the most important international challenges.

Based on this objective, the Foundation is committed to establishing a global perspective: it operates six research centers worldwide and publishes in four major languages. The Foundation primarily emphasizes regional perspectives and policies to avoid viewing issues solely through the Washington, D.C. (U.S. government) lens. On the Iran nuclear issue in recent years, scholars from Beijing,

Brussels, the Gulf region, Moscow, Tel Aviv, and Washington have provided diverse perspectives and analyses. Since the 2014 Ukraine crisis, the Foundation has gathered expert viewpoints from Kyiv, Moscow, Washington, and Brussels to analyze the conflict's roots and propose diplomatic strategies for resolution. Regarding the unprecedented turmoil in the Arab world, the Foundation's scholars in the Middle East have profoundly analyzed the various factors causing revolution, reform, and repression. Faced with escalating tensions in the Asia-Pacific region, the Carnegie team has comprehensively analyzed competition in the South China Sea, the North Korean nuclear challenge, and China's political and economic rise.

### **1.2.2 Focusing on Impact and Quality**

The Foundation measures influence not merely through social media tools, media clicks, or online traffic, but rather emphasizes idea quality, resonance, and lifecycle. Its goal is to continuously focus on long-term trends and their impacts rather than documenting daily winners and losers in political maneuvering. The Foundation's six global policy centers establish research programs according to regional situation changes and practical needs, while conducting long-term tracking, scanning, and monitoring of program-related information. Additionally, local experts regularly publish high-quality reports on program progress.

### **1.2.3 Supporting Policy Decision-Making**

The Foundation employs various measures to share scholarly achievements and support policy decision-making. Some programs operate publicly through different media, while others function through private consultations and meetings. The Foundation successfully persuaded the world's nuclear power companies to implement relevant codes of conduct, thereby reducing risks of civilian nuclear projects being used for military purposes. Simultaneously, it collaborated with international experts to design firewalls to help governments distinguish between peaceful and non-peaceful uses of nuclear technology. In the Asia-Pacific region, the Foundation developed crisis management plans and proposed trust-building measures between the Pentagon and the People's Liberation Army.

## **2. Operational Mechanism of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace**

### **2.1 Management Structure**

The Foundation's governing body is the Board of Trustees, currently comprising 29 members drawn from distinguished individuals in politics, business, academia, and other fields. The Board's responsibility is to support the Foundation's various global programs and safeguard its independence. The current Board Chair is Harvey Fineberg, President of the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation. The executive body operates under a presidential responsibility system, with the president leading the management team.

The current president is William Burns, a former U.S. diplomat who served 33 years in the U.S. Foreign Service and retired in 2014. He is the second career diplomat in U.S. history to ultimately become Deputy Secretary of State.

Under this presidential responsibility system, the Foundation has established an efficient management team. Currently, there is one Executive Vice President and Secretary, plus seven Vice Presidents, each responsible for corresponding departments. These departments are primarily divided into Research, Communications and Strategy, and Administration. Specifically, the Research Department has established programs on Asia, Democracy and Rule of Law, Energy and Climate, Europe, Middle East, Nuclear Policy, Russia and Eurasia, and South Asia, with varying numbers of researchers in each program. Vice President Douglas Paal oversees the Asia Program; Vice President Thomas Carothers manages Democracy and Rule of Law, Energy and Climate, and Europe Programs; Vice President Marwan Muasher directs the Middle East Program; Vice President George Perkovich handles Nuclear Policy and South Asia Programs; and Vice President Andrew Weiss supervises the Russia and Eurasia Program. The Communications and Strategy Department is led by Vice President Tom Carver, while the Administration Department is managed by Executive Vice President and Secretary Paul Balaran. The Administration Department specifically includes Finance, Human Resources and Administration, Development, Communications, Information Technology, and Library divisions. These administrative departments provide support to the Research and Communications and Strategy departments.

## 2.2 Organizational Structure

The Foundation's organizational structure reflects its research priorities, and structural changes demonstrate the evolution of its research fields. At its founding, the Foundation established three departments with respective goals: studying the causes and consequences of war; promoting international understanding and cooperation; and assisting in developing international law and resolving international disputes. These departmental settings were highly unified with the Foundation's research domain—international affairs. As the international situation changed and new problems and challenges emerged domestically and abroad, the Foundation adjusted its layout according to new circumstances, gradually forming its current global development model.

In 2006, the Foundation formulated a revolutionary plan—to build the first global think tank. Since then, it has transformed from a century-old American institution into a global think tank fully prepared to address global challenges. Today, the Foundation has established research centers in Washington, Beijing, Beirut, Brussels, Moscow, and New Delhi. This global network is supervised by the Foundation's International Board of Trustees, while its research activities are overseen by the Foundation's Global Management Group.

The Foundation's six global research centers are specifically: Washington head-

quarters, the Carnegie-Tsinghua Global Policy Center in Beijing, the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut, Carnegie Europe in Brussels, the Carnegie Moscow Center, and Carnegie India in New Delhi. Each center is directed by a director. These centers each have their own thematic focuses and publications, but regarding program participation, some centers have their own research programs and projects while others primarily participate in headquarters programs. The Foundation's Research Department collaborates with the six global centers on specific programs, while programs or projects affiliated with each center cooperate with experts distributed across global centers according to specific content and needs. In summary, there is no absolute hierarchical relationship between the Foundation's Research Department and research centers; cooperation is primary, and each center's programs or projects change annually according to regional situation changes and different hot topics.

Driven by this global development model, the Foundation has over 100 experts in more than 20 countries. Each center's experts are local and write in local languages. The Foundation employs various measures to ensure maximum independence and freedom for experts worldwide when conducting research. Additionally, center experts work closely with global colleagues to deeply understand environments affecting global policy choices and provide new approaches to solving policy problems.

**2.2.1 Washington Headquarters** The Foundation's headquarters is located in downtown Washington, adjacent to the White House, Capitol Hill, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund headquarters, and only a wall away from the Brookings Institution, another renowned American think tank. Its research covers regions including the Americas, Southeast Asia, the Caucasus, Russia, North Africa, Central Asia, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, and South Asia. Thematic focuses include: Climate and Energy (subdivided into climate change, energy policy, energy and transportation); Democracy and Governance (with emphasis on rule of law); Nuclear Weapons; Defense and Security (subdivided into military affairs, peace and reconciliation, terrorism); Economics (subdivided into economic instability, emerging economies, global trade); Political Reform; Foreign Policy; Society and Culture (subdivided into Arab awakening, civil society, religion); Global Governance; and Technology (with focus on cyber issues).

Based on these themes, headquarters has created eight programs overseen by seven Vice Presidents. Additionally, the Foundation's 2015 Annual Report added the "U.S. Role in the World" program, directed by Visiting Scholar David Rothkopf. These nine programs are summarized below:

The summary of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace programs

Under these nine programs, the Foundation's Washington headquarters has created 16 research projects based on domestic and international situation changes in recent years, as follows:

The summary of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace projects

**2.2.2 Beijing–Carnegie-Tsinghua Global Policy Center** The Carnegie-Tsinghua Global Policy Center engages leading policy experts and practitioners from China and around the world in collaborative dialogue and research. Leveraging Tsinghua University’s platform, the Center aims to propose constructive solutions to global challenges. The Center has an Advisory Committee composed of elites from Chinese political, business, and academic circles who provide advice and support to the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center.

The Carnegie-Tsinghua Center is also part of the Carnegie Endowment’s Asia Program, which provides policymakers with clear and accurate analysis on complex economic, security, and political developments in the Asia-Pacific region. The Center also collaborates with other Carnegie centers to host various exchange activities including conferences, roundtable discussions, and small seminars, providing timely and in-depth analysis on current hot topics. The Center’s thematic focuses include international economics and trade, energy and environmental change, non-proliferation and arms control, North Korean security threats, Iran, South Asia, and the Middle East. Based on these themes, the Center has created eight research projects: China’s New Diplomacy, China and South Asia, China and Developing Countries, China, Arms Control and Strategic Stability, China-EU Relations, China-NATO Dialogue Series, Energy and Climate Change, Global Business and Economy, Implications of China’s Rise, and U.S.-China Relations.

**2.2.3 Beirut–Carnegie Middle East Center** The Carnegie Middle East Center is an independent policy research center based in Beirut, Lebanon, and part of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The Center provides in-depth analysis on political, socio-economic, and security issues facing the Middle East and North Africa. Additionally, it recruits top regional experts and collaborates with centers in Beijing, Brussels, Moscow, New Delhi, and Washington to provide new insights and perspectives that lead to deeper regional understanding and new approaches to challenges facing transitional states, thereby influencing policymakers and key stakeholders. The Center has an Advisory Committee composed of outstanding domestic and international leaders from Middle Eastern political, business, expert, and civil society sectors who provide advice and support. The Center covers countries and regions including Egypt, the Gulf region, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Maghreb, and non-Arab states (Iran, Israel, Turkey). Its thematic focuses include education reform, Middle Eastern economics, Middle Eastern politics (Arab politics, Iranian politics, Turkish politics), and security sector.

**2.2.4 Brussels–Carnegie Europe** Established in 2007, Carnegie Europe has become a reliable source for European foreign policy analysis in Brussels, covering topics including Turkey, the Middle East, Eastern neighbors, security, and defense. Carnegie Europe comprises a strong team of scholars who

provide uniquely in-depth analysis and comprehensive, rigorous policy recommendations on strategic issues facing the EU and its member states. The Center covers countries and regions including the United States, Asia, Europe (Belarus, France, Germany, Moldova, Poland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom), Russia and the Caucasus, and the Middle East and North Africa. Its thematic focuses include EU politics (EU integration, economy and trade, energy, migration), Europe's Eastern neighbors, European foreign policy, European security and defense (cybersecurity, transatlantic security), Europe's Southern neighbors, and Turkey's reform.

**2.2.5 Moscow—Carnegie Moscow Center** For over two decades, the Carnegie Moscow Center has been a primary venue for analyzing Russia and former Soviet states, publishing research in Russian and English. The Center's thematic focuses include Asia-Pacific security, corruption, economic crisis, energy security, the Iran nuclear issue, the Korean conundrum, the Middle East and Central Asia, the new Cold War, the new Eastern Europe, Putin's governance philosophy, Russian ideology, the struggle for Ukraine, war and peace in the Caucasus, and the Yukos affair. Based on these themes, the Center has created seven projects: Economic Policy, Foreign and Security Policy, Non-Proliferation, Religion, Society and Security, Russia in the Asia-Pacific, Russian Domestic Politics and Political Institutions, and Society and Regions. The Center's scholars have diverse disciplinary backgrounds, combining unique local and regional expertise with a global perspective to provide in-depth, well-founded, non-partisan analysis on a wide range of regional and global challenges.

**2.2.6 New Delhi—Carnegie India** Carnegie India conducts high-quality public policy research on national, regional, and global key issues. Established in New Delhi in April 2016, Carnegie India—like Carnegie's centers in Beijing, Beirut, Brussels, Moscow, and Washington—employs entirely local experts who collaborate extensively with colleagues worldwide. The Center's research and program priorities include political economy reform, foreign and security policy, and the role of innovation and technology in India's internal transformation and international relations. It covers countries and regions including Asia, South Asia (Afghanistan, India, Pakistan), and the United States. Thematic focuses include domestic politics, economics, foreign policy, and technology. Additionally, the Center emphasizes cultivating young leaders and future Indian scholars.

### 3. Developmental Dynamics of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

With a century-long history, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's latest developmental dynamics merit attention. Based on financial data from the Foundation's 2015 Annual Report, we can understand its 2015 fiscal revenue

sources and analyze the economic foundation supporting its normal operation. According to data provided in the *2014 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report* and *2015 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report*, we can objectively present the Foundation's developmental stance and research priorities over the past two years.

### 3.1 Financial Status

Financial status reflects an organization's revenue structure, which further reveals its main funding sources. The proportion of various funding sources determines the institution's nature and stability. Specifically, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's fiscal revenue from June 30, 2014, to June 30, 2015, is shown below:

[Figure 1: see original paper] The operating revenue and other support of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2014.6.30-2015.6.30)

Analysis of Figure 1 reveals that the Foundation's fiscal revenue demonstrates diversified characteristics, with investment income accounting for 47% of total revenue, donations comprising 43%, and the remaining 10% consisting of rental income, program income, conference center leasing income, and other sources. This well-balanced diversified revenue structure provides a solid economic foundation and reliable material guarantee for the Foundation's operations.

[Figure 2: see original paper] The operating expenses of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2014.6.30-2015.6.30)

Figure 2 shows that the Foundation's fiscal expenses are also diversified, with salary expenses accounting for 43% of total expenditures and salary taxes and employee benefits comprising 14%. In other words, employee benefit-related expenses exceed half of total expenditures, demonstrating the Foundation's emphasis on its staff. Comparatively comprehensive welfare benefits enable employees, especially researchers, to focus more on research, thereby improving work efficiency and promoting research outcomes.

### 3.2 Global Think Tank Rankings

Based on two global think tank reports, we can introduce the Foundation's 2015 research priorities and developmental stance through the most intuitive ranking data.

The ranking of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 2015 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report

Table 3 shows that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's rankings in global top think tanks and U.S. top think tanks remained unchanged in 2014 and 2015. However, in rankings by research field, the Foundation experienced varying degrees of decline in top think tanks for defense and national security, international development, and international economic policy. Regarding top

think tanks with special achievements, the Foundation made significant progress in institutional collaboration in 2015, ranking fifth among best think tanks with two or more institutional partnerships, whereas it was not ranked in 2014. The Foundation also emphasized interdisciplinary research in 2015, ranking 41st among best interdisciplinary research think tanks after being unranked in 2014. The Foundation showed significant improvement in best managed think tank rankings and best policy study/report think tank rankings in 2015. In two newly added categories—best independent think tank and best think tank with outstanding quality assurance, integrity policies, and procedures—the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was listed, demonstrating to some extent the Foundation’ s independence while reflecting its high-quality research outcomes and relatively complete integrity policies and work procedures.

The number of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace’ s top first and top three cases in 2015 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report

Table 4 further illustrates that while the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace appears frequently in top think tank rankings by research field, it ranked in the top three only once, indicating the need to enhance comprehensive research capabilities. In top think tank rankings for special achievements, the Foundation appears frequently with a relatively significant increase in top-three rankings compared to research field rankings, demonstrating the Foundation’ s greater focus on special areas such as public policy and diplomatic relations.

Looking back at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace’ s century-long history, we observe how a think tank evolved from a traditional American institution into a global think tank. Throughout its hundred-year development, the Foundation has not adhered to convention but has continuously adapted to changing times while remaining true to its original aspiration. It has consistently focused on cutting-edge trends in U.S. and international affairs, timely adjusted research priorities and programs, continuously recruited global experts from various fields, and influenced policy formulation in the United States and other countries and regions with objective, neutral, in-depth research outcomes and profound perspectives, thereby advancing the cause of world peace. This fully embodies the Foundation’ s spirit of the times—keeping pace with progress and continuously innovating. Additionally, the Foundation has established a sound management architecture and complete organizational structure, which constitute crucial guarantees for think tank construction and operation. The Foundation’ s developmental process demonstrates that think tank construction is not accomplished overnight but is a long-term project. While learning from foreign think tank experiences and lessons, we must integrate them with China’ s national conditions to construct new-type think tanks with Chinese characteristics, which will require greater wisdom and reflection.

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*Note: Figure translations are in progress. See original paper for figures.*

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