

Hudson Institute



Annual
Report
2018



“Hudson Institute understands something that’s very important: American leadership is indispensable to the advancement of freedom.”

— Nikki Haley
U.S. Ambassador
to the United Nations



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Hudson Institute

2018

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Message from the Chairman and the President and CEO

2018 was a remarkable year for Hudson Institute: a time of unprecedented growth in research output, policy impact, and demand for our unique and innovative solutions to national security threats and global policy challenges.

Leaders in Washington and around the world looked to Hudson and its experts for real-time, practical guidance on a wide range of pressing policy areas, from security strategy and the future of alliances, to trade and technology policy, to defending international religious freedom and confronting the opioid crisis.

Our work on Asia, and especially China's aggressive efforts to gain political and strategic concessions abroad, helped shape strategy in Washington and foreign capitals, including Tokyo, New Delhi, and Canberra. Vice President Mike Pence chose Hudson to deliver his historic speech on China policy.

Hudson remained a leading voice on the challenges posed by revisionist powers like Russia and Iran—and a source of new ideas to resist their aggression. To meet the challenge posed by Iran, we worked on enhancing relations with key U.S. allies in the Middle East, first and foremost Israel.

We played a central role promoting and extending the scope of missile defense—especially aircraft-based missile defense—to meet the threat posed by North Korea.

Hudson experts were critical voices interpreting the turmoil roiling much of Europe, and have become key interlocutors with policymakers in Germany, France, the U.K., Poland, the Baltic nations, and Brussels.

Remaining true to the roots of Hudson, our work is focused at the intersection of technology, strategy, and policy: strengthening the U.S. nuclear posture; protecting intellectual property and critical technologies; and ensuring American leadership in the development of 5G capabilities, cyber defenses, and quantum computing.

We place special emphasis on training and mentoring next-generation leaders. Hudson Institute Political Studies educates students to think independently through a curriculum of political philosophy, strategy, and policy. Our internship program gives students the opportunity to work closely with our experts. And our Capitol Hill issue forums bring new perspectives to congressional staffers on key issues.

At our annual dinner, we honored both Speaker Paul Ryan and Ambassador Nikki Haley. And we inaugurated two named chairs: the Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Chair in Strategy and Statesmanship, held by Walter Russell Mead, and the Asia-Pacific Security Chair, held by Patrick M. Cronin.

Your support has been critical to all that we have achieved in 2018. We look forward to building on our policy impact in 2019. Many thanks for your continued friendship and commitment to Hudson Institute.

Best regards,



SARAH MAY STERN
Chairman of the Board



KENNETH R. WEINSTEIN
President and CEO



Research and Impact

SINCE ITS FOUNDING IN 1961, HUDSON INSTITUTE

has conducted independent, forward-looking policy research on the key issues and trends affecting American national security and global affairs.

Today, in the age of “the return of geopolitics,” Hudson builds on that tradition through its renowned team of experts who conduct interdisciplinary studies in defense, international relations, economics, technology, culture, and law—with a focus on guiding American and international policy and opinion leaders on policy options to advance security, prosperity, and freedom in the 21st century.

New to Hudson Institute

In 2018, Hudson grew its distinguished policy and leadership team. Hudson welcomed new senior fellows **Bruce Jackson**, **Bill Rhodes**, and **Nadia Schadlow**. Jackson's work focuses on democracy in the post-Soviet world, NATO, and the energy security of Europe. Rhodes, retired senior vice chairman and senior international officer of Citigroup and Citibank, is an expert on global finance, economic diplomacy, and the financial impact of foreign policy. Former U.S. Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategy Nadia Schadlow is leading project work on crafting and operationalizing foreign policy in an increasingly complex and dangerous world. Hudson also welcomed Vice President of Public Affairs **Ann Marie Hauser**, who joined Hudson from the Senate Republican Conference where she was deputy staff director. Finally, **Patrick M. Cronin** joined Hudson in December as Asia-Pacific Security Chair.

“The post-war world order built and defended by the United States and its allies is crumbling. World order no longer conforms to traditional sources or uses of American power. Power goes to those who can adapt quickly and actually get things done.”

—Nadia Schadlow
November 16, 2018



Patrick M. Cronin
ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY
CHAIR

Former Senior Advisor and Senior Director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security



Ann Marie Hauser
VICE PRESIDENT
OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Former Deputy Staff Director of the Senate Republican Conference



Bruce Jackson
SENIOR FELLOW

Former President of the U.S. Committee on NATO, and Founder and former President of the Project on Transitional Democracies



Bill Rhodes
SENIOR FELLOW

Former Senior Vice Chairman and Senior International Officer, Citigroup and Citibank



Nadia Schadlow
SENIOR FELLOW

Former Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategy

Countering an Aggressive China

U.S.-China relations dominated headlines in 2018, with the Trump administration overhauling American policy to meet China's challenge in areas including trade, defense, cybersecurity, innovation, and space. Hudson research and analysis have focused attention on a rising China and the implications for world order and American leadership in the 21st century—work that was in high demand this year.

■ **Michael Pillsbury's book, *The Hundred Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower*, laid the strategic groundwork for a dramatic policy change on China.** Pillsbury, called “the leading authority on China” by President Trump, took to the broadcast and cable television networks to analyze in real time the sweeping changes underway in U.S.-China relations. He advised the Trump administration in closed-door sessions on strategies for trade and defense negotiations. And he convened panels of experts to discuss the history of U.S.-China relations and how that history can inform solutions to our present-day crisis.

■ **The policy rethink on China culminated in a landmark speech delivered by Vice President Mike Pence at Hudson Institute in October.** Vice President Pence, building on the work of Hudson experts, detailed the Chinese Communist Party's goals in a new era of great power competition, marking a rupture from the delusion of past U.S. China policy that sought to guide China's “peaceful rise” and treat it as a responsible global partner.

■ **Critical research analyzed the challenge of Chinese mercantilism to the free trade-oriented world trading system.** Thomas J. Duesterberg authored a new report, *Chinese Economic and Trade Challenges to the West*, which outlined strategies for the U.S.,



At right, Vice President Mike Pence delivered a major speech on U.S. China policy at Hudson Institute on October 4, 2018. Above, Senior Fellow and Director for Chinese Strategy Michael Pillsbury, right.

“As President Trump has made clear, we want a constructive relationship with Beijing, where our prosperity and security grow together, not apart. While Beijing has been moving further away from this vision, China's rulers can still change course, and return to the spirit of ‘reform and opening’ and greater freedom. The American people want nothing more; the Chinese people deserve nothing less.”

—Vice President Mike Pence
October 4, 2018





Senior Fellows Husain Haqqani, Arthur Herman, and Michael Pillsbury discuss U.S.-China trade relations with a delegation from a Chinese think tank on September 26, 2018.

Germany, Japan, and their allies to promote cooperation and counter China's well-funded, top-down, multifaceted program to surpass the U.S. and its allies in the development of key technologies. He also brought these arguments to the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*, outlining a possible trade deal for America and China, involving Chinese purchases of U.S. goods; reduction in Chinese tariffs on products like American autos; adjudication of Chinese intellectual-property violations, technology transfers and subsidization through the normal World Trade Organization (WTO) process; and acceleration of WTO reforms to bring new issues under its jurisdiction.

■ **Hudson drew urgent policy attention to the Chinese Communist Party's intensifying repression of the Uighurs and others in the Xinjiang region.** As many as one million and probably hundreds of thousands more Uighurs have been detained in "political re-education" camps, while the Chinese Communist Party has been busy perfecting

the world's most technologically advanced surveillance state. Xinjiang has become the most heavily garrisoned part of China and an Orwellian nightmare for the people who live there. Throughout the year, **Eric Brown** convened human rights leaders, regional experts, and China strategists to discuss recent developments in Xinjiang, where the crisis there may be headed, and what liberal societies and others of good conscience must do to challenge the Communist Party over its egregious policies and actions.

■ **A new report examined China's foreign interference operations and detailed how the U.S. and its allies should respond.**

Jonas Parello-Plesner outlined how the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) co-opts Chinese diaspora communities and builds relationships with Western enablers to serve CCP interests—most on display in Australia and New Zealand. He recommended U.S. authorities "map" the full spectrum of CCP interference to bring transparency to malign behavior, and document in a publicly available annual intelligence report known interference and influence operations. And he called on news media, colleges and universities, think tanks, and other private stakeholders to collaborate on best practices to thwart Chinese behaviors intended to undermine American democracy and security.

■ **Hudson experts exposed China's increased efforts at soft and hard power projection.** In *Politico*, **Bruno Maçães** explored a dangerous land dispute between China and India over the Doklam plateau—with the potential for increased hostilities. In the *American Interest*, **John Lee** examined the "Trojan Port" strategy of China's "Belt and Road Initiative," with state-backed Chinese investors owning



Former Radio Free Asia Uighur Service reporter Rushan Abbas, right, speaks at a Hudson event on China's repression in the Xinjiang region. Abbas's sister and aunt were deported to "re-education" camps after Abbas spoke at Hudson in September.

"at least 10 percent of all equity in ports in Europe; deals inked in Greece, Spain, Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium; and investments in an additional 40 ports around the world." In *National Review*, **Seth Cropsey** detailed Chinese aggressions in the South and East China Seas—and how these encroachments demonstrate that China is laying the groundwork for a long-term confrontation in Asia. And in the *Wall Street Journal*, **Walter Russell Mead** explained that the internal dynamics of China's economic system are forcing its rulers to choose between putting China through a wrenching and destabilizing economic adjustment, or pursuing an expansionist development policy that will lead to conflict and isolation abroad.

"These days, we hear very little about the number 'one million.' One million is more than the entire population of Washington, D.C., and it's the number of innocent Uighur people who have been forced into Chinese internment camps."

—Rushan Abbas
September 4, 2018

Promoting a Free and Open Indo-Pacific

Hudson experts have for decades envisaged a robust and vibrant community of American allies in the Indo-Pacific to promote security, prosperity, and freedom. In 2018, with China actively challenging the American-led order in the region and North Korea's nuclear threat looming, Hudson undertook research and engaged policymakers on opportunities to strengthen U.S. ties with allies.

■ **Hudson deepened its decades-long partnership with Japan, advancing still greater economic and security integration between the two countries.** Four new Hudson reports examined opportunities for the U.S. and Japan to work together more closely. In *U.S.-Japan Cooperation on Strategic Island Defense*, **Seth Cropsey** and **Jun Isomura** outlined how the two countries can better protect Japan's southwest island chain, which China views as a geostrategic impediment to Pacific Ocean expansion and power projection. In *The U.S.-Japan Alliance*, the same authors detailed how improved defense technology cooperation would fill niche gaps in U.S. defense supply chains and in U.S. capabilities, and further would allow American and Japanese defense contractors to collaborate on defense projects to the benefit of both countries. In *Breaking the Defense Barrier*, **Arthur Herman** made the case for a Defense Trade Cooperation Treaty to exempt trade in certain specified defense and defense-related articles from the arms export regulations of both nations. And in *Closing the Defense Industrial Security Gap with Japan*, Herman detailed concrete steps for the government of Japan to improve its industrial security and work more closely with the United States.

■ **Hudson made the case that Japan should be a top trade priority for the United States.** **Thomas J. Duesterberg** explained why solid trade relations with Japan—and also the European Union and United Kingdom—are crucial to achieving some semblance of unity in meeting the Chinese mercantilist challenge. Duesterberg explained that Japan should be a priority for the U.S. this year because Japan has published an official set of negotiating objectives; remained comfortable with U.S. leadership for many decades in both economic and political matters; and worked diligently with the U.S. and EU to modify the operations and rules of the WTO, which China flouts.

■ **Hudson convened high-level government and private sector leaders from the U.S., India, and Japan for a trilateral dialogue in Tokyo.** Deliberations included key areas of

“The purpose of this century is to create the liberal world order on a global scale.”

—Nobukatsu Kanehara
February 19, 2019



Japanese Deputy Secretary General of National Security Secretariat and Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary Japan Nobukatsu Kanehara delivers remarks at a Hudson event on protecting a free and open Indo-Pacific on February 19, 2019.

cooperation, including sustaining democratic leadership in science and technology; maintaining the Asian peace through trilateral defense and strategic cooperation; strengthening the free and open order by leveraging connectivity, development and governance in the Indo-Pacific; and how business and government can work together to face the Chinese challenge.

■ **A major Hudson initiative on the future of India is exploring the key opportunities for strategic cooperation with the United States.** Led by **Eric Brown**, the initiative is assessing the geopolitical dynamics that are

demanding a robust bilateral partnership, as well as the obstacles and sensitivities in America and India that have prevented this, and developing a framework for deepening cooperation in defense, business, education, and technology. Throughout the year, in articles, events, and long-form publications, Brown, **Husain Haqqani**, **Aparna Pande**, and **Satoru Nagao** explored the possibilities of this strategic alliance and, in particular, the perspective of Tokyo in contrast with that of Delhi, the question of American economic and political investments to counter China's Belt and Road Initiative, and the role of Australia as a potential partner.

Strengthening the Transatlantic Relationship

As political turmoil roiled much of Europe—from Brexit negotiations, to the gilets jaunes protests in France, to Russia’s continued prosecution of its war in Ukraine—Hudson cemented our leadership on the crucial transatlantic relationship between the United States and our European allies, providing guidance on key issues and current trends, including the rise of populism, the future of NATO, and the challenge of Russian and Chinese influence in Europe.

■ A new Hudson report explored ways to strengthen the transatlantic alliance in light of forces pushing the United States and Europe apart. Craig Kennedy, Benjamin Haddad, and Hannah Thoburn published *After the West? A Positive Transatlantic Agenda*

in a *Post-Atlantic Age*. In it, they detailed the weak—even fragile—transatlantic relationship and competing world outlooks that make it difficult for the United States and Europe to work together on key issues, including defense spending, the use of military force,



German Ambassador to the United States Emily Haber in conversation with Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Fellow Walter Russell Mead on November 7, 2018.



French Ambassador to the United States Gérard Araud at Hudson Institute on October 29, 2018.

“We, Europeans, consider that multilateral institutions and international law are a way of civilizing power politics...hiding under a cloak of decency the reality of the balance of power but also creating frames for negotiating.”

—Gérard Araud
October 29, 2018

the role of multilateral institutions, and what to do about China. The authors explain why, despite these forces, a strong, coherent Europe is good for American interests: because European countries, through NATO, represent the world’s largest bloc of close American allies—allies that need American leadership to support them in times of turbulence, to meet shared security threats, and to maintain the deep trade and investment relationship that supports millions of jobs on both continents.

■ **Hudson proposed concrete ways to improve U.S.-German relations.** In Washington, Berlin, Vienna, and Bern, **Peter Rough** briefed high-ranking government officials and Members of Parliament on issues ranging from the strategic outlook of the Trump administration to the Iran deal to Nord Stream 2. And in a paper for

the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, he recommended Germany expand rapidly its investments in defense and consider replacing its aging Tornado fighter jets with the American made F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, as a means of overcoming trade



In July, Hudson Institute and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung hosted a dinner for Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, who later became leader of Germany’s Christian Democratic Union.



Polish Secretary of State Anna Maria Anders discusses the strategic importance of Eastern Europe at Hudson on June 26, 2018.

deficits and disputes. **Thomas J. Duesterberg** proposed opportunities to counter China from a distinctly U.S.-German perspective, arguing for a multilateral approach to WTO reform; coordination between Germany and the United States on strengthened foreign investment screening rules in Europe; and working through NATO to strengthen cyber security practices.

■ **A key Hudson report defined a framework for a coherent NATO cyber strategy to forge a stronger platform for cyber cooperation and defense.** In an era of unprecedented state-sponsored cyberattacks targeting critical

infrastructure and democratic institutions, the need to bolster cyber defense capabilities is clear. **Sorin Ducaru** called for American leadership to promote NATO's cyber agenda around concrete steps to strengthen the alliance's cyber posture, including accelerating the implementation of a cyber operational-domain roadmap; improving situational awareness within NATO through a joint cyber situational awareness and attribution platform; and making better use of NATO as a political platform in cyber-related crisis situations, for consultation, strategic communications, decisions on joint response, and collective defense and deterrence.

■ **In collaboration with the Henry Jackson Society, Hudson led a bipartisan delegation of members of the U.S. House of Representatives to the United Kingdom to advance the “special relationship” and discuss major challenges facing the alliance.**

The group met with a cross-party delegation of members of Parliament, as well as high level Government and Shadow Cabinet officials, to discuss key ramifications of Brexit for the U.S.-U.K. alliance, major defense and security concerns, and strengthening economic ties after Britain leaves the European Union.

■ **Hudson led a bipartisan delegation of congressional staffers to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to strengthen U.S.-Baltic ties.**

During the week-long trip, the group met with key government, military, civil society, and NATO officials to discuss the ongoing threat posed by Russia to the region, the important roles NATO and the United States play in

Baltic security, as well as major economic and political concerns of the three nations.

■ **Hudson’s *Ambassadors Series* garnered significant attention through detailed policy discussions on the evolving relationships between the United States and its European allies. Walter Russell Mead** was joined in conversation by the current Ambassadors to the United States of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. French Ambassador Gérard Araud of France discussed the use of multilateral institutions to “civilize” power politics. German Ambassador Emily Haber emphasized the need for sovereign decision-making capacities, pointing to the frustrations of voters on both continents when political decisions are seemingly out of their hands. And British Ambassador Kim Darroch explained Prime Minister Theresa May’s strategy on Brexit negotiations with the EU.

“All of these tactics seek to achieve President Putin’s wider ambition of destabilizing the West, dismantling the NATO alliance, and exacerbating fear and discord in the democratic world. The United States knows that bad guys don’t stay in their corner.”

—Anders Fogh Rasmussen
November 30, 2018

Former Danish Prime Minister and former Secretary General of NATO Anders Fogh Rasmussen speaks at a Hudson event about sanctions on Russia.



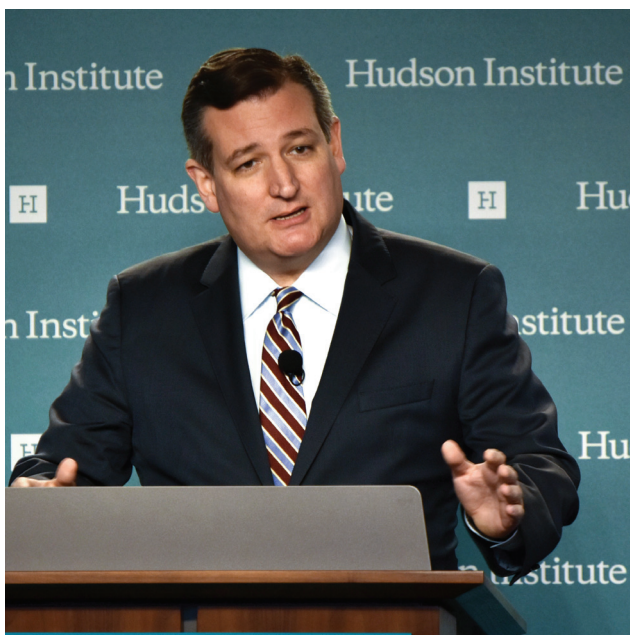
Bolstering U.S. Defense Capabilities

Working closely with key government officials from the Hill, the executive branch, and the Armed Forces, as well as with leaders from private industry, Hudson experts advanced critical ideas for defense modernization to meet a challenging and evolving threat landscape.

■ **A major Hudson initiative is examining the Department of Defense's next generation Joint Enterprise Defense Infrastructure (JEDI) cloud computing procurement process.** Hudson's Task Force on Federal IT Procurement, led by **William Schneider, Jr.**, is appraising lessons learned from DoD's initiative to accelerate movement to the cloud, and how the U.S. government can strengthen data security and access to innovation with future cloud service contracts. Schneider and his team convened industry and government leaders on the topic during the year at multiple public panel discussions, and made

their arguments in leading publications and through a new report, *Single Award or Multi-Cloud?: Public Policy and Department of Defense Cloud Computing*.

■ **Hudson's Center for American Seapower called for maintaining America's strategic maritime advantage against a rapidly expanding Chinese navy.** **Seth Cropsey** argued in the *Wall Street Journal* that without increased funding, America's fleet "will be smaller in three decades than it is today, and China's navy could surpass it by 2030." Throughout the year, the Center examined key areas of naval policy: maritime strategy in an era of great power competition, expeditionary warfare, and defense cooperation with key allies like Japan and Taiwan, with an eye toward securing an American navy flexible enough to respond to new threats and large enough to defend vital U.S. interests.



Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX) speaks at a Hudson event on North Korea's nuclear missile program on January 24, 2018.

“It was the sober realism of institutes like Hudson that eventually paved the road for Ronald Reagan’s strategic vision of transcending nuclear weapons with missile defenses.”

—Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX)
January 24, 2018



Above, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats addresses cybersecurity and Russia at a Hudson event on July 13, 2018. At left, Gen. James T. Conway, USMC (Ret.) discusses U.S.-Japanese defense cooperation in the East China Sea on September 21, 2018.

■ **Hudson experts advanced critical ideas to fortify U.S. national security through missile defense systems.** To defend against a North Korean ICBM, **Arthur Herman** made the case for remotely piloted high-altitude drones to target missiles early in flight while missile booster engines are firing. **Rebecca Heinrichs** explored space-based requirements, including sensors to provide persistent birth-to-death missile tracking, and interceptors to destroy missiles early in their trajectory. And in dialogues with Russian and Chinese policymakers, **Richard Weitz** argued that U.S. missile defense systems prevent nuclear missile proliferation.

■ **The Quantum Alliance Initiative is bringing together policymakers, experts, and industry leaders to advance U.S. leadership in quantum computing technology.** **Arthur Herman** leads Hudson's efforts to develop and champion policies which serve to secure the critical information and infrastructure of both the U.S. and its allies before the advent of a quantum computer powerful enough to hack into widespread encryption systems. The Initiative's 2018 work included a look at how "Five Eyes" intelligence framework cooperation can advance quantum policy in America, Canada's successful high-tech ecosystem called "Quantum Valley," and the role of intellectual property rights in securing American leadership in quantum technology.

■ **Hudson is building an enduring foundation for inclusive U.S. global leadership regarding nuclear security.**

Through Hudson's Sustaining Bipartisan U.S. Leadership Against Nuclear Terrorism project, **Richard Weitz** worked to expand the domestic political consensus on both sides of the aisle on U.S. policies designed to counter nuclear terrorism, especially by strengthening fissile materials security. Weitz pursued several reinforcing lines of effort to promote nuclear security: targeted legislative and executive branch outreach and training; public events to share insights and perspectives; cultivating and promoting developing scholars who will contribute to next-generation nuclear security leadership; and targeted written and social media publications to highlight insights and recommendations derived from these activities.

■ **Hudson gathered U.S. and international policymakers with industry leaders to address the security concerns of a rapidly**

expanding cyber-threat landscape. **Sorin Ducaru's** research and outreach prioritized bridging the tech-policy knowledge gap and developing sustainable international policy frameworks to confront an evolving cybersecurity environment. Ahead of the July NATO Summit in Brussels, Hudson hosted Admiral Manfred Nielson, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander of Transformation at NATO, in conversation with Ducaru to discuss NATO's efforts to adapt to a new security environment characterized by disruptive technologies and hybrid warfare tactics.

■ **Seth Cropsey and Douglas J. Feith argued that the U.S. military faces a crisis of imagination.** In the *Wall Street Journal*, Cropsey and Feith highlighted findings of the bipartisan National Defense Strategy Commission, whose report, published in



Senior Fellow Rebecca Heinrichs speaks at a Hudson event on missile defense on February 6, 2019.

William Schneider, Jr. Receives Lifetime Achievement Award from Pentagon

In November, **William Schneider, Jr.** received the U.S. Department of Defense's Eugene G. Fubini Award for outstanding contributions to the Department in an advisory capacity. Schneider first joined Hudson Institute fifty years ago in August 1968, as a young economist working with Hudson's founder Herman Kahn. He went on to pursue an illustrious career in government service: as lead defense policy staffer for Sen. James Buckley (NY); as Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget; and as

Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology in the Reagan Administration. While at Hudson, Schneider has chaired the Defense Science Board and the Department of State's Defense Trade Advisory Group, earning the praise and respect of Secretaries of Defense under both Democratic and Republican

administrations. Schneider's critical work at Hudson on the intersection of policy, strategy and technology continues today.



William Schneider, Jr. stands as then-Deputy Secretary of Defense Pat Shanahan presents the Eugene G. Fubini Award on November 8, 2018.

November, concluded that the U.S. is now in a “crisis of national security” because U.S. defenses are weakening due to insufficient funding as the power of America’s enemies is growing. The authors noted that Americans seem generally complacent about the dominance of their armed forces and called on Congress and the White House to support the appropriations and reforms needed to remedy our defense deficiencies.

Former Navy Secretary John Lehman discusses maritime strategy in the Cold War and its implications for policymaking today on September 27, 2018.



Securing American Interests in the Middle East and South Asia

The security environment in the broader Middle East and South Asia remained tenuous in 2018, as the battleground between a rising Russian-Iranian alliance and the old American order continued to take shape. Amid myriad challenges, Hudson remained a leading voice for developing policies to advance American interests, counter Iranian aggression, fight ISIS, protect religious minorities, and strengthen relations with Israel.



Senior Fellow and Director of Hudson's Center for Religious Freedom Nina Shea in conversation with Adjunct Fellow Lela Gilbert.

■ **After President Trump pulled out of the Iran deal, Hudson experts advised what to do next.** Before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, **Michael Doran** testified on how the United States might, in broad strategic terms, rebound and reverse the trend of Iranian advances, in light of most American leaders'—and the general public's—deep aversion to open-ended

military commitments in the Middle East. In particular, Doran proposed a “two-speed strategy” in the United States' competition with Iran, recommending the U.S. behave in an aggressive and uncompromising manner in some areas, such as Syria and Yemen, where the U.S. enjoys a freer hand, and a lighter touch in countries such as Lebanon and Iraq, where conditions are less conducive to unfettered competition.

■ **A major event at Hudson with U.S. Special Envoy to Iran Brian Hook addressed Iran's missile program and broader national security threats.** In conversation with **Rebecca Heinrichs**, Hook outlined the Trump administration's use of the full scope of sanctions authorities to inflict real costs on Iran's ballistic missile program; working multilaterally to constrain Iran's missile program and bring allies and partners onboard the U.S. campaign; and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's commitment to exposing the regime's brutality and standing with the Iranian people.

■ **A joint Hudson Institute-University of Haifa workshop exposed plans for a Chinese company to begin operating the Port of Haifa container terminal in 2021.** **Douglas J. Feith** and his colleagues stressed potential



Above, Israeli Ambassador to the United States Ron Dermer addresses the future of the Iran deal at a Hudson event on May 10, 2018. Below, Senior Fellow Michael Doran, center, speaks at a Hudson event on the War on Terror on September 10, 2018.



difficulties in U.S.-Israeli naval cooperation in Haifa and reconsideration of Israel's security risks. The workshop led to numerous newspaper, television, and radio reports that looked critically at China's role in Haifa Port. The study principals plan to issue a written report in 2019 that will highlight maritime strategic challenges throughout the region and ways that Israel and the United States can cooperate to address them.

■ **Michael Doran recommended the U.S. change its policy to recognize Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights.** Before the U.S. House Oversight Committee's Subcommittee on National Security, **Doran** outlined how the history of the Golan Heights is incontrovertible: "When in the hands of Syria, the Golan Heights promoted conflict. When in the hands of Israel, they have promoted stability." He further detailed how the Iranians have used the Syrian Civil War to extend their so-called "land bridge" from Tehran to Beirut, such that were the United States to sponsor talks, as it did in the 1990s, entertaining the idea that Israel would withdraw to the June 4, 1967 border, it would mean allowing Iranian Revolutionary Guards to occupy the positions above the Israelis once occupied by Syrian troops.

"The core problem is that we do not have a clear vision of what the role of the United States in the greater Middle East is."

—Michael Doran
September 10, 2018

■ **The first-ever trilateral U.S.-Europe-Israel strategic dialogue was held at Hudson in December.** Partnering with the Forum of Strategic Dialogue (FSD) and European Leadership Network (ELNET), **Kenneth R. Weinstein** and **Benjamin Haddad** convened high-level American, European, and Israeli officials to discuss core security issues such as Iran, Syria, Middle East security, the role of Russia, as well as debate U.S., European, and Israeli security policies. Senior Advisor to the Vice President Tom Rose keyed the day-long workshop.

■ **Hudson experts argued that Syria and Iraq remain an abiding concern to the Trump administration.** In the *New York*

Times, **Michael Doran** proposed ways that the United States can be more influential in the conflict there without increasing significantly America's direct military presence, including a joint U.S.-Israeli military plan designed to contain and degrade Iranian forces in Syria. At public events at Hudson throughout the year, **Michael Pregent** convened civilian, military, and regional experts on issues ranging from proxy power conflict, to the continued use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime, to Syria's prospects for peace and stability.

■ **Hudson Institute's Center for Religious Freedom continued to be at the forefront of shaping U.S. foreign policy to ensure a strong defense of the core American value of religious freedom.** The efforts of **Nina Shea** helped result in the explicit prioritizing of religious freedom and the defense of religious



U.S. Special Envoy to Iran Brian Hook discusses Iran's missile program at a Hudson event on September 19, 2018.

“*Iran has the largest ballistic missile force in the Middle East with more than 10 ballistic missile systems in its inventory or in development. Its ballistic missile program remains among the most significant challenges to broader nonproliferation efforts in the region. And it's an enduring threat to our allies and partners, including Israel.*”

—Brian Hook
September 19, 2018



Senior Fellow and Director of Hudson's Center for Religious Freedom Nina Shea, right, stands as President Trump signs the Iraq and Syria Genocide Relief and Accountability Act of 2018.

minorities in the U.S. National Security Strategy. In the *Jerusalem Post*, **Lela Gilbert** brought attention to the plight of threatened religious minorities—from Pakistan, to Egypt, to Nigeria. And **Paul Marshall** continued an on-the-ground study of religious freedom in Indonesia, documenting a deteriorating environment in which Islamist extremism is on the rise.

■ **The efforts of the Center for Religious Freedom were vital to the development of the Iraq and Syria Genocide Relief and Accountability Act of 2018, signed into law by President Trump in December.** Throughout

the year, in articles, roundtables, briefings, and speeches, **Nina Shea** advocated for the designation of ISIS attacks on Christians and Yezidis in the Middle East as “genocide.” On the anniversary of a devastating Summer 2014 ISIS attack in which 10,000 Yezidi Christians were slaughtered—and thousands more kidnapped and sold into slavery—Shea convened at Hudson the Ambassador of Iraq to the United States, the Representative of the Kurdish Regional Government to the United States, and Iraqi Yezidi and Christian spokespersons, to bring attention to this suffering population and their need for American leadership.



Senior Fellow Eric Brown debates U.S. policy toward Turkey on January 23, 2018.

■ **Hudson advanced a shift in U.S. policy towards providing more direct aid for religious minorities in Iraq.** **Nina Shea** helped to galvanize the White House to take measures to improve the effectiveness of USAID and its aid programs. Vice President Pence issued an order directing the USAID director to visit the minorities in Iraq personally. In turn, the director deployed a special inter-agency minority aid coordinator for Iraq, precisely as Shea had advocated in the *Wall Street Journal*. Finally, in September 2018, meaningful U.S. aid reached Iraq's persecuted Christian and Yezidi populations for the first time since ISIS attacked them in 2014.

■ **Hudson published a new volume of its signature journal, *Current Trends in***

***Islamist Ideology*.** Edited by **Hillel Fradkin**, **Husain Haqqani**, and **Eric Brown**, the new volume explored rising extremism in Turkey, the domestic politics of Pakistani terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba, Sunni religious leadership in Iraq, the evolving organizational design of al Qaeda, and current conflicts in Indonesian Islam.

■ **Hudson's South and Central Asia program focused attention on Pakistan's political problems and described what is needed for a transformation.** In essays in the *American Interest* and *Foreign Policy*, and in weekly columns for the Indian paper, *The Print*, **Husain Haqqani** described the nature of Pakistan's global isolation and why the election of Imran Khan does not augur needed reform. This work played a critical role in pushing the Trump administration in 2018 to announce that it would suspend most security aid to Islamabad until the government took stronger measures to fight Islamic extremist groups. Haqqani briefed key U.S. government officials on these issues, including National Security Council Senior Director for South and Central Asia Lisa Curtis, U.S. Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation Zalmay Khalilzad, and the Office of the Vice President.

Supporting Trade, Innovation, and Economic Growth

During 2018, the consensus international economic system continued to be buffeted by the winds of political pressure for reform. Hudson experts promoted specific policy options to strengthen the economies of America and its allies, with a special focus on the important linkages between trade and national security, and opportunities for innovation.



Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs David Malpass, right, discusses the Trump administration's global economic agenda with Senior Fellow Thomas J. Duesterberg on February 14, 2018.

■ Hudson outlined concrete steps to update and improve U.S. trade policy.

Thomas J. Duesterberg critiqued the Trump administration's unilateral imposition of tariffs, especially on steel and aluminum, arguing they alienated foreign and domestic allies whose cooperation the U.S. needs to pursue a more confrontational trade policy with China. He called for WTO reform to cover newer, digital-age industries, which China massively subsidizes, using nontariff barriers and competition policy to favor their

state-owned enterprises and local industries. And he recommended U.S. limitations on foreign direct investments on national security grounds, especially for the acquisition of sensitive technology by the Chinese.

■ Hudson was at the forefront of promoting American leadership in 5G technology.

Arthur Herman sounded the alarm on Chinese plans to dominate the 5G market through telecommunications giant Huawei and called for American action to build a



FCC Chairman Ajit Pai discusses the intersection of space policy and the FCC at Hudson Institute on November 8, 2018.

secure, nationwide, wholesale, carrier-neutral 5G network, operated by the private sector using the U.S. Department of Defense’s available spectrum. **Thomas J. Duesterberg** convened scholars and government officials to deliberate the challenge of incentivizing manufacturing production in the United States. And **Harold Furchtgott-Roth** argued in articles and at public events that the economic strength of America is based on competition and property rights—true for 5G and any other form of technology—and explained that federal policy should be to protect competition fiercely, saying. Where competition is eclipsed, in America or abroad, by the power of government interference or the anticompetitive inclinations of a business, consumers lose and American economic principles are diminished.

■ **Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs David Malpass**

■ **headlined a Hudson event on the Trump administration’s global economic agenda.**

Malpass offered his perspective on U.S. economic competitiveness in a globalized economy and the status of Trump administration trade initiatives. He also discussed the health of the global financial system; the role of multilateral institutions in fostering development; and the administration’s efforts to address a rising China.

■ **Hudson advanced its work on the “blue social model,” arguing that the interest group liberalism and welfare state capitalism that recently dominated the western world is in need of a dramatic update. Walter Russell Mead’s**

Project for American Renewal called for new, flatter, and less bureaucratic institutions capable of flexible, responsive policymaking for the information economy now developing around us. Mead brought these arguments to the pages of *Foreign Affairs*, arguing that the “information revolution is disrupting the country’s social and economic order as profoundly as the Industrial Revolution did,” and that a primary focus of reform ought to be a shift away from providing a uniform bureaucratic experience within public and private organizations and sectors, and toward encouraging innovation.

■ **A new report detailed how subsidies to state-owned air carriers in the Middle East are distorting the market and hurting U.S. carriers and airline jobs.**

In *Subsidies and Unfair Competition in Global Commercial Aviation: How to Respond*, **Thomas J. Duesterberg** explained that heavily subsidized state-owned enterprises (SOEs) in the Persian Gulf states Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have posed a major challenge



Above, White House National Trade Council Director Peter Navarro speaks on the Trump administration's trade strategy to counter Chinese mercantilism on June 28, 2018. Below, Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross discusses the future of the commercial use of outer space on July 24, 2018.



to the maintenance of a stable “Open Skies” regime. These SOEs have taken significant market share from established airlines in the U.S., Europe, Australia, and India. And subsidized SOE air carriers in China—which has no open skies agreements with the world’s major industrialized nations except Australia—are beginning to raise many of the same concerns. Duesterberg recommended the U.S. and its allies remain highly vigilant until relevant data can be collected and analyzed. And he suggested expanded use of the WTO or other trade agreements may be worth considering as a further tool to help address the problem of SOEs in general, not just those affecting the airline industry.

■ **Hudson’s Space 2.0 Initiative convened public and private sector leaders to promote U.S. international leadership as we move to the transformative, next phase of space commerce and space-based communications.** Workshops and symposia with key officials from Capitol Hill, the White House, and the Department of Commerce explored the complex regulatory and commercial opportunities and concerns of space exploration in the 21st century. At Hudson events, Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross called for a space regulatory environment where the pace of regulatory change matches the pace of technological innovation; White House Space Council Executive Secretary Scott Pace emphasized the role of partnerships between the federal government and industry, and leveraging new technologies and private investment to support U.S. priorities; and FCC Chairman Ajit Pai outlined opportunities to incentivize U.S.-based industry to develop next-generation systems that will give us access to next-generation connectivity.

Strengthening Democracies from Kleptocratic Authoritarian Regimes

Authoritarian kleptocrats have misappropriated trillions of dollars from the citizens of the former Soviet Union, China, and other vulnerable regions, and transferred these illicit funds anonymously to more secure jurisdictions, converted them into assets protected by the rule of law, then deployed them to suppress scrutiny, undermine democracy, and erode Western soft power. Hudson Institute's Kleptocracy Initiative (KI) continued to study the corrosive threat to American democracy and national security posed by imported corruption and illicit financial flows from authoritarian regimes, and outlined policy options for U.S. and international lawmakers to fight this form of corruption.

■ **A major new report from KI outlined a policy checklist that, if implemented, would amount to a comprehensive and effective strategy for countering Russian kleptocracy.**

Ben Judah and Nate Sibley in *Countering Russian Kleptocracy* detailed concrete steps for policymakers to fight back against Russian oligarchs and Kremlin agents who would use the global financial system to launder illicit funds and convert them into new forms of power projection. The authors recommended ending anonymous ownership of companies, fortifying the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), and building a 21st century anti-money laundering system. The report drew considerable public interest and led the authors to brief senior officials from Capitol Hill offices of both parties.

■ **KI analyzed Western professionals who facilitate the concealment, insertion, and deployment of kleptocrats' illicit funds within Western economies.** In a new report, **Ben Judah** and **Nate Sibley** outlined ways in which professionals use their skills and expertise to help kleptocrats establish networks of influence inside democratic societies, fueling a boom in money laundering

and transforming significant elements of distinguished professions into wholesale importers of transnational corruption. They also outlined policy options for Congress



Spanish Special Prosecutor José Grinda Gonzalez addresses his country's efforts to investigate and prosecute Russian organized crime at a Hudson conference on May 25, 2018.



Kleptocracy Initiative Research Fellows Ben Judah, right, and Nate Sibley, left, speak on their new report, *Countering Russian Kleptocracy*.

to deal with such challenges as anonymous shell companies, kleptocratic real estate investments, and abuse of cryptocurrencies to evade sanctions and launder money.

■ **After Russia’s “Fancy Bear” tried to hack Hudson’s website, Senator Sheldon Whitehouse condemned the attempted hack and praised the superb, pro-democracy work of the Kleptocracy Initiative.** In August, Microsoft took down a Hudson Institute mirror site, stood up by the Russian hacking group “Fancy Bear,” which, while never deployed, would have been used to attempt to harvest users’ credentials. **Kenneth R. Weinstein** took to the *Wall Street Journal* and appeared on CNN with Wolf Blitzer to criticize the attack; outline the numerous challenges Russia presents to U.S. national

interests and international security, including its illegal annexation of Crimea, continuing incursion in eastern Ukraine, support of Bashar Assad’s brutal dictatorship in Syria, electoral interference in the U.S. and other democracies, attempted assassinations in the UK and Ukraine, and increasing repression at home; and promote Hudson’s tough-minded policies in these areas.

“If you want to defend democracy, you have to clean up your capitalism first.”

—Nate Sibley,
April 17, 2018

Fighting The Opioid Epidemic

More than 70,000 Americans died from drug overdoses in 2017, including illicit drugs and prescription opioids—a two-fold increase in a decade. Stopping the untold carnage of the opioid epidemic is perhaps the gravest policy challenge U.S. lawmakers face today. Hudson’s Center for Substance Abuse Policy Research focused its efforts on raising a reliable public awareness of the dangers of drug abuse generally, and helping to combat the opioid epidemic in particular.

■ **Hudson called on the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) to commit necessary resources to combat the deadly opioid epidemic.** Contrasting correct and sufficient responses to fight Ebola, Zika, and HIV/AIDS, **John P. Walters** pointed to the paucity of real-time data for metrics such as non-fatal opioid overdoses and how fast addiction is spreading, and noted that it is impossible to scale and target resources

for an effective response. Walters called on the CDC to use its Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR)—as CDC did in the terrible days of rapidly increasing HIV infections and AIDS deaths in the 1980s—to create real-time tracking of the disease, a common understanding of the epidemic, sustained awareness of the need for action, and guidance for a national response.



Senior Fellow David W. Murray, second from right, speaks about Hudson’s new report, *Beyond Opioids in Medical Treatment*, at a Hudson event on July 25, 2018.

■ **A Hudson commission provided the policy guidance for legislation to overhaul the international mailing system in an effort to close the loophole for illicit drug manufacturers abetting the opioid crisis.**

Based on findings of Hudson's Postal Commission, **Arthur Herman's** 2017 report, *Crisis in the Mail: Fixing a Broken International Package System* detailed how the global governing body responsible for regulating government-to-government overseas postage creates an unprotected backdoor for illegal drugs to be shipped into the United States, because packages originating in foreign posts enter the United States without electronic or paper trails, making it impossible for Drug Enforcement Administration and Customs and Border Protection to track opiates, illegal prescription drugs, and other substances mailed to U.S. addresses from abroad. The legislation, signed into law by President Trump in October, followed the Commission's recommendation to USPS to require "advanced electronic data" on the contents of international packages before they reach the United States.

“The CDC mobilizes nationwide with urgency and with multiagency outreach for an outbreak of, say, Ebola or Hepatitis A. That tool of epidemiologic mastery, response, and integration across the whole of government is urgently needed to fight the opioid epidemic.”

—David W. Murray
July 25, 2018



Senator Bill Cassidy (R-LA) keynotes a Hudson event on combatting the opioid epidemic on July 25, 2018.

■ **A new report examined methods for finding better interventions for treating both chronic and acute pain and moving the medical system “beyond opioids.”**

In their report, *Beyond Opioids in Medical Treatment: Improving Patient Outcomes, Reducing Costs, and Serving Public Health with Comprehensive Pain Management*, **David W. Murray** and **John P. Walters** provided an overview of recent developments in the opioid epidemic of use, dependency, and overdose deaths; identified the two major pathways by which opioid initiation worsens into serious personal and social costs; and reviewed emerging policy changes that can serve to mitigate these costs, particularly with regard to the medical practice dimension of the epidemic. They argued that what is fundamentally needed is to provide non-opioid alternatives to patients who would otherwise be left with untreated serious pain.

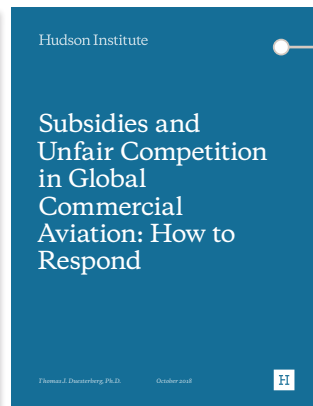
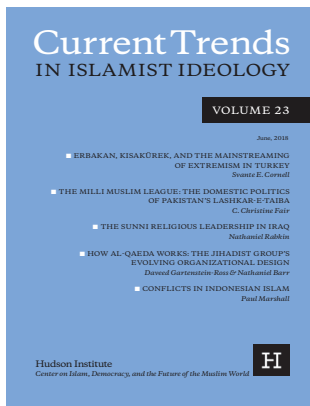
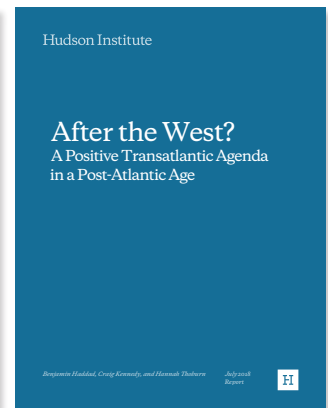
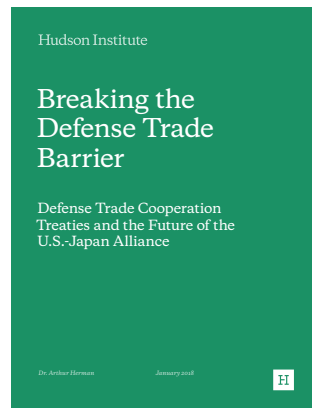
2018 Publications



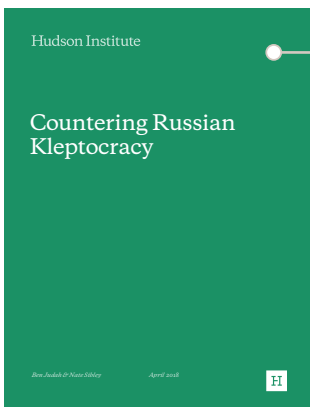
“Regional governments rightly view strong American engagement as the only effective long-term counter to China’s expansionism.”



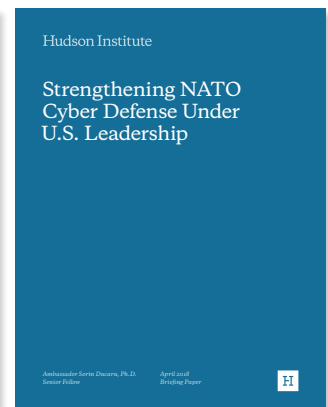
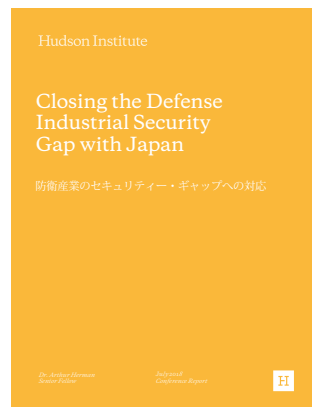
“The most straightforward way to counter China’s trade policies is enforcement of its existing obligations under its terms of accession to the WTO. A good place to start would simply be compelling China to report domestic subsidies.”

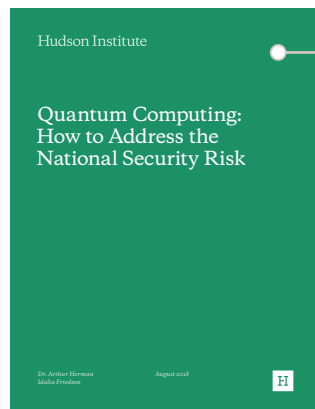


“The U.S. and allies should vigorously pursue the guarantees of financial transparency and fair and equal opportunity to compete under the Open Skies system—and give cautious but serious consideration to additional Open Skies agreements with China.”

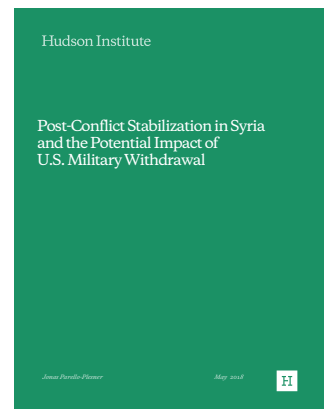


“The United States currently mass-produces the legal entities which Russian kleptocrats and other criminals use to circumvent law enforcement and interfere in American public life: anonymous shell companies.”

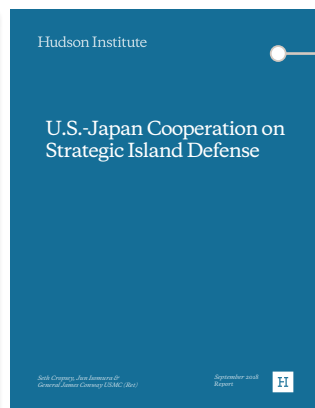
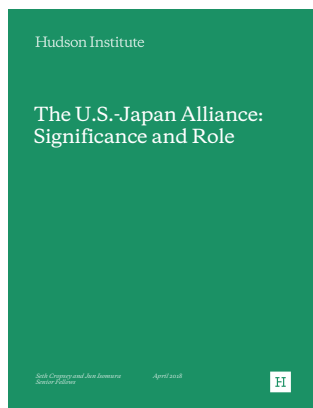
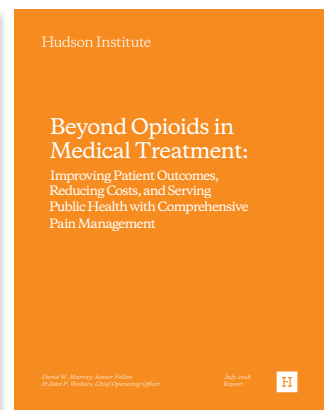
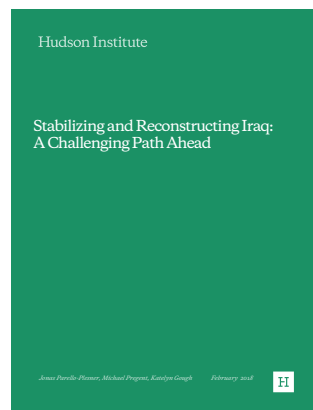




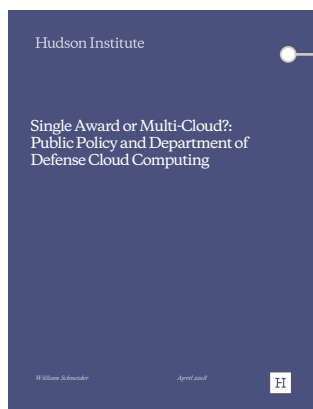
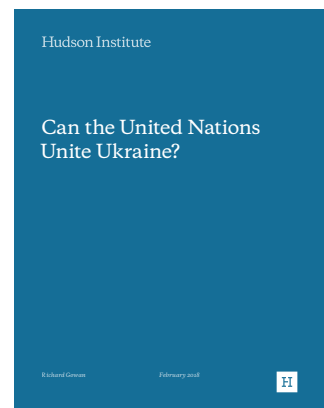
“The development of quantum technology is not merely a scientific and economic consideration but also a strategic national security concern because a quantum computer will be able to hack into and disrupt nearly all current information technology.”



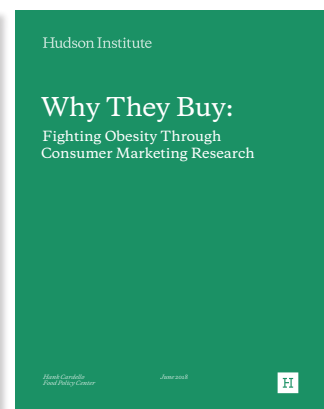
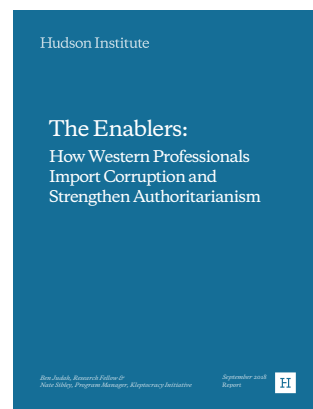
“With deep coffers and the help of Western enablers, the CCP uses money, rather than Communist ideology, as a powerful source of influence, creating parasitic relationships of long-term dependence.”



“To counter any weakness that the PRC could exploit against Japan's southwest island chain, the U.S. and Japan should formalize ties between their forces in theater, through liaisons in their headquarters and on warships, and through planning cycles.”



“Tactical and operational exploitation of multiple data series requires real-time integration, which the DoD has found to be facilitated by cloud-based rather than decentralized IT architectures.”



H Government Relations

Hudson Institute research and analysis is sought out by policymakers at the highest levels of government—both at home and abroad.

In Washington, Hudson experts testified frequently on Capitol Hill and conducted dozens of closed-door briefings with executive branch officials, members of Congress from both parties, and senior Hill staffers to inform debate and shape policy, addressing several key policy areas: U.S. global strategy and defense modernization; the challenge of China; countering Iran; Europe and the future of NATO; CFIUS reform; cybersecurity; the threat of kleptocratic regimes to Western democracies; South Asia and the role of India in U.S. security strategy; the opioid epidemic; trade; and 5G innovation.

Prominent policymakers regularly visited Hudson to discuss critical issues with our experts and offer news-making public remarks. Building on Hudson's research, Vice President Mike Pence delivered a major address on U.S. policy toward China. Ahead of the 2018 midterm elections, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats warned of the growing cyber threat to American security and democracy.

Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross addressed the critical importance of Congress and the Executive Branch working together to reshape laws and regulations governing the commercial use of outer space in the face of rising global competition in the sector. Undersecretary of the Treasury for International Affairs David Malpass outlined the administration's global economic agenda, highlighting international initiatives



Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats addresses cybersecurity and Russia at a Hudson event on July 13, 2018.

“Every day, foreign actors—the worst offenders being Russia, China, Iran and North Korea—are penetrating our digital infrastructure and conducting a range of cyber intrusions and attacks against targets in the United States.”

—Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats
July 13, 2018



and major areas of focus such as debt leverage, Brexit, and China.

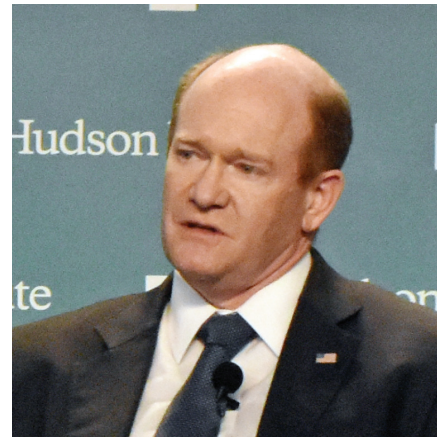
White House National Trade Council Director Peter Navarro offered remarks on the Trump administration's trade strategy to counter Chinese mercantilism. And FCC Chairman Ajit Pai discussed the intersection of space policy and the FCC's efforts to promote new technologies that can strengthen the nation's communications infrastructure.

From Capitol Hill, Senator Rob Portman spoke on U.S. trade policy and the broad use of national security trade provisions to impose tariffs. Senator Ted Cruz detailed a comprehensive strategy to meet North Korea's nuclear threat, involving space-based missile defense and aggressive sanctions enforcement. Senator Chris Coons advocated for bipartisanship on national security, particularly on countering Russian cyber and hard-power aggression and China's "Belt and Road Initiative." House Armed Services Committee members Reps. Joe Courtney and Rob Wittman analyzed the strategic importance of seapower, particularly in the context of a rising China.

Senator Tom Cotton keynoted Hudson Institute Political Studies' Annual Alumni Dinner, and Senator Sheldon Whitehouse

“Broadband expansion is the principal infrastructure issue for the 21st century.”

—Senator Marsha Blackburn (R-TN)



From left to right: Reps. Joe Courtney (D-CT), Debbie Lesko (R-AZ), and Jared Huffman (D-CA); Sir Alan Duncan MP, Minister of State for Europe and the Americas at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; and Reps. Linda Sanchez (D-CA), Mike Turner (R-OH), and Jenniffer González-Colón (R-PR) participate in Hudson's congressional delegation to the U.K. in December. Not pictured: Jim Sensenbrenner (R-WI). At right, Chris Coons (D-DE) at a Hudson event.

discussed the importance of public engagement and leadership. Senator Bill Cassidy outlined a strategy for policymakers to launch an all-of-government response to stop the devastation of the opioid epidemic. Lastly, Senator Todd Young keyed an event on the importance of U.S. international private giving, which continues to dwarf foreign aid.

During 2018, Hudson experts testified before the Joint Economic Committee of the House and Senate, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the House Intelligence Committee, the House Homeland Security Committee, the House Oversight Committee, and the House Committee on Energy and Commerce. Topics included China's threat to federal government and private sector research and innovation leadership; policy options to improve the U.S.-India alliance; a "two-speed" strategy for countering Iran in the Middle East; why it is in America's national interest to recognize Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights; and protecting customer proprietary network information in the internet age.

Overseas, Hudson experts were routinely sought out to explain America's outlook on key issues and to engage democratic allies on promoting shared interests. In 2018, for example, Hudson led two bipartisan U.S. congressional delegations to Europe to explore the major security, economic, and political challenges facing transatlantic relations. Hudson also hosted dozens of senior foreign officials in Washington to discuss a range of regional and global issues.

“[We must] recognize that if we can't occasionally send in the Marines or throw a punch or assert ourselves, then all the principles in the world will not have the impact we hoped for.”

—Senator Chris Coons
(D-DE)

February 28, 2018

“We need to ensure our trading partners respect our laws and play by the rules, instead of subsidizing favored companies to give them a non-market leg up on their American competition. And we need to be tough but targeted on countries that cheat.”

—Senator Rob Portman
(R-OH)
October 25, 2018

Senator Rob Portman addresses a U.S.-Germany trade conference at Hudson on October 25, 2018.



Nuclear Security Forum

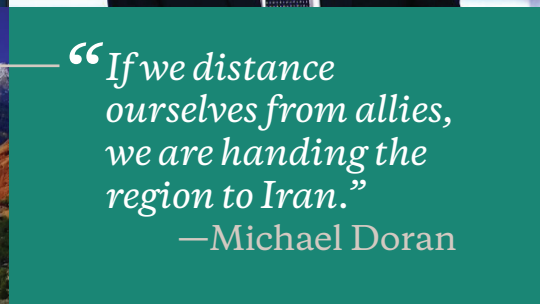
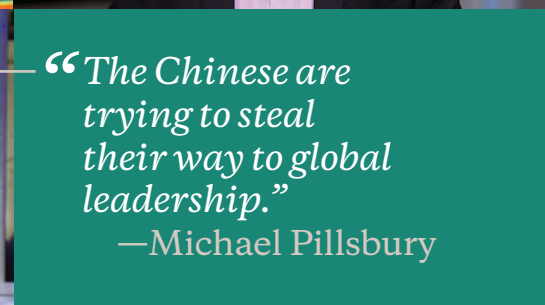
As part of Hudson’s Nuclear Security Initiative and in partnership with the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, Hudson launched in 2018 its Nuclear Security Forum. Seventy congressional staffers, evenly split between both parties, participated in the forum directed by **Richard Weitz**. The series included sessions on nuclear terrorism, the connections between cyber security and nuclear security, preventing terrorists from misusing medical isotopes for nuclear and dirty bombs, cooperative threat reduction and U.S.-Russian relations.



Nuclear security experts brief congressional staffers on October 23, 2018.

H Media Outreach and Events

Hudson experts continued to lead the policy debate in the nation's capital, in major opinion pages, on the broadcast and cable networks, and at Hudson events around the world.

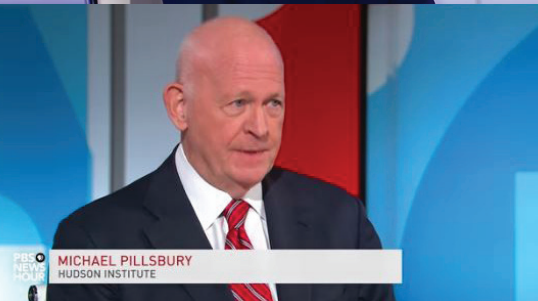


“North Korea does not deserve the privilege and responsibility of having nuclear weapons.”
—Rebecca Heinrichs

“Middle East Christians bring modern education, medicine, and women’s equality.”
—Nina Shea



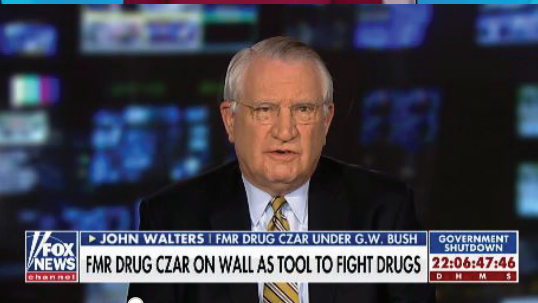
“All modes of power in Pakistan remain in the hands of the military.”
—Husain Haqqani



“Russia’s oligarchs pillage the country and store those assets in the West.”
—Ben Judah



“Europe standing on its own — and working with the U.S. rather than acting as a military vassal is important for the future of NATO.”
—Peter Rough



“We have 2,000 miles of border, too many people on guard duty, and not enough people screening at the ports of entry.”
—John P. Walters

H Media Outreach and Events

FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY SINCE OUR FOUNDING, the character of Hudson Institute’s work—policy-focused, independent, and strategic—has made us a trusted source of timely guidance for a broad constituency of leading U.S. and international government, business, and media figures.

■ **Hudson’s voice was in high demand in 2018.** Hudson experts authored over 400 op-eds in the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Bloomberg*, *National Review*, *American Interest*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, and other publications; and appeared frequently on CNN, Fox News, PBS, and the BBC to offer insight and analysis on the news of the day.

■ **Hudson hosted over 115 public events at the Betsy and Walter Stern Policy Center in Washington, D.C.**, convening executive branch officials, members of Congress, senior foreign officials, military leaders, think tank experts, scholars from academia, and grassroots leaders for major policy announcements, formal speeches, debates of timely issues, and roundtable briefings.

■ **Hudson launched two new speaker series in 2018:** *The Ambassadors Series*, hosted by **Walter Russell Mead**, welcomed to the Stern Policy Center the current and former ambassadors of France, Germany, Israel, Mexico, and the United Kingdom for timely discussions on the evolving relationships of



Catherine Herridge moderates a discussion of the War on Terror at Hudson on September 10, 2018.

“Terrorism is like water: it takes the path of least resistance. It’s a thinking enemy. We move one way. It moves another.”

—Catherine Herridge
September 10, 2018



these countries with the United States. *Conversations on National Security and U.S. Naval Seapower*, hosted by **Seth Cropsey**, gathered influential policymakers and opinion leaders at Hudson to foster constructive dialogue toward the shared goal of ensuring the U.S. Navy's global preeminence.

■ **Hudson expanded its series, *Dialogues on American Foreign Policy and World Affairs***. Also hosted by **Walter Russell Mead**, the series welcomed Senate Foreign Relations Committee member Senator Chris Coons (DE)—who had just returned from a Congressional delegation to the Middle East—and Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats. Senator Coons and DNI Coats joined a distinguished group of previous *Dialogues* participants, including Senator Tom Cotton, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, and the late Senator John McCain.

■ Hudson was pleased to host a remarkable group of speakers in 2018: Vice President **Mike Pence**; Senators **Bill Cassidy** (R-LA), **Chris Coons** (D-DE), **Tom Cotton** (R-AR), **Ted Cruz** (R-TX), and **Todd Young** (R-IN); Reps. **Jim Banks** (R-IN), **Joe Courtney** (D-CT), **Mike Gallagher** (R-WI), **Lamar Smith** (R-TX), and **Rob Wittman** (R-VA); Commerce Secretary **Wilbur Ross**; Director of National Intelligence **Dan Coats**; U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom **Samuel Brownback**; White House National Trade Council Director **Peter Navarro**; FCC Chairman **Ajit Pai**; FCC Commissioners **Brendan Carr** and **Michael O'Rielly**; National Space Council Executive Secretary **Scott Pace**; Treasury Department Under Secretary for International Affairs **David Malpass**; U.S. Special Envoy to Iran **Brian Hook**; U.S. State Department Coordinator for Counterterrorism **Nathan A. Sales**; U.S. Special Representative



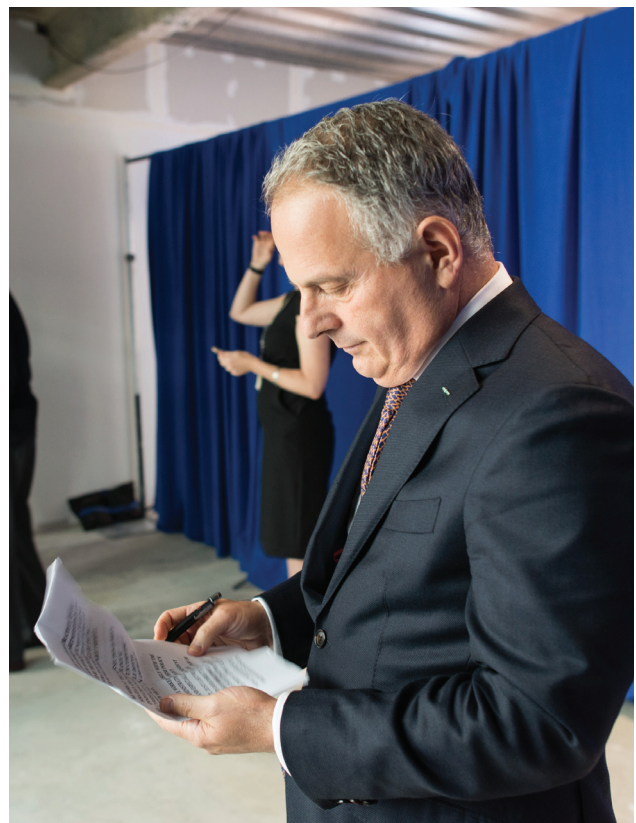
Senior Fellow Rebecca Heinrichs is interviewed at Hudson on October 4, 2018.

for Ukraine Negotiations Ambassador **Kurt Volker**; Special Assistant to the President for Energy and the Environment **Dave Banks**; former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives **Newt Gingrich**; former Senator **Joe Lieberman**; former Secretary of Homeland Security and Governor **Tom Ridge**; Former Secretary of the U.S. Department of Transportation **James H. Burnley IV**; former Rep. **Frank Wolf**; former Secretary of the Navy **John Lehman**; former Commandant of the United States Marine Corps General **James T. Conway**; Former U.S. Department of Defense Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence **John Stendbit**; former Commander U.S. 7th Fleet Vice Admiral **Robert Thomas**; Fox News Chief Intelligence Reporter **Catherine Herridge**; distinguished authors **Os Guinness** and **Andrew Roberts**;

Polish Secretary of State **Anna Maria Anders**; French Ambassador to the United States **Gérard Araud**; German Ambassador to the United States **Emily Haber**; Iraqi Ambassador to the United States **Fareed Yasseen**; Israeli Ambassador to the United States **Ron Dermer**; Mexican Ambassador to the United States **Gerónimo Gutiérrez Fernández**; British Ambassador to the United States **Sir Kim Darroch**; former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations **Dore Gold**; former Prime Minister of Denmark and Secretary General of NATO **Anders Fogh Rasmussen**; former Vice Admiral of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force **Yoji Koda**; NATO Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, NATO Admiral **Manfred Nielson**; NATO Cyber Defense Head **Christian Lifländer**; and Spanish Special Prosecutor **José Grinda Gonzalez**.



Above, Vice President Mike Pence delivers remarks on U.S. China policy on October 4, 2018. Below right, President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein finalizes his introduction of Vice President Pence. Below left, Vice President Pence shakes hands with Trustee Russell Pennoyer.



Hudson by the Numbers

Every day, Hudson reaches hundreds of thousands of people around the world through social media and other digital platforms. In 2018, **11 million minutes** of Hudson events were watched on YouTube, Hudson experts penned **446 op-eds** in major newspapers, we launched our “**Policy Talk**” podcast, and our combined online audience grew to more than **600,000 people**. Hudson leverages digital platforms and traditional media to reach an increasingly engaged audience.

600,000
Combined Audience



3,800,000
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Policy Talk
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8,000
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20%
Increase since 2017



200,000
Read Emails



446
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2,000+
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11,000,000
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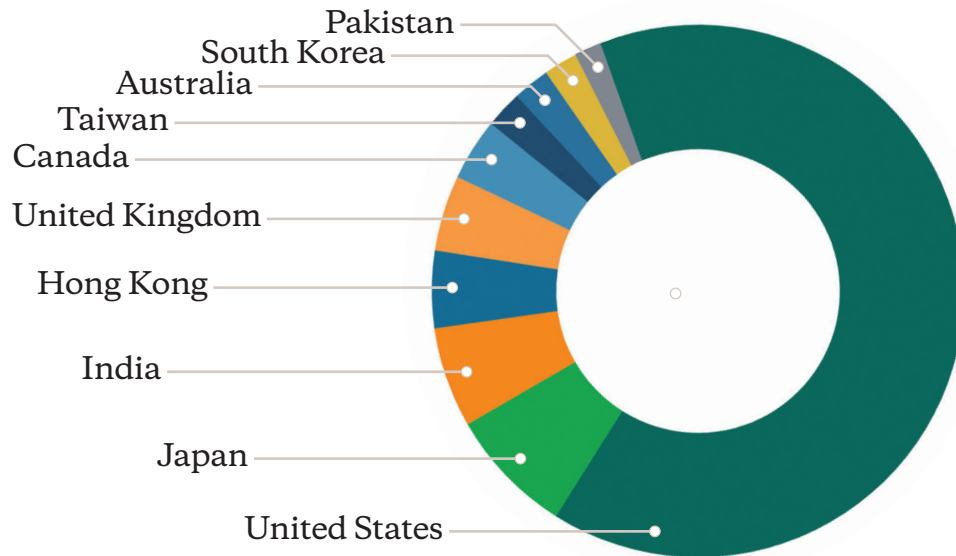


900,000
Video Views





People from 233 countries and territories around the world visited Hudson's digital channels.



Number of video streams from each event



485,000
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Twitter Impressions from Hudson Events



597,800
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H Educating Future Leaders

Hudson's commitment to advancing security, prosperity, and freedom is furthered in our programs devoted to educating the leaders of tomorrow.

Hudson Institute Political Studies

Directed by **John P. Walters** and **Rachel Mackey**, Hudson Institute Political Studies, Hudson's signature summer fellowship for the most talented undergraduates, conducted its third annual program in 2018. Some 36 students from renowned colleges and universities around the country and across the world convened in the nation's capital for six weeks of intense seminars, workshops, and events with distinguished teachers and national leaders.

Seminar studies focused on the foundations of political regimes, how political life is sustained, America's founding, the Civil War, policymaking, today's pressing policy questions, and life beyond politics. Policy workshops—many of which were led by Hudson experts including **Eric Brown**, **Michael Doran**, **Walter Russell Mead**, **Peter Rough**, and **Nadia Schadlow**—engaged students in the policymaking process, using war games and policy simulations to push students to their intellectual limits. Finally, an incredible, bipartisan lineup of distinguished speakers—including Sen. Tom Cotton, William Galston, Justice Neal Gorsuch, Gen. Michael Hayden, Catherine Herridge, Prof. Harvey C. Mansfield, and Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse—addressed our students on current and enduring political questions in intimate, off-the-record sessions.





Clockwise from top left, opposite: Nicole Anthony discusses readings from *The Federalist*; Professor Robert C. Bartlett leads a seminar on Plato's *Republic*; Bradley Davis discusses Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*; Bridget Wu participates in a policy workshop on U.S. policy toward Europe; and Grady Nixon listens to presentations during a staff ride to the Gettysburg Battlefield.



Left, Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR) delivers remarks at Hudson Institute Political Studies' Keynote Dinner, as students and program alumni, right, listen in, on July 9, 2018.

“The Hudson Political Studies fellowship includes a deep reading of political theory and applies the lessons learned from these great texts to real, present-day political issues. At a time when it is easy to have an opinion on just about anything, the program challenged me to appreciate just how difficult are the questions that policymakers face. Many programs claim to be non-partisan. Hudson Political Studies genuinely is, encouraging debate from individuals across the political spectrum.”

—Thomas Samuels
Hudson Institute Political Studies '18



Fellow Peter Rough leads a workshop for Political Studies students on foreign policy toward Europe on July 3, 2018.

Internships

More than 125 students, recent graduates, and veterans from leading universities in more than 20 countries participated in Hudson Institute's internship program in 2018, providing invaluable research assistance—often working one-on-one with Hudson's experts and project managers—to enhance Hudson's work. One intern tackled a history project to unpack Soviet efforts following World War II to create propaganda to sow distrust between the United States and the United Kingdom. Another analyzed how the current model of the wireless broadband market could be adapted to more closely reflect the electricity



Hudson interns Libby Fix, above, and Brian Nelson, below.



market, for a Hudson project on the future of 5G technology. And a third conducted research on the history of how Chinese and Indians view one another, and what this might tell us about the future of Sinic-Indian relations. Hudson interns participated in a monthly speaker series and quarterly receptions with other D.C. young professionals. Internship program alumni go on to full-time careers in the executive branch, congressional committee or member offices, foreign governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), major national and international corporations, and academia.

H Hudson Institute Honors

AT OUR ANNUAL DINNER, WE PAID TRIBUTE TO TWO DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVANTS, presenting Speaker of the United States House of Representatives **Paul Ryan** with Hudson’s 2018 Herman Kahn Award, and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations **Nikki Haley** with Hudson’s 2018 Global Leadership Award.

“Ambassador Haley and Speaker Ryan each represent an important part of the work of Hudson Institute: U.S. leadership requires a dynamic and thriving economy and moral clarity in the so-called community of nations,” said President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein while opening the gala ceremony at Manhattan’s Intercontinental Barclay on December 3. Accepting his award from Washington, where he was leading the nation in tribute to President George H. W. Bush as he lay in state in the Capitol Rotunda, Speaker Ryan thanked Hudson Institute for its work through the years developing policy ideas that helped make the 115th Congress “one of the most productive Congresses in our lifetime.”



Elliott Management Founder, President, and Co-CEO Paul Singer then introduced Ambassador Haley before she received Hudson’s Global Leadership Award for her extraordinary record as governor of South Carolina, and for her remarkable tenure as the most effective American representative at the United Nations in decades.

Her remarks focused on the foreign policy accomplishments of the Trump administration—including pulling the U.S. out of the Iran deal; confronting North Korea; fighting ISIS; standing up for human rights; and moving the United States embassy in Israel to Jerusalem—and the need for strong, continued U.S. leadership in the world.

Speaker Ryan received the Herman Kahn Award for his exceptional leadership in Congress and as the nation’s most compelling champion of the economics of growth and of the moral imperative of free markets as a bulwark of a free society.

Ambassador Haley and Speaker Ryan joined a distinguished group of exceptional leaders honored by Hudson, including Ronald Reagan, Henry Kissinger, Joseph Lieberman, Dick Cheney, David Petraeus, Shinzō Abe, Rupert Murdoch, Benjamin Netanyahu, and Mike Pence.

“In Ambassador Haley’s world, right is right, and wrong is wrong. Friends are friends, and outlaws are outlaws. Simple concepts, but in a time of twisted values, it takes a smart, strong, and grounded leader to grasp and not let go of what is right.”

—Paul Singer



Clockwise from top left: Chairman of the Board of Trustees Sarah May Stern presents Ambassador Nikki Haley with the 2018 Global Leadership Award; House Speaker Paul Ryan, recipient of the 2018 Herman Kahn Award; attendees at Hudson's Annual Award Dinner; and Paul Singer introduces Ambassador Haley.





Left to right from top: Todd Ricketts, Matthew and Abby Waldrip, Brian Baker, and Lauren Kirshner; Kenneth R. Weinstein and Walter Stern; Mike Cragg, Ambassador Nikki Haley, and Gilbert Scharf; Mary Ellen Bork, Margaret Whitehead, and Sarah May Stern; David and Betsy Stern; Melanie Kirkpatrick, Ambassador Nikki Haley, and Jack David; Paul Singer; Ezra Cohen, Rebecca Miller, Sarit Catz, and David Legow; Ambassador Nikki Haley; Jason Riley and Kenneth R. Weinstein; Sandi Strong; Catherine Galateria, Bill Hemmer, and Meade Cooper; Jonny Flugger, Brian Jones, and Lauren Simonetti; Ray Oneglia and Ambassador Nikki Haley; Willing and Catherine Biddle, Ambassador Nikki Haley, and Elinor and Charles Urstadt.





H Schweitzer Memorial Lecture on Sports and Leadership in America

THE LATE WILLIAM H. SCHWEITZER (1944-2015), A LONGTIME TRUSTEE OF HUDSON INSTITUTE, WAS A PILLAR OF THE WASHINGTON LEGAL AND SPORTS COMMUNITY. He was also a man of uncommon and unfailing loyalty, generosity, and talent whose many friendships crossed all traditional partisan and professional divides.

To honor Bill Schweitzer's memory, Hudson Institute, in close collaboration with Bill's widow, Leslie Schweitzer, established the William H. Schweitzer Memorial Lecture on Sports and Leadership in America. The series addresses critical issues facing our nation's leaders, with a focus on lessons that can be learned from America's rich athletic history.

The series convenes leading figures from the world of sports, as well as the public and private sectors, to discuss the pressing challenges of the day and the importance of national service, about which Bill cared so deeply.

At Hudson's inaugural Schweitzer Memorial Lecture, held in Washington in September, Baseball Commissioner Rob Manfred, in conversation with Hudson Institute President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein, discussed Bill's legacy and accomplishments in the national sports community; sportsmanship as an ingrained quality in baseball, and especially important for Americans in today's divisive times; and modern-day challenges for baseball in reaching new and broader audiences, in America and abroad.



Above, a still photograph of the late William H. Schweitzer, honored at Hudson Institute in September, as part of an annual lecture series established in his name. Below, the event's program in the shape of a baseball.





Clockwise from top left: Baseball Commissioner Rob Manfred discusses William Schweitzer's legacy and the importance of baseball in society today; Leslie Schweitzer delivers remarks to open the program; a guest holds baseball-themed hors d'oeuvres; and Hudson Institute Trustee Margaret Whitehead speaks with guests during the program's reception.

“Schweitz was so honored to be on the Hudson Board—he considered it to be one of the highlights of his life. Of course, also at the top of his list were baseball and sports in general. When we discussed launching a series in his honor, it was obvious that the choice had to be sports and leadership. My family is deeply grateful to Hudson for this honor and so appreciative to all of the supporters.”

—Leslie Schweitzer
September 20, 2018

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HUDSON'S IMPACT IN TODAY'S PUBLIC POLICY DEBATES DEPENDS ON THE GENEROSITY OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS, FOUNDATIONS, AND CORPORATIONS, who support the Institute's core mission: promoting strong and engaged U.S. leadership, defending free markets, and securing the vital interests of our nation and its allies.

■ **Hudson Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan 501(c)(3) research organization.**

Tax-deductible contributions to Hudson are a high-value investment in our mission and are gratefully accepted in the form of cash, securities, stocks, gifts, bequests and other planned giving, and contributions to our endowment.

■ **Engaged citizens are invited to become sustaining members of Hudson's Chairman's Advisory Board.**

Members receive behind-the-scenes access to our experts and programs in Washington; admission to our New York Discussion Series in Manhattan; and invitations to study tours, retreats, and special events with distinguished speakers around

The Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Chair in Strategy and Statesmanship

Hudson inaugurated its first named chair in 2018: **Walter Russell Mead** became the Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Fellow in Strategy and Statesmanship.

"We are deeply grateful for Ravenel's generosity and visionary leadership, and his trust in Hudson



Institute to promote seasoned, intellectual discourse," said Hudson Institute President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein. "We share his dedication to the power of free peoples and free markets and look forward to Walter's always-insightful work on these matters."



Chairman's Advisory Board members tour Lockheed Martin's F-35 assembly facility in Fort Worth, Texas on June 5, 2018.

the country and across the world—in short, an unparalleled opportunity to invest and collaborate in the Institute's high-value efforts to advance American leadership.

■ **Hudson's New York Discussion Series in 2018 welcomed incredible speakers at intimate, off-the record sessions in Manhattan.** At monthly meetings, members of the Chairman's Advisory Board discussed current events in the Middle East; confronting the opioid epidemic; cybersecurity; the state of the global economy; and other timely subjects with special guest speakers including Generals David Petraeus and Keith Alexander, Israeli Ambassador to the United States Ron Dermer, former AIG Chairman and CEO Hank Greenberg,

and *National Review* Editor Rich Lowry, and Hudson experts Walter Russell Mead, Rebecca Heinrichs, Michael Pillsbury, Arthur Herman, and Michael Doran.

■ **Hudson's Corporate Advisory Council offers businesses and trade associations facing complex strategic decisions expert advice.** Businesses operating in today's global and domestic markets are faced with political, regulatory, and security dynamics can change quickly and decisively. As a member of Hudson's Corporate Advisory Council, businesses receive expert guidance on key policy issues when it matters most; closed-door briefings and invitations to special events; and a network of trusted peers and policymakers in the nation's capital.



Left to right from top: Senator Tom Cotton, Lewis Libby, Walter Stern, and John P. Walters; Betsy Stern, Susie Wamsley, and Debbie Kahn Cunningham; Denise Santomero; Emal Dusst and Kat Conlon; Kenneth R. Weinstein; Thomas C. Barry, Sarah May Stern, Carol Canter, and Mami Hidaka; Ravenel Curry III; William and Sandi Strong; Charles and Elinor Urstadt; Wendy Dietze and Bill Heyman; Marlene Colucci, Matthew Hunter, Davis Moore, and Michl and Paige Haralambos; Russell Pennoyer and Steve Corder; Rob Manfred; Walter Russell Mead and Maurice Greenberg.





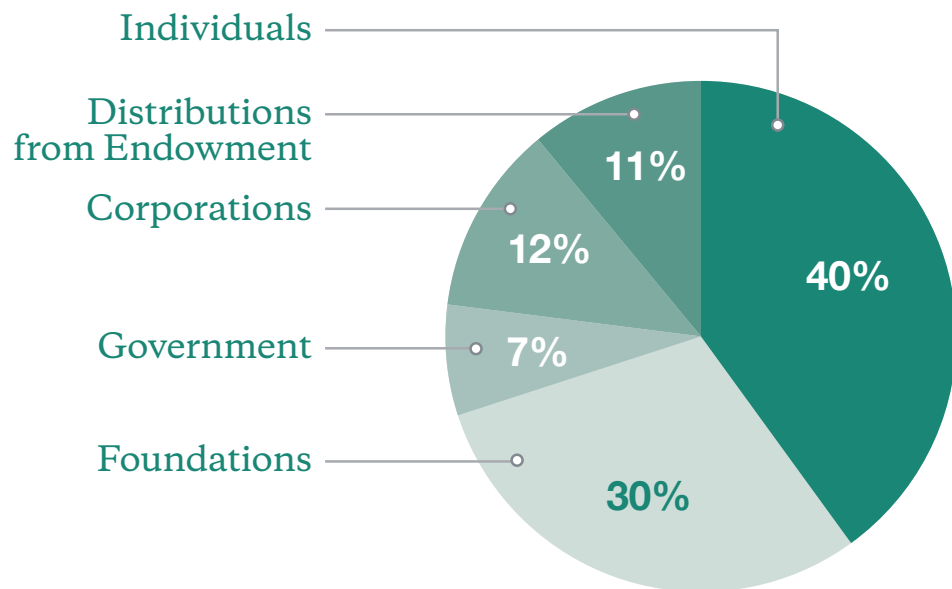
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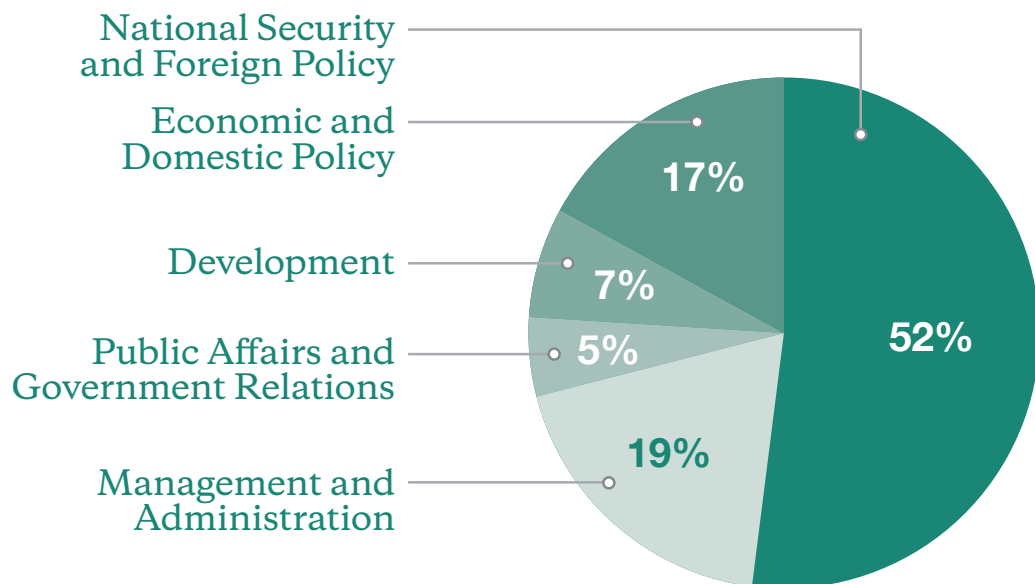
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H In Memoriam

Herbert London (1939–2018)

Hudson Institute remembers its former president, trustee and fellow, Herbert London, who passed away on November 10, 2018, at the age of seventy-nine.

Herb was a larger-than-life personality whose charm, humor and take on life, history and the policy events of the day were unforgettable. A varsity basketball player at Columbia as an undergraduate—and before that, as captain of the citywide champion Jamaica High School team—Herb achieved early success as a singer, including seeing some of his 45 rpm records become pop hits. But he soon turned his attention to ideas, and, after completing his doctorate at New York University, joined the faculty there, and founded and was dean of what became NYU’s Gallatin division, an interdisciplinary program that, under his leadership for two decades, was a center for teaching the Great Books.

Herb was, as Roger Kimball of the *New Criterion* noted, “a brilliant polemicist” and “a passionate advocate of conservative values.” He hosted numerous radio programs and was a regular on cable news channels, including as substitute host for CNN’s *Crossfire*. A regular columnist, he was the author or co-author of more than 25 books, on themes ranging from the American character to rock music to Sunni radicalism. He ran for public office numerous times, most notably for Governor of New York as a Conservative in 1990, when he received what, at that time, was the largest percentage of the vote that a third-party candidate for governor had ever received.



Herb was a big part of the Hudson family for four decades: as senior fellow and founder of Hudson’s Center on Education and Employment Policy in the 1970s; as president of Hudson from 1997 to 2011; and later as Hudson trustee. Herb played a significant role in sustaining Hudson’s prominence as a research organization in the aftermath of Herman Kahn’s death in 1983. Under Herb’s leadership, the Institute started to take its contemporary shape: he moved the Institute from Indianapolis to Washington, saw the development of event platforms in New York and Washington, and hired key talent who remain central to Hudson today.

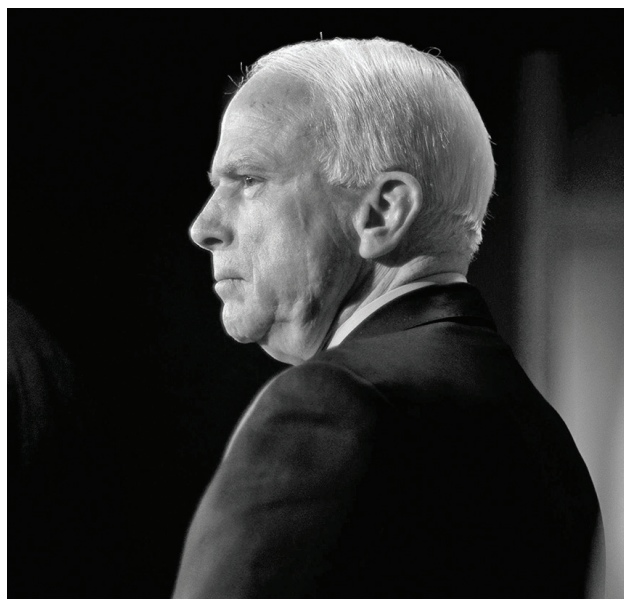
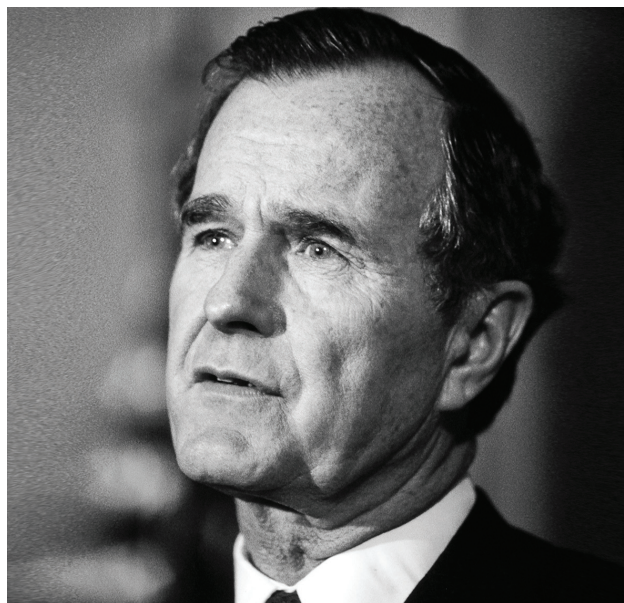
George H. W. Bush (1924-2018) and John S. McCain (1936-2018)

Hudson Institute joined the nation and the world in mourning the loss of two great American heroes and patriots in 2018: President George H. W. Bush and Senator John S. McCain.

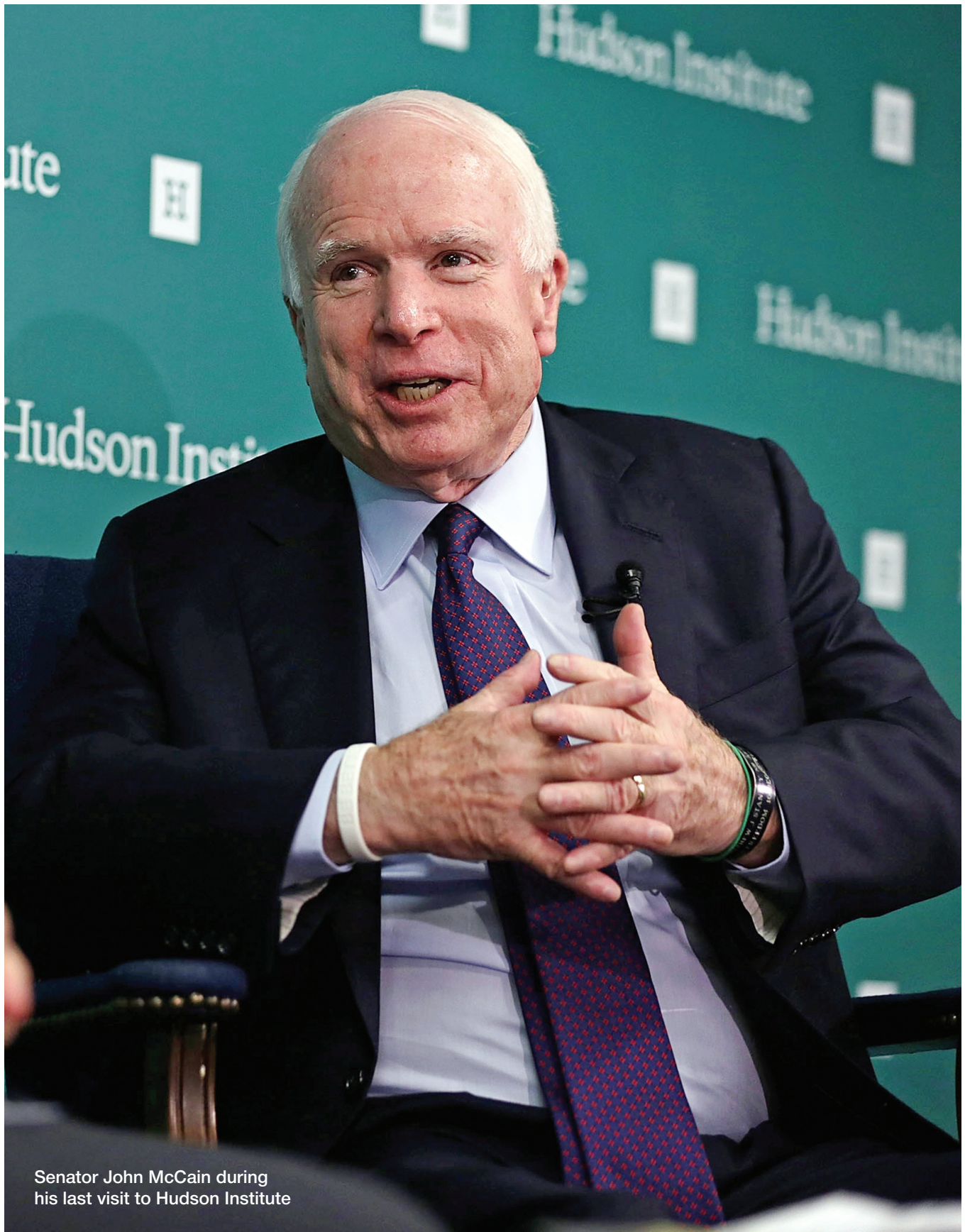
We were honored to work closely with these staunch champions of American security interests—and the interests of democracy and human rights across the globe—over the course of their distinguished careers.

President Bush was a hero of the Greatest Generation, who during World War II, as the youngest fighter pilot in the history of the U.S. Navy, flew 58 missions in the Pacific, often in the face of death, and whose life was defined by the three words of his 1980 presidential campaign: honor, duty, country. He would of course go on to serve his country with further distinction, as a member of Congress from Texas, as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, as Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing, as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, as Vice President of the United States, and as President of the United States.

Senator McCain as a Navy lieutenant commander in Vietnam was shot down over Hanoi, suffering broken arms and a shattered leg, and was captured and subjected to solitary confinement and brutal torture during his five-and-a-half years in captivity. The political “maverick,” who famously rode a bus dubbed “the Straight Talk Express” during his 2000 presidential campaign, represented Arizona for two terms in the House of Representatives



and six in the Senate, during which time he was a leading voice for strong and principled American leadership at home and abroad.



Senator John McCain during
his last visit to Hudson Institute

*“Hudson Institute is one
of the most outstanding
institutions in America.”*

— Senator John McCain

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