

# Hudson Institute *Annual Report 2019*

Security.

Prosperity.

Freedom.



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# Hudson Institute

## 2019

**HUDSON INSTITUTE** is a public policy research organization whose mission is to promote American leadership and global engagement for a secure, free, and prosperous future.

Founded in 1961 by strategist Herman Kahn, Hudson Institute challenges conventional thinking and helps manage strategic transitions to the future through interdisciplinary studies in defense, international relations, economics, health care, technology, culture, and law.

Hudson guides public policy makers and global leaders in government and business through a vigorous program of publications, conferences, policy briefings, and recommendations.

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## Letter from the Chairman, President and CEO, and Chief Operating Officer

### Hudson Institute was made for policy moments like these.

Since our founding in 1961 in Croton-on-Hudson, New York by Herman Kahn and Max Singer, Hudson Institute has always challenged the conventional wisdom, bringing an “outsider’s” perspective to bear by rethinking old ideas and devising creative solutions to pressing challenges.

In our current period of profound policy realignment, Hudson’s work has never been more essential.

With the recognition that the status quo has become increasingly untenable, Hudson has become the go-to Washington think tank for an original and independent perspective that has informed policy makers around the globe.

Our mission is to promote American leadership and global engagement for a secure, free, and prosperous future. This mission transcends partisanship. Hudson research and analysis focus on solutions in this complex and changing time.

Look no further than Hudson’s critical work on China.

As the Washington establishment hailed China’s economic rise, Hudson experts applied a critical perspective.

Senior Fellow and Director for Chinese Strategy Michael Pillsbury was the first to thoroughly chronicle China’s strategy for challenging the American-led world order in his book, *The Hundred-Year Marathon*.

We promoted economic and defense cooperation among key U.S. allies in the Indo-Pacific, including Japan, India, and Australia

We drew urgent and detailed attention to the human rights crisis in the Xinjiang province, gathering policy makers, regional experts, and human rights leaders to uncover and condemn China’s brutal treatment of the Uighurs.

We shared Hudson research and analysis with a bipartisan coalition of key constituents—



Chairman of the Hudson Institute Board of Trustees Sarah May Stern meets with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo before Secretary Pompeo received Hudson’s 2019 Herman Kahn Award on October 30, 2019.

including members of Congress and executive branch officials—and our democratic allies abroad.

This pathbreaking work culminated in a landmark address delivered by Vice President Mike Pence on China policy at Hudson in 2018. And this year, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo—recipient of Hudson’s 2019 Herman Kahn Award—chose Hudson again for his major address on “The China Challenge.”

The policy rethink on China that Hudson experts shaped is characteristic of what we do. We analyze current threats and opportunities, craft solutions, engage key policy makers, and disseminate our work through a robust program of publications, conferences, briefings, and media appearances—and not only in Washington, D.C., but in capitals around the world.

As you’ll read in this report, Hudson’s voice was in high demand this year.



President, CEO, and Walter P. Stern Chair Kenneth R. Weinstein at the grand opening of Hudson’s Charles H. Adler Wing on October 3, 2019.

We promoted a “free and open Indo-Pacific”—deepening our decades-long partnership with Japan and guiding enhanced U.S. cooperation with India.

We played a central expanding the scope of missile defense to meet the challenge posed by North Korea.

We enhanced relations with key U.S. allies in the Middle East, first and foremost Israel.

We worked to shore up NATO, strengthen the U.S. nuclear posture, protect intellectual property, and promote U.S. leadership in 5G capabilities, cyber defense, and quantum computing.

We view shaping the next generation of leaders in the U.S. and around the

globe as central to Hudson’s work. Over 1,100 students applied for our 36 political studies fellowships, which teach undergraduates to think independently through a curriculum of political philosophy, strategy, and policy. More than 125 students participated in Hudson’s internship program, pursuing research opportunities alongside our experts.

2019 was also full of institutional milestones for Hudson. We deepened our decades-long partnership with Japan by inaugurating the Japan Chair, bringing former National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster on board. We also announced the Walter P. Stern Chair, named for Hudson's extraordinary chairman emeritus. Finally, we expanded Hudson's Washington,

D.C. headquarters to support the continued growth in our programs and staff, opening the Charles H. Adler Wing in July.

Although we have much to celebrate, 2020 began on a sad note with the passing of Hudson's cherished co-founder, senior fellow, and honorary trustee, Max Singer, who made signature contributions to the Institute over nearly six decades.

As in the early 1960s when Max and Herman set out to build a different kind of policy research organization, there is more work to be done. The decade ahead promises a new set of policy challenges that won't be solved either by orthodoxy or with

Chief Operating Officer John P. Walters discusses the future of political parties at Hudson.

yesterday's answers. Independent, farsighted work is required, and our team of top-flight policy experts is poised to answer that call.

Your support has been critical to all that we have achieved. We look forward to building on our policy impact going forward and we thank you for your friendship, support, and commitment to Hudson Institute.

Best regards,

Sarah May Stern  
Chairman of the Board

Kenneth R. Weinstein  
President, CEO, and  
Walter P. Stern Chair

John P. Walters  
Chief Operating Officer

## H Research and Impact

### New to Hudson

*Hudson Institute experts who joined the Institute between April 1, 2019 and March 31, 2020.*



David Asher  
Senior Fellow



Bryan Clark  
Senior Fellow



Saagar Enjeti  
Media Fellow



Taro Hayashi  
Japan Chair  
Fellow



Marshall  
Kosloff  
Media Fellow



Jon Lerner  
Senior Fellow



H.R. McMaster  
Japan Chair



Blaise Misztal  
Fellow



Tim Morrison  
Senior Fellow



Adam Mossoff  
Senior Fellow



Masashi  
Murano  
Japan Chair  
Fellow



Heather  
Nauert  
Senior Fellow



Christopher  
O'Dea  
Adjunct Fellow



Urška  
Petrovčič  
Senior Fellow



Robert  
Spalding  
Senior Fellow



## CHINA

# Countering an Aggressive China

When Vice President Mike Pence delivered his historic speech on China policy at Hudson in October 2018, the world took notice. No longer would the United States stand idly by while China used its military, economic, political, and ideological tools to reshape the international order at America's expense. Hudson's own Walter Russell Mead previewed the emerging U.S.-China rivalry back in 2014 when he wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, "Old-fashioned power plays are back in international relations. ... As the atmosphere turns dark, the task of promoting and maintaining world order grows more daunting." In this complex and challenging policy environment, and with the Trump administration overhauling policy in areas including trade, defense, 5G, and cyber, policy makers looked to Hudson for recommendations to address current threats and counter China's challenge.



Senior Fellow and Director for Chinese Strategy  
Michael Pillsbury on Canada's Munk Debates  
on May 9, 2019.

■ **Michael Pillsbury helped shape the Trump administration's transformative China policy.** *The Hundred-Year Marathon* author, who was the first to chronicle China's strategy for challenging the American-led world order, advised President Trump and senior officials on strategies for U.S.-China trade negotiations and took to the cable and broadcast news networks and opinion pages to offer real time analysis to the general public. In the *Wall Street Journal*, Pillsbury explained that Beijing's record of breaking promises makes strong enforcement mechanisms a necessary precondition to any U.S. agreement to a deal, and further argued that China has a clear strategic choice: establish a real accord that will lead to better growth for both nations, or continue its predatory mercantilist reliance on national champions, beginning the descent into a cold war that portends security concerns and slower growth rates for all.

*“U.S. officials should send a clear message to Beijing's bureaucracy: No more theft or outrageous subsidies, or else the tariffs remain.”*

—Michael Pillsbury

■ **Patrick Cronin authored a major new report detailing how China is waging “total competition” in the South China Sea, involving the use of all tools at the state’s disposal short of war, and outlined a strategy for American policy makers to push back.** Cronin argued that Beijing is engaging in a long-term assault on the prevailing order in the South China Sea, using daily its diplomatic, informational, military, economic, and psychological means of projecting power. Cronin outlined a two-level strategy for the United States to deal with China’s total competition campaign: one to blunt the effects of Beijing’s malign behavior, and one tailored to appeal to local demands and unlock regional support. He encouraged an improved understanding of China’s strategy; timely and persistent truth-telling about China’s activities; effective and far-sighted policies that better integrate the diverse array of available U.S. and partner tools; renewed commitment to deterring Chinese aggression; and revamping American education to prepare future generations to tackle the China challenge.

■ **Andrew Krepinevich testified before Congress on the key trends in the U.S.-China military competition and their implications.** Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Krepinevich described how in recent decades the overall balance has shifted increasingly in China’s favor across the dimensions relating to military strategy. Worryingly, he described the U.S. defense establishment as slow in developing the new warfighting concepts and capabilities it will need for great power competition. He outlined ways Congress can significantly



Asia-Pacific Security Chair Patrick Cronin discusses U.S.-Japan relations at a Hudson event on April 25, 2019.

improve the U.S. military’s competitive position relative to China’s People’s Liberation Army, including through focused hearings, pushing to accelerate the fielding of new capabilities, and developing ways the U.S. military can impose disproportionate costs on the Chinese.

■ **Hudson continued to draw urgent attention to the plight of Uighurs interned in “reeducation” camps in the Xinjiang region of China.** In February, Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR) delivered a major address about China’s brutality in the Xinjiang province, calling for use of the Magnitsky Act to impose sanctions on Communist Party officials who are orchestrating the detention of more than a million Uighurs in concentration camps. In December, U.S. Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom Sam Brownback keynoted an event convened by **Nina Shea** and **Eric Brown**, calling on the Chinese

Communist Party to immediately release all those arbitrarily detained and to end its draconian policies that for more than two years have terrorized its religious and ethnic minority groups in Xinjiang.

■ **Hudson experts warned of Chinese dominance in 5G technology.** **William Schneider** explained that Beijing’s investments in 5G reflect an understanding that this technology is the gateway to control the world’s information infrastructure and growing realm of 5G-dependent technologies. He warned of BeiDou—China’s precision navigation and timing system to compete with U.S. Global Positioning System (GPS)—which will enable cell phone users to be monitored, tracked, and evaluated by the Chinese government. In *Fox News*, **Nadia Schadow** highlighted new initiatives underway to counter China’s strategy of using ownership stakes in technology firms to access sensitive intellectual property, along with a new Defense Department initiative to match trusted sources of capital to support technology companies that could help to meet defense needs. In *Real Clear Politics*, **Thomas Duesterberg** explored virtual networks as an alternative to the integrated package of equipment, software, network design and construction, and financing offered by China through Huawei. And in *National Review*, **Arthur Herman** detailed steps for American policy makers to promote U.S. leadership in 5G.

■ **Critical research analyzed the growing nexus between China and Russia.** **Richard Weitz** authored a report that examined the expanding China-Russia security relationship, possible

exploitation of Western alliances, and the threat posed to the United States and its allies. He argued that Russia and China’s relationship is increasingly strengthened by arms sales, joint military exercises, and mutual diplomatic support.

■ **Hudson argued that Xi Jinping’s ambitious geostrategy is linked with China’s worsening domestic and economic imbalances.** In *China’s Economic Slowdown: Root Causes, Beijing’s Response, and Strategic Implications for the U.S. and Allies*, **John Lee** argued that Beijing is not as strong as it contends, noting the Chinese domestic economy is slowing because of politically directed chronic overinvestment, which threatens the solvency of its overleveraged



Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR) delivers a speech at Hudson on December 5, 2019.



U.S. President Donald Trump speaks before he and Chinese Vice Premier Liu He signed phase one of a trade deal between the U.S. and China, in the East Room at the White House, on January 15, 2020. Senior Fellow and Director for Chinese Strategy Michael Pillsbury sits in the first row.

local governments. Lee also argued that Xi may find himself under pressure from other senior Communist Party members and Chinese policy makers who do not share his appetite for brazen risk-taking. In the *Wall Street Journal*, Lee explained that the Trump administration has more political and economic leverage than China, which will help the U.S. during the more difficult second phase of negotiations to come.

■ **As the Chinese Communist Party waged a multi-month campaign to suppress Hong Kong protesters, Hudson experts advised policy makers on what should be done. Michael Pillsbury and John Lee** recommended policy makers focus on restoration of the terms of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration, including

universal suffrage. **Robert Spalding** called on American leaders to stand for democratic principles, rule of law, and civil rights in Hong Kong. And in October, **Eric Brown** organized a roundtable of leaders from Hong Kong’s Civil Human Rights Front to discuss the future of the Hong Kong democracy movement.

■ **Hudson experts explained the importance of regional democratic allies to aid the United States in stepping up to China’s political warfare.** In the *Hill*, **Patrick Cronin** explored shared priorities for the United States and Australia, in particular thwarting Chinese coercion of Pacific Island nations through its “debt diplomacy.” In the *Wall Street Journal*, **Seth Cropsey** explained America’s stake in

*“It’s critical that we engage China as it is, not as we wish it were. [Hudson Institute Founder] Herman Kahn...would urge us to think unconventionally, to create persuasive arguments for policy and make those arguments consistently to the American people. We have to think anew, and unconventionally, about the People’s Republic of China.”*

—Secretary of State  
Mike Pompeo



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo delivers remarks on U.S. China policy upon receiving Hudson’s 2019 Herman Kahn Award on October 30, 2019.

Taiwan, noting that an American failure to fulfill its pledge to aid Taiwan in the event of attack would effectively encourage other regional allies such as South Korea and Japan to make accommodations with Beijing. And at Hudson, Cropsey and **Jun Isomura** convened military officers from the U.S., Korea, Japan, and Taiwan for a “tabletop exercise” to simulate a crisis scenario in Northeast Asia with an eye toward educating participants to their positions and capabilities.

■ **Hudson’s Kleptocracy Initiative authored a policy memo outlining how to counter Chinese Communist Party threats through corporate transparency.** **Nate Sibley** detailed how the CCP, like other adversarial regimes, routinely hides behind shell companies to exploit the global financial system in pursuit of geopolitical objectives.

He argued that ending anonymous ownership of shell companies is a critical first step to protect the U.S. financial system from the criminal by-product of CCP misrule in China and will also help set a global standard that can be enforced as a new tool of coercive economic statecraft, renewing American leadership in the fight against illicit finance and undermining the CCP’s global assault on the rule of law. In October 2019, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill to crack down on anonymous shell companies. And in February 2020, the U.S. Department of Treasury’s National Strategy for Combating Terrorist and Other Illicit Financing listed as its number one priority requiring collection of beneficial ownership information by the government at the time of company formation and after ownership changes.



## INDO-PACIFIC

# Promoting a Free and Open Indo-Pacific

Hudson experts have deep ties in the world's most dynamic region: the vast Asian heartland from India in the west to China and Japan in the east. With China actively challenging the American-led order, Hudson research and outreach focused on strengthening U.S. ties with allies, advancing good governance in the region, preserving freedom of the seas, countering the North Korean nuclear threat, and advancing U.S. and democratic allies' leadership in emerging technologies.

■ Hudson deepened its decades-long partnership with Japan by launching its **Japan Chair**. Former National Security Advisor **H.R. McMaster** was announced as the inaugural Chair holder in April, and Hudson also welcomed Japan Chair Fellows **Taro Hayashi** and **Masashi Murano**. The Japan Chair program convened in-depth public panel and roundtable discussions bringing together leading U.S. and Japanese officials and regional experts on topics including the importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance; science and technological cooperation between the U.S. and Japan; countering China; building out the “free and open Indo-Pacific” strategy; the North Korean nuclear threat; trilateral cooperation with India; and high-tech security issues in the region, including the military, industrial, and technological developments in space. In Tokyo at the Mount Fuji Dialogue, Hudson experts gathered with American and Japanese policy experts, business leaders, and officials to collaborate on shared issues and opportunities facing the two countries.



H.R. McMaster remarks upon his appointment as Hudson Institute Japan Chair on April 10, 2019.

*“I believe that the Japan-U.S. alliance is more important than ever and the Hudson Japan Chair will help support and strengthen further our alliance and determine what more we might do to realize and secure our joint vision of a ‘free and open Indo-Pacific.’”*

—H.R. McMaster

## INDO-PACIFIC

■ **Hudson experts engaged key U.S. and Japanese officials and policy leaders on areas for cooperation and how to strengthen the U.S.-Japan alliance.** **Kenneth Weinstein, H.R. McMaster, Lewis Libby, Patrick Cronin, Eric Brown, and Arthur Herman** regularly briefed senior Japanese officials and opinion-makers—including from the office of the Prime Minister, the Defense and Foreign ministries, Diet leadership, and leading Tokyo-based think tanks—on ways to preserve and enhance the U.S.-Japan alliance, defense cooperation, and nuclear and conventional deterrence. This iterative dialogue helped to sharpen understandings of policy choices, highlight developments, and provide useful perspectives for decision-makers, including U.S. officials. Hudson experts also participated in televised and radio interviews with American and Japanese news media and produced a series of important publications examining these issues.

■ **Leading U.S., Japanese, Australian, and Indian officials convened at Hudson throughout the year to analyze the “free and open Indo-Pacific” strategy and areas for strategic cooperation.** Hudson welcomed former Japanese Deputy Secretary General of the National Security Secretariat and Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary Nobukatsu Kanehara; Senior Advisor and Chief Strategist to the Vice President Tom Rose; former Commander in Chief of India’s Western Naval Command, Vice Admiral Shekhar Sinha; U.S. Ambassador to Japan William

Hagerty; Australian Minister for Defense Linda Reynolds; former Japanese Minister of Defense Satoshi Morimoto; Director of Defense Policy and Strategy at the U.S. National Security Council Mir Sadat; and Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs David Helvey, among numerous other key officials. Topics discussed included India’s pivotal role to play in maintaining the strategic balance in Asia; how the Trump administration is enhancing trade and providing economic alternatives to the region that are market based and transparent; a vision of the U.S.-Australia alliance; how competition in emerging technology platforms between free and repressive regimes will shape the 21st century; and the wide variety of domains



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

where innovation, strength, and cooperation will be needed, including cyber, artificial intelligence, space, and quantum science.

■ **Critical research examined the broad context in which the United States will be making major decisions about the future of Indian-American relations.** A new report by **Eric Brown** looked closely at the origins and content of Hindu Nationalism and other trends in India, and examined how India’s current governing political outlook thinks about power, its view of proper world order, and how it may come to influence India’s approach to strategic and international



President, CEO, and Walter P. Stern Chair Kenneth R. Weinstein offers remarks at a Hudson event on U.S.-Japan relations on April 25, 2019.

affairs. The report also examined various scenarios for the creation and exercise of Indian power, and it speculated about what all this may mean for future security environments across the Indo-Pacific and Eurasia.

■ **In collaboration with the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea and the Government of Japan, Hudson hosted a seminar addressing the abduction of Japanese, South Koreans, Americans, and nationals of other countries by North Korea.** The seminar featured families of abductees who discussed the process of seeking to learn the fate of loved ones held in North Korea and also leading U.S. and Japanese officials—including Japanese State Minister Akira Sato, Chairman of the National Public Safety Commission Keiji Furuya, and Secretary General of

*“Japan today is the Europe of yesteryear. Japan has increased its defense spending and shifted diplomacy away from its footing in multilateral institutions to a focus on its key strategic partners in Asia and its alliance with the United States.”*

—Kenneth R. Weinstein

## INDO-PACIFIC

the Association of Families of Victims Kidnapped by North Korea Takuya Yokota—and Hudson experts **Melanie Kirkpatrick** and **Lewis Libby** who explored international cooperation on abductions as well as nuclear and missile issues.

■ **With North Korea resuming missile tests and threatening fresh provocations in 2019, Hudson experts advised American policy makers on next steps.** In the *Wall Street Journal*, **Tod Lindberg** praised the Trump administration’s commitment to strict terms in its talks with Kim Jong-un and its singular focus on elimination of the nuclear threat, rather than the broader transformation of North Korea. In the *Diplomat*, **Patrick Cronin** recommended U.S. negotiators find out exactly what North Korea wants in terms of security guarantees and what steps toward denuclearization they will provide in return; that they be prepared to press ahead with security guarantees that are in the U.S. interest and proportionate to the North Korean offer; and if negotiations stall, to shift talks toward crisis stability measures.

■ **Hudson gathered 15 foreign policy experts from around the world to analyze strategies for the Indo-Pacific in an era of great power competition.** In a new volume edited by **Satoru Nagao**, Hudson experts **Patrick Cronin**, **John Lee**, **Liselotte Odgaard**, **Aparna Pande**, and **Jonas Parello-Plesner** contributed essays that analyzed the U.S. Department of Defense’s “Indo-Pacific Strategy Report”; the view from Australia; why a favorable balance of power in the region is the objective, as opposed to containment of China; policy recommendations to strengthen ties between the U.S. and

India; the role of France as a maritime security partner in the Indian Ocean; EU priorities in the Indo-Pacific; Japanese priorities and capabilities; and concrete recommendations for American policy makers to strengthen U.S. leadership.

■ **A new Hudson report explained how Washington can help improve relations between South Korea and Japan, establish greater cooperation on areas of overlapping interest, and strengthen U.S. relations with both countries.** In the *Cornerstone and the Linchpin: Securing America’s Northeast Asian Alliances*, **Patrick Cronin** explained the history of U.S. alliances with Korea and Japan and recommended concrete steps to secure and improve these alliances in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Cronin recommended development of a trilateral defense plan for countering nuclear and missile threats; more



Australian Defense Minister Linda Reynolds speaks at Hudson on November 5, 2019.

cooperation on North Korea’s mounting cyber threat; creation of the U.S. Senate-recommended Office of Critical Technology and Security; and a new trilateral information-power strategic dialogue to create safeguards against a growing range of cyber threats that threaten democracies.

■ **Hudson advanced new ideas for U.S. foreign assistance.** In a United States Institute of Peace paper, **Eric Brown** and **Blaise Misztal** described how to reform the U.S. civilian workforce to better prevent violent extremism in fragile states. They called for overcoming the U.S. bureaucracy’s risk-averse posture; more mission-focused assignments than currently the norm; and creating a dedicated preventive service to institutionalize prevention as a core national security function; and creative use of talented personnel outside of government to be called upon as needed. In a series of events organized by Misztal, Hudson also hosted the U.S. State Department Director of Foreign Assistance Resources James Richardson to unveil the findings and recommendations of the Department’s Strategic Prevention Project, as well as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Tibor Nagy to discuss the Trump administration’s Africa strategy. **John Lee** authored a new report in which he explained how China is using a strategy tested and implemented in Africa to build infrastructure capable of dual economic and military use across



Senior Vice President Lewis Libby discusses U.S.-Japan-India cooperation at a Hudson event on February 19, 2019.

the South Pacific—projects that support China’s aim to break through the “first and second island chains,” a series of pro-U.S. countries that limit Chinese naval access to the Philippine Sea and Pacific Ocean. Lee argued that the U.S. Official Development Assistance is deployed inefficiently and must be reformed.

*“If we are to meet the challenge of sustaining and expanding the liberal world order, it’s going to take close cooperation among the United States, Japan, and India.”*

—Lewis Libby



## DEFENSE

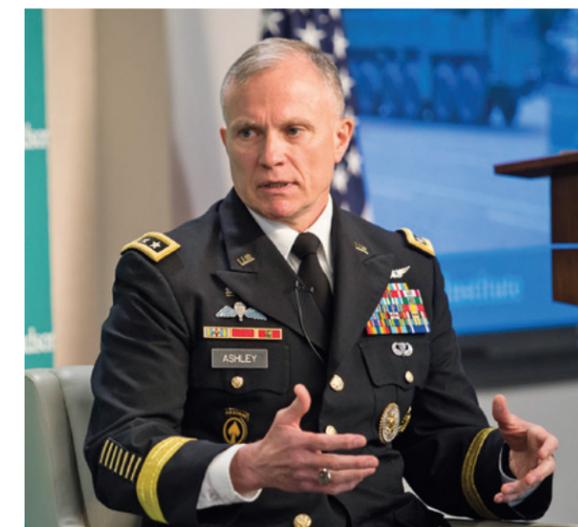
# Leading the National Security Debate

Against the backdrop of a complex and evolving threat landscape, Hudson advanced critical ideas for strategy, defense modernization, deterrence, and high technology to enhance U.S. officials' analysis of key challenges and possible solutions, deepen understandings with key regional allies, and support cooperative efforts among the democracies to counter hostile groups, constrain revanchist regimes, and preserve the West's all-important technological edge.

### ■ Kenneth Weinstein compared the strategic view in Germany and Japan.

In *RealClearWorld*, Weinstein explained that the divergence between Germany and Japan has less to do with the personality of President Trump than the different perceptions of the security challenges facing each country. He explained that under the American security umbrella, the priorities of post-Cold War Western Europe have shifted from “hard” security to pursuing commercial interests and multilateralism. He argued that Prime Minister Shinzō Abe knows that he lives in an increasingly dangerous neighborhood—a view President Trump shares—and as a result, has increased Japan's defense spending and shifted diplomacy away from multilateral institutions to a focus on its key strategic partners in Asia and its alliance with the United States. Weinstein concluded by arguing that it's important for Americans to stay engaged with partners—like Japan—who are thinking in geostrategic terms.

■ A multiyear Hudson study analyzed the art and practice of grand strategy to guide policy makers in a new era of great



Defense Intelligence Agency Director LTG Robert P. Ashley, Jr. speaks at Hudson on May 29, 2019.

*“Over the next decade, China will likely at least double the size of its nuclear stockpile in the course of implementing the most rapid expansion and diversification of its nuclear arsenal in China's history.”*

—LTG Robert P. Ashley, Jr.

**power competition.** Led by **Lewis Libby**, Hudson delved into historic examples of successful and failed grand strategies to help American policy makers understand the art of strategic thinking and to consider what may be learned from great power competitions of the past—focusing on how democratic, commercial republics defeated larger autocratic and militaristic states; the roles of alliances and changing technologies; and how weary superpowers overcome their failings to reverse dangerous trends. The study examined the origins of critical insights that fuel new strategic concepts, and how such concepts have been formed into phased, multi-year grand strategies that span the diplomatic, economic, and military spheres.

■ **A Hudson report argued that deterring aggression has become increasingly difficult as a result of technological and geopolitical developments.** In a *Foreign Affairs* essay and in the full Hudson publication, *The Decline of Deterrence*, **Andrew Krepinevich** explained that with military competition expanding to new domains like space, cyberspace, and the seabed, new capabilities are making it harder to accurately gauge the military balance of power. He encouraged policy makers to rethink their countries' deterrence strategies to account for changing conditions: the challenge of multipolarity, the introduction of advanced weaponry, and

new knowledge about the psychology of decision-making—and recommended U.S. policy makers focus particular attention on how China and Russia calculate the military balance themselves and, by extension, the costs and risks associated with taking aggressive action. The report garnered significant attention from senior U.S. government officials and prominent members on Capitol Hill.

■ **Hudson experts explored ways for the U.S. and Japan to deter Chinese aggression through missile defense.** In *Defense One*, **Rebecca Heinrichs** praised the Trump administration's decision to withdraw the U.S. from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty with Russia and recommended steps for the U.S. and its allies to counter China's powerful arsenal of conventionally armed intermediate-range missiles aimed at preventing or constraining the deployment of U.S. forces in the western Pacific. In the Japanese publication *Nippon*,



Senior Fellow Arthur Herman addresses Indo-Pacific security at a Hudson event on February 19, 2019.

**Masashi Murano** examined various scenarios for the U.S. and Japan to successfully deter Chinese aggression, namely finding the optimal mix of cruise and ballistic missiles to degrade China's offensive counter-air capabilities and increased cooperation between the two countries.

■ **Hudson experts explored the national security implications of space.** In the *National Interest*, **Patrick Cronin** explained how China and Russia are developing anti-space systems that they can use to deny states access to the global commons in space and detailed a three-pronged strategy for the U.S. to promote a free and open space domain. At a Hudson event, **William Schneider** explored how the future of warfare needs to be considered in a multidomain context including the space frontier, cyber, electronic warfare, and Artificial Intelligence. Finally, **H.R. McMaster** convened at Hudson U.S., Japanese, and Indian policy leaders to examine how Indo-Pacific partners can shape a future where space operations are defined by freedom of access, agreed-upon governance, and shared values.

■ **Hudson experts argued for a robust pushback against the adoption of Huawei telecommunications equipment in U.S. networks and those of its allies.** In *Real Clear Politics*, **Thomas Duesterberg** explored how to achieve faster rollout of 5G systems without recourse to Huawei equipment through virtual networks. In *Forbes*, **Arthur Herman** detailed how focusing research and development



Senior Fellow Rebecca Heinrichs takes a question from the audience at a Hudson event on the arms control landscape on May 29, 2019.

on quantum capable networks can undermine those countries who do decide to adopt Huawei technologies, because operators who have opted to build 5G networks with Huawei will in the future have to replace their networks with the hackproof protections afforded by quantum computers.

*“Good actors are denied the vast progress unmanned aerial vehicles technology has made in the U.S. because of the Missile Technology Control Regime, which forbids the U.S. and other signatories from exporting drones, even to trusted allies. It's time to cross drones out of the MTCR's restrictions on missile technology.”*

—Arthur Herman

■ **Hudson's Quantum Alliance Initiative (QAI) continued to be at the forefront of quantum technology policy, explaining its national security implications and how the U.S. can lead in its development.** In the *Wall Street Journal*, **Arthur Herman** explained why it's a crucial for America's national security that the U.S. develop quantum computers first, because quantum computers will be capable of decrypting the vast majority of existing public-key encryption systems that protect U.S. data and networks. Herman also laid out a three-phase national-security strategy to protect and defend American data, networks, and infrastructure from future quantum attack.

■ **Senior U.S. Department of Defense officials chose Hudson for a series of addresses on ensuring U.S. technological superiority in defense systems.** In conversations with **Rebecca Heinrichs**, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy John C. Rood and Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering Michael Griffin analyzed the policy and technical aspects, respectively, of the recently published Missile Defense Review. Rood addressed the chief policy goal of maintaining the size and capabilities of the U.S. missile defense system in a manner sufficient to stay ahead of the threat that the U.S. faces from countries like North Korea and Iran. Griffin explained the priorities of the research and engineering office—namely, the need for new detection systems in low Earth orbit to detect the



Senior Fellow Nadia Schadow discusses countering emerging economic threats at Hudson on August 1, 2019.

threat from hypersonic weapons in enough time to neutralize them.

■ **Hudson brought increased attention to nuclear security challenges and strengthened bipartisan U.S. global leadership against nuclear threats.** In a series of public conferences, private briefings, study tours, and policy simulations, **Richard Weitz** worked to enhance U.S. policies designed to counter nuclear terrorism. Hudson held events to analyze U.S. nuclear policy toward China; challenges regarding the security of nuclear materials in Africa, Eurasia, South Asia, and the Middle East; and current efforts by international institutions to reduce the risk of nuclear terrorism. In March, Weitz convened leading Congressional staffers and nuclear security policy experts for a day-long nuclear security simulation.

■ **Hudson was the first to highlight the security risks posed by China's operating a new container facility in Haifa port and its potential to jeopardize U.S.-Israeli security cooperation.** The work of **Douglas Feith**, **Seth Cropsey**, and the Hudson Institute-University of Haifa Consortium on the Eastern Mediterranean led the Israeli government to adopt a mechanism for reviewing the national security implications of foreign investments in Israel. Also as a result of the Consortium's work, there have been intense consultations between Israeli and American officials to resolve the U.S. concerns about China's role in Haifa port—issues not yet fully resolved but on which progress has been made.

■ **Hudson's Center for American Seapower argued that U.S. maritime security remains at increased risk as a result of insufficient funding, poor acquisition management, and lack of investment in such critical areas as intelligence and targeting.** **Seth Cropsey** co-authored a new report, *If You Can't See 'em, You Can't Shoot 'em*, that analyzed the critical role of intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance, and targeting (ISR/T) capabilities in naval combat success. The report made several key recommendations to naval policy makers, including directing a federally



Senior Fellow William Schneider discusses cloud software, Artificial Intelligence, and the future of warfare at a Hudson event on May 30, 2019.

funded research and development center to perform a classified evaluation and analysis of Navy ISR/T and expanded use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), modified for maritime ISR, to fill intelligence gaps.

■ **Hudson's Task Force on Federal IT Procurement explained how the U.S. Department of Defense can best make use of the private sector's cloud computing capacities.** In public conferences and private briefings throughout the year, **William Schneider** detailed how the Pentagon can protect its cloud data; take advantage of industry innovation; ensure interoperability with allies; and ensure that the migration of military data to a new architecture prioritizes security, competition, and innovation.



## MIDDLE EAST

# Securing U.S. Interests in the Middle East and South Asia

As the United States continued its policy of retrenchment across the Middle East, Hudson focused efforts on alliance building and countering revanchist powers, especially Iran.

■ Hudson experts argued that countering Iran is the primary task of the United States in the Middle East and helped shape the Trump administration’s “maximum pressure” campaign. In the *Wall Street Journal*, Michael Doran argued that Iranian aggressiveness in the form of unconventional attacks through proxies, sabotage of tankers and oil pipelines, and the June 2019 attack on a U.S. drone were efforts to influence European leaders, worried about regional conflict and economic disruption, to lobby the U.S. to give in to Iran on restoration and preservation of sanctions waivers for the country’s nuclear program. Michael Pregent gathered regional experts to highlight the nefarious activities of Iran’s Quds Force in the region. In Paris, Berlin, and Brussels, Pregent briefed key European members of parliament on the Trump administration’s Iran strategy.

■ Hudson experts explained how to enhance the possibility of a stabilized Middle East in the next decade through alliance building. In the *Wall Street Journal*, Michael Doran made the case for working to repair the United States’ tattered alliance with Turkey. He argued that Turkey has legitimate grievances against the United



Senior Fellow Michael Doran discusses the Global Hostage Act on December 5, 2019.

*“The choices in the Middle East are stark: either the United States will build a security system with its own military or with its allies’ militaries, or it won’t have one at all. In the absence of a viable security system, its moral influence in the world will decline significantly.”*

—Michael Doran

States, primarily stemming from the Obama administration’s decision in 2016 to support the Syrian wing of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party, or PKK, in its fight against ISIS. In *Mosaic*, Doran explained why, in an era of deep skepticism about the deployment of American forces, the Trump administration’s strategy of refraining from direct military engagement while assuring support to the United States’ chief allies in the region—Israel, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia—represents the best strategy if the twin goals of American policy are to contain the Sunni terror organizations and Iran simultaneously. In the *Dallas Morning News*, **Eric Brown** and **Blaise Mistzal** argued that to restore a cooperative partnership with Turkey, the U.S. needs to avoid blunt sanctions against Turkey—despite its purchase of the Russian S-400 air defense system. They explained that U.S. policy should aim to constrain Turkish President Erdogan’s Russian turn while reassuring Turks of the value of an American alliance.

*“In a depressingly familiar pattern, when order breaks down in the Middle East, Christians are targeted. The Trump administration deserves credit for elevating religious freedom as a major foreign policy concern and for making the protection of vulnerable religious minorities a national security priority.”*

—Nina Shea

■ **Hudson experts advised U.S. officials and leading foreign and domestic opinion makers on the driving forces of Middle East dysfunction, future prospects for the region, and weighing U.S. interests and options. Hillel Fradkin, Eric Brown, Husain Haqqani, Abe Shulsky, Blaise Mistzal, and Lewis Libby** in a major, collective effort advised U.S. officials on these subjects with an in-depth, historical perspective on the development, weaknesses, and periodic defeats of radical Islam. Fradkin’s work on a critical element of Middle East dynamics, the Sunni-Shiite divide, will be presented for public release in 2020.

■ **Hudson experts analyzed prospects for U.S.-Israeli cooperation in light of new threats in the Middle East.** In the *Eastern Mediterranean in the New Era of Major-Power Competition*, **Douglas Feith, Seth Cropsey**, and their co-authors explained how current U.S. policy may



Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Religious Freedom Nina Shea speaks at Hudson on March 6, 2019.



Senior Fellow Husain Haqqani speaks at the Jaipur Literature Festival in Jaipur, Rajasthan, India on January 25, 2019.

create opportunities for Israel, the most militarily capable power in the region and America’s most reliable partner, to intensify its defense cooperation with the United States, including in the maritime domain. They called on Israel to develop a proper maritime strategy and to increase parliamentary and public awareness of the maritime domain, and offered policy recommendations on dealing with China, inducing Iran to remove its forces from Syria, and countering Russia’s increased military and diplomatic influence in the region. In *Mosaic*, **Arthur Herman** offered recommendations for the U.S. and Israel to work together in developing AI and Big Data, autonomous systems, robotics, cybersecurity, and quantum. He made the case for a defense trade arrangement between the two nations to lead to more projects like the one that produced Iron Dome and David’s Sling.

■ **Hudson’s Center for Religious Freedom argued that Americans must fight growing**

*“The alliance between al-Qaeda and the Taliban is grounded in mutual cooperation, driven by common jihadist obligation, ideology and a shared hatred for the United States.”*

—Husain Haqqani

**anti-Semitism.** Following the horrifying mass murder at a Pittsburgh synagogue, **Nina Shea** and **Lela Gilbert** chronicled soaring anti-Semitic activity in the United States, including a 57 percent increase in the past year of anti-Semitic harassment, vandalism and assault; anti-Jewish outbursts on social media from certain members of Congress; and the growing Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement against the state of Israel on college campuses. Shea then designed a new poll to track American attitudes concerning anti-Semitism. Poll results were released at a major Hudson event keynoted by U.S. State Department Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism Elan Carr in June, with Shea and other experts offering policy options for U.S. leaders.

■ **The work of Hudson’s Center for Religious Freedom was instrumental in a forthcoming executive order making international religious liberty a U.S. foreign policy priority.** In working group sessions throughout the year at Hudson, **Nina Shea** and her colleagues deliberated on the need for an executive directive to implement the administration’s policy of prioritizing the protection

of religious freedom in U.S. foreign policy. In collaboration with other volunteer lawyers, Shea drafted suggested language for the order, to be released in early 2020. One of the consequences of such an order is the requirement that U.S. ambassadors in the Middle East expend funds on educational programming to advance religious freedom for minority faiths.

■ **Senior American, Israeli, and European officials convened at Hudson for a trilateral dialogue.** Co-hosted with the European Leadership Network and the Israeli-based Forum of Strategic Dialogue, and organized by **Peter Rough**, the dialogue deliberated on eastern Mediterranean energy, Iran’s regional challenge, democracy in the information age, Russia, and transatlantic relations. The dialogue included keynote addresses from German Ambassador to the United States Emily Haber and then-Senior Director for the Middle East at the National Security Council Victoria Coates, who outlined the Trump administration’s strategy for the Middle East.

■ **Hudson published the latest volume of *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*.** Edited by **Hillel Fradkin**, **Husain Haqqani**, and **Eric Brown**, the volume included essays analyzing minorities under Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, conflicting currents in Egyptian thought, the anti-Islamic movement in China, Europe’s efforts to oppose Islamist extremism, and the history of America and the Muslim brotherhood.

■ **Husain Haqqani analyzed the problems in U.S. negotiations with the Taliban.** Against the backdrop of U.S.-Taliban



Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Fellow Walter Russell Mead and a delegation from the Philos Project pose for a photograph with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on May 12, 2019.

talks, Haqqani argued in the *Washington Post* that the alliance between al-Qaeda and the Taliban is grounded in mutual cooperation, driven by common jihadist obligation, ideology, and a shared hatred for the United States. He recommended the United States demand that the Taliban issue a statement rejecting the al-Qaeda leader’s pledge of allegiance to the Taliban leader, effectively declaring al-Qaeda persona non grata in Afghanistan.

■ **Hudson experts explained the special role Germany can play in salvaging the U.S.-Turkish alliance.** In a Hudson paper, **Michael Doran** and **Peter Rough** chronicled deteriorating U.S.-Turkish relations; why Turkey announced that it was taking

delivery on the Russian S-400 air defense system; and the important strategic question at hand of who will be the primary arbiter of Kurdish-Turkish relations: the United States or Russia (and, with Russia, Iran). The authors made the case that Germany is uniquely positioned to help bring Turkey closer to the West and outlined a diplomacy strategy that Germany can use in Ankara to counterbalance Turkey’s worst inclinations, and in Washington to explain to American leaders that Turkey is too big to fail, and that it has not, in fact, abandoned its Western allies. They concluded by arguing that what is needed most at this stage is a firm commitment to work together closely, in the expectation that a shared vision of regional order will emerge.

“Palestinians today don’t need a Nelson Mandela who can lead the struggle for equal political rights in one state. They need a Konrad Adenauer: a leader who can accept military defeat and painful territorial losses while building a prosperous future through reconciliation with the victors.”

—Walter Russell Mead



EUROPE

## Strengthening U.S. Relations with Europe

With Europe in transition, NATO under siege, and the global order shifting, Hudson worked to strengthen the relationship between the United States and its European allies. Research and outreach focused on strengthening Europe’s politics, shoring up NATO, and designing pro-American strategies to counter the influence of Russia and China.

■ As part of NATO’s 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Hudson was chosen as the U.S. host for a conference on *New Perspectives on Shared Security—NATO’s Next 70 Years*. Hudson convened experts to examine the future of the transatlantic bond at a time of transformative political and economic developments. In a Carnegie Europe report, Peter Rough argued that to sustain U.S. support for the alliance in the coming decades, NATO allies need to address the imbalance in the distribution of the military burden. The United States accounts for two-thirds of all defense spending in the 29-member alliance, despite the near economic parity between the United States and Europe, making it too easy for U.S. administrations of all stripes to cast the Europeans as de facto free riders. In the *San Jose Mercury News*, William Schneider argued that strategic investment in new

technologies offers the best path forward for NATO’s members to modernize their military collaboration.

■ Hudson hosted the first-ever dinner of policy planners from each allied NATO country. Then-Director of Policy Planning at the U.S. Department of State



Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Fellow Walter Russell Mead listens to German Minister of Defense Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer during a briefing in Hamburg, Germany on January 18, 2020.

## EUROPE

Kiron Skinner keynoted the event, which tackled topics ranging from continental military security to the rise of China.

■ **Walter Russell Mead analyzed the relative decline of Europe’s international standing and explained why a strong Europe is needed.** In his *Global View* column for the *Wall Street Journal*, Mead argued that only a strong Europe can stabilize the region, manage migration and refugee issues in a humane and sustainable way, contain Russia at a reduced cost, and provide the markets that American companies need for growth. He recommended rapprochement between the Trump administration and key European leaders because in the absence of common cause between the U.S. and its European allies, Russia and China will exploit the tensions and cleavages to their advantage.

■ **Hudson experts pressed our European allies to consider seriously the security dangers of introducing Huawei technologies into their networks.** In the *Hill*, **Robert Spalding** described the coming convergence of artificial intelligence, big data, social media, e-commerce, fintech, and robotics that will be facilitated by 5G, and in briefings with leading officials in London, Berlin, Brussels, and Vilnius argued that Huawei networks will facilitate the Chinese Communist Party’s dominance over the world’s data and these technologies,

thereby enhancing its ability to suppress freedom.

■ **Hudson experts analyzed the rise of populism across Europe.** In *American Greatness*, **John Fonte** described the Brexit referendum and the rise of conservative democratic nationalists throughout the West as raising the oldest question in politics: who should rule and on what basis? In *National Review*, **Peter Rough** argued that further European integration could threaten Europe’s stability and the transatlantic alliance, explaining that the goal for European politics should be to bring European nationalism into the political mainstream. In *Foreign Policy*, Rough examined the particular case of Austrian Prime Minister Sebastian Kurz, explaining his new style of thinking toward



Then-U.S. State Department Director of Policy Planning Kiron Skinner delivers the keynote address at a Hudson event on the future of NATO on April 3, 2019.

*“For NATO to function properly, its members must maintain their political commitment to the alliance and the large-scale military investments to back it up.”*

—Peter Rough



Senior Fellow Peter Rough speaks on U.S. foreign policy at the U.S. Embassy in Vienna, Austria on November 25, 2019.

the EU: namely, championing the principle of subsidiarity, which pushes decision-making to the national or subnational level whenever possible.

■ **A Hudson delegation led a study tour to Finland, Estonia, and Latvia to meet with presidents, prime ministers, and other senior officials to discuss regional security.** **Craig Kennedy** and **Tod Lindberg** in a series of briefings placed special emphasis on national and regional responsibility for resilience and resistance to any future aggression.

■ **Hudson’s Kleptocracy Initiative argued that corruption is Europe’s Achilles heel and put forth recommendations to tackle the root causes of corruption in the global economy.** A policy memo authored by

**Ben Judah** created a policy checklist for the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European External Action Service to increase transparency, cut down the influence of lobbyists, stop election interference, and root out more broadly the influence of authoritarian states and their proxies in Europe.

■ **Hudson led a bipartisan congressional delegation of members of the U.S. House of Representatives to the United Kingdom that focused on the strategic relationship between the U.S. and U.K. in a post-Brexit environment.** In a series of meetings with senior British government officials, the delegation deliberated bilateral trade, the future of NATO, and joint U.S.-U.K. efforts to counter the increasing challenge of China.



## ECONOMICS

# Supporting Trade, Innovation, and Economic Growth

**H**udson promoted specific policy options to strengthen the economies of the United States and its allies, placing emphasis on the important connection between national security and economic leadership, and also how the U.S. can lead in next generation high technologies.

■ **Hudson worked with key EU and Japanese allies to collaborate on constructive ways forward for global trade.** In March, **Thomas Duesterberg** and **Peter Rough** convened European, Japanese, and American policy leaders at Hudson to analyze whether the West should pursue industrial policy or not. The conference featured Stephen Vaughn, then-general counsel of the Office of the United States Trade Representative. In the *Hill*, Duesterberg argued that a new free trade agreement with Japan should be the highest priority. In the fall of 2019, such a deal was finalized to help open agriculture markets to the U.S., set new benchmarks on how to keep digital trade open, and ease industrial trade barriers.

■ **Hudson advanced policies to maintain U.S. leadership in research, development, and innovation for the critical technologies that underlie advanced telecommunications, which are the root of the information economy.** In *Forbes*, **Thomas Duesterberg** called for the U.S. to remain a leader in the standards setting bodies to promote the best technology and access for U.S. companies to global

markets. Hudson also launched its Forum for Intellectual Property—chaired by **Adam Mossoff** and involving Duesterberg, **Harold Furchtgott-Roth**, and **Urška Petrovčič**—to promote U.S. innovation and analyze the intersection of economics and national security. In *RealClearMarkets*, Mossoff explained why the ruling in *FTC v. Qualcomm* threatens private sector business practices, hampers the ability of companies to reinvest profits in R&D, undermines innovators and consumers, and benefits Huawei.

*“Solid trade relations with Japan, the United Kingdom, and the European Union are crucial to achieving some semblance of unity in meeting the Chinese mercantilist challenge.”*

—Thomas Duesterberg

## ECONOMICS

### ■ Hudson called for an overhaul of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to deal with its fundamental problems.

In the *Wall Street Journal* and in the full Hudson report, *The Importance of WTO Reform from a Transatlantic Perspective*, **Thomas Duesterberg** argued for urgency in finding common ground on updating and improving the WTO's fundamental problems: it does not work efficiently to resolve disputes and modernize; the organization has not kept up with the pace of change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century economy failing to cover digital trade, cross-border data flows, and many services, including commercial aviation; WTO rules fail to address subsidies of "national champions" in the developing world; and the WTO appellate body acts beyond its mandate. Duesterberg argued that transatlantic cooperation is certainly necessary with respect to China because acting alone, neither the United States nor Europe is likely to succeed in reining in the mercantilist practices of such an enormous and determined economic power. He further recommended use of bilateral and regional pacts to help elucidate new paths for liberalization that could eventually be globalized.

■ **Hudson's Quantum Alliance Initiative convened a consortium of companies and universities from the U.S. and allied countries to develop global standards for quantum random number generators and quantum key distribution.** **Arthur Herman** brought these standards to the International Telecommunications Union Telecommunication Standardization Sector plenary in Geneva, where

they received preliminary approval by the 200-member, 50 nation-strong body.

■ **The U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill to deal with the Hudson Institute Kleptocracy Initiative's #1 policy priority: banning anonymous ownership of shell companies.** **Nate Sibley** and **Ben Judah** briefed more than 40 congressional offices throughout the year on the link between corporate transparency and national security, especially in the context of confronting China. The U.S. Treasury Department heeded KI's guidance as well. In February 2020, it announced its intention to increase transparency and close legal framework gaps by requiring collection of beneficial ownership information at the time of company formation and after ownership changes.



U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer delivers remarks at Hudson Institute on October 3, 2019.



Under Secretary of Commerce for Intellectual Property and Director of the United States Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) Andrei Iancu discusses property rights and the future of innovation with Senior Fellow Thomas Duesterberg on June 19, 2019.

■ **As critical infrastructure around the world becomes increasingly reliant on space-based technology, Hudson brought increased attention to the important decisions policy makers face in the space frontier.** In the *National Interest*, **Patrick Cronin** called for the U.S. to build the institutions, doctrine, and capabilities necessary to protect U.S. space assets and to safeguard a free and open space. He explained how China and Russia are developing anti-space systems that they can use to deny states access to the global commons in space. He further explained that the mounting competition to control cis-lunar space (the region between Earth and the Moon) is one that the United States cannot afford to lose. In November, Hudson's Japan Chair convened private sector and government leaders to deliberate

U.S. space strategy and allied space cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region.

■ **Hudson's Food Policy Center advanced market-based solutions to fight obesity and advance corporate social responsibility.** In monthly columns for *Forbes*, **Hank Cardello** explained why today's consumers—especially millennials—connect corporate social responsibility to their purchasing decisions. Cardello explained why it's good for businesses to be forward-looking on social responsibility issues, citing historical success stories like CVS, which jettisoned cigarettes from its stores long ago, and Volvo, who prioritized automotive safety well before other carmakers did. He called on big food and beverage companies to place special emphasis on combatting undernutrition and obesity.



Alice Johnson responds after being recognized by President Donald Trump during his State of the Union address on February 5, 2019. Johnson was granted clemency by Trump in June 2018.

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

# Guiding Criminal Justice Reform

In December 2018, the president signed into law the First Step Act (FSA), a major piece of bipartisan criminal justice reform legislation intended to reduce the federal prison population and ease inmates' safe and productive reentry into civilian life. FSA's Title I directed the Department of Justice (DOJ) to develop and implement a new, objective, and statistically validated "risk and needs assessment system," which the Bureau of Prisons will use to evaluate the probability that individual prisoners may reoffend upon release and refer those prisoners to evidence-based programming likely to improve their odds. Title I also established an Independent Review Committee (IRC) of outside experts to advise and assist DOJ in the development and implementation of these crucial FSA provisions. In April 2019, DOJ chose Hudson Institute to serve as host organization for the IRC.

■ **The First Step Act represents the frontier of American criminal justice reform, and Hudson has played a key role in shaping its implementation.** The Act requires DOJ to develop and implement a state-of-the-art risk and needs assessment instrument that calculates each inmate's recidivism risk and identifies individual criminogenic needs that increase that risk. PATTERN, as this instrument has come to be called, is joined to an in-prison incentive structure whereby inmates can reduce their sentences through participation in evidence-based programs that target their needs and thus reduce the chance that they will reoffend upon release.

■ **The IRC worked closely alongside the Bureau of Prisons, the National Institute of Justice, and other key offices to improve PATTERN's predictive accuracy, reduce bias, and ensure ease of implementation.** The IRC briefed the key individuals responsible for the new risk and needs assessment instrument, including



Chief Operating Officer John P. Walters speaks at Hudson on September 9, 2018

*“This is a massive change in the structure, purpose, and mission of our corrections system, from one that is just holding people to one that is giving them a chance to transform their lives and to re-enter society as productive individuals.”*

—John P. Walters

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

Attorney General William Barr and Deputy Attorney General Jefferey Rosen, delivering recommendations that have been incorporated into PATTERN and the Department's FSA implementation efforts generally. **John P. Walters** testified about PATTERN and FSA implementation on the IRC's behalf before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security, and the IRC has regularly consulted with Senate Judiciary Committee staff for their advice and guidance. The IRC has also made major efforts to assist DOJ in identifying worthy BOP rehabilitative programs—and gaps in evidentiary data about those programs that suggest important avenues for further research. Throughout 2020, the IRC will

continue to advise Attorney General Barr and his DOJ colleagues—and consult with Senate Judiciary Committee staff—about PATTERN, expansion and refinement of BOP's associated inmate needs assessment tools and rehabilitative programming, and other FSA implementation issues that may arise. The IRC will also complete a comprehensive statistical and demographic report on the preliminary effects of Title I's inmate eligibility provisions. That report, along with relevant recommendations, will be delivered to the House and Senate Judiciary Committees and Appropriations Subcommittees on Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies in December 2020.



Pennsylvania State Corrections Secretary  
John Wetzel

*“We all agree that we want an effective corrections system, releasing people better than when they came in. We also know that it is a combination of incarcerating the right people for the right amount of time with the right individualized programming within a safe and humane environment that is necessary to achieve that. The First Step Act gets us much closer to that ideal.”*

—John Wetzel

## First Step Act Independent Review Committee



Following a briefing with U.S. Attorney General William Barr, center, the Independent Review Committee, from left:

**George J. Terwilliger III**

Partner, McGuire Woods, and former deputy attorney general and acting attorney general at the U.S. Department of Justice

**James M. Byrne, Ph.D.**

Professor and associate chair, School of Criminology and Justice Studies at University of Massachusetts Lowell and Director of the Global Community Corrections Initiative

**Patti Butterfield, Ph.D.**

Adjunct faculty member, Southern New Hampshire University and former senior deputy assistant director in the federal Bureau of Prisons Reentry Services Division

**John E. Wetzel**

Secretary of corrections for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and immediate past Chair and member of the Executive Committee of the Council of State Governments Justice Center

**John P. Walters**

Chief operating officer of Hudson Institute and former director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy in the cabinet of President George W. Bush

**Not pictured: Faye S. Taxman, Ph.D.**

University professor and director of the Center for Advancing Correctional Excellence at George Mason University

## INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

**HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA**  
Husain Haqqani spoke at the Halifax Security Forum, an annual gathering of experts in global affairs.

**LONDON, UK**  
Hudson led a bipartisan congressional delegation of members of the U.S. House of Representatives to the U.K. that focused on the strategic relationship between the U.S. and U.K. in a post-Brexit environment.

**COPENHAGEN, DENMARK**  
Richard Weitz briefed the U.S. ambassador to Denmark on Russian and Chinese activities in the Arctic.

**BERLIN, GERMANY**  
Ann Marie Hauser presented at the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung on the U.S. political landscape.

**PARIS, FRANCE**  
Hudson hosted leading French policy makers, naval officers, and experts for a high-level discussion on key geostrategic challenges to France's maritime security, as well as specific areas where France's defense technology capabilities could be enhanced to meet these challenges.

**GENEVA, SWITZERLAND**  
Arthur Herman advanced Hudson's Quantum Random Numbers Generator (QRNG) and Quantum Key Distribution (QKD) technical standards at the International Telecommunications Union-Telecommunication Standardization Sector plenary in Geneva.

**VIENNA, AUSTRIA**  
Peter Rough delivered remarks on U.S. foreign policy at the U.S. Embassy in Austria and at the Austrian military academy.

**GUADALAJARA, MEXICO**  
Aparna Pande presented at the Guadalajara International Book Festival on India's role in the Indo-Pacific.

**ISTANBUL, TURKEY**  
Michael Doran and Peter Rough attended the Istanbul Security Conference and met with the U.S. charge d'affaires in Turkey, informing a Hudson report on a potential U.S.-German partnership on Turkey.

**JERUSALEM, ISRAEL**  
Walter Russell Mead led a delegation of journalists and policy experts to meet with senior Israeli and Palestinian officials and discuss the Trump administration's forthcoming Middle East peace proposal. Nina Shea presented at the Jerusalem Policy Center on Hudson's polling on anti-Semitism opinions in the U.S..

**DOHUK, IRAQ**  
Eric Brown and Blaise Misztal attended the Middle East Peace and Security Forum at the American University of Kurdistan and met with civil society leaders and U.S. diplomats.

**ZAGREB, CROATIA**  
Thomas Duesterberg, Craig Kennedy, Bruno Mações, and Peter Rough led a Hudson delegation to Zagreb for the Transatlantic Think Tank Conference, co-hosted with the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, the official think tank of the European People's Party (EPP).

**MOSCOW, RUSSIA**  
At the American Center in Moscow, Richard Weitz presented on opportunities and obstacles for the U.S., Russia, and China regarding nuclear arms control, nonproliferation, and broader security challenges.

**SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA**  
Arthur Herman addressed the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea on U.S. advances in quantum technology.

**TOKYO, JAPAN**  
Kenneth Weinstein briefed Prime Minister Shinz Abe on Asia-Pacific security and domestic U.S. politics and met separately with the head of the National Security Secretariat, the minister of foreign affairs, and the minister of defense. H.R. McMaster and Lewis Libby participated in the Mount Fuji Dialogue. Patrick Cronin addressed the first annual Tokyo Global Dialogue conducted by the Japan Institute for International Affairs.

**BEIJING, CHINA**  
Bruno Mações attended a conference of Chinese officials and think tank experts and observed ever closer Russian-Chinese ties.

**TAIPEI, TAIWAN**  
Seth Cropsey led a Hudson event on Taiwan's security and met with leading Taiwanese foreign ministry officials.

**NUR-SULTAN, KAZAKHSTAN**  
Eric Brown spoke at a conference convened by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung on the digital aspects of emerging trans-Eurasian connectivity and its political and security ramifications for Central Asia.

**NEW DELHI, INDIA**  
Kenneth Weinstein and Walter Russell Mead participated in a conference on U.S.-Indian relations. They then travelled to northern India to meet with the Dalai Lama for a conversation about Tibet and China.

**AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND**  
Eric Brown delivered remarks on the U.S.-China geo-economic rivalry and the need for concerted action by the leading Pacific democracies to address development and security issues in Oceania.

**CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA**  
Patrick Cronin addressed the Australian Institute for Regional Security Strategic Dialogue in Bowral and met with officials in Canberra. Michael Doran delivered remarks on U.S. policy toward Iran and the need of Australia to work closely with the Trump administration. Matthew Hunter briefed the Australian Ambassador to the United States Arthur Sinodinos and former Australian Prime Minister John Howard.

# 2019 Publications

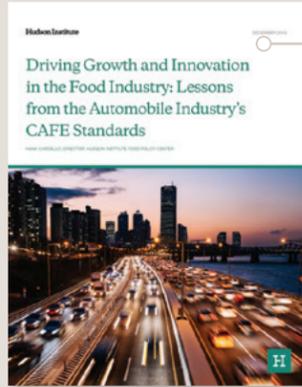
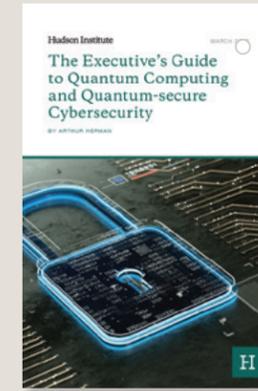
A sample of the reports, journals, and policy memos that Hudson published this year.



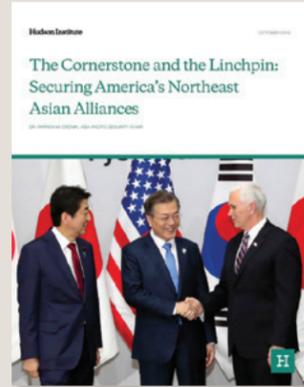
*“The U.S. currently lacks the intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance platforms that enable U.S. commanders to shape the combat environment.”*



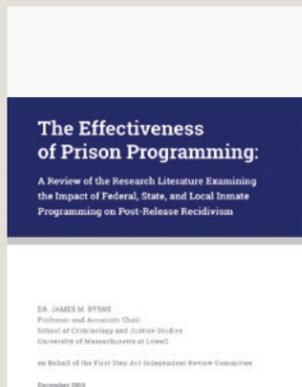
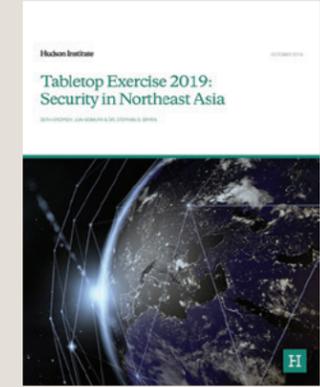
*“European governments need to recognize that non-violent Islamist ideology plays a major role in supporting and generating violent Islamism.”*



*“The key lesson from the auto industry is that without innovation companies do not stand a chance. This is especially true for food companies given consumers' focus on health.”*



*“China is building infrastructure capable of dual economic and military use to break through the “first and second island chains,” a series of pro-U.S. countries that limit Chinese naval access to the Pacific Ocean.”*



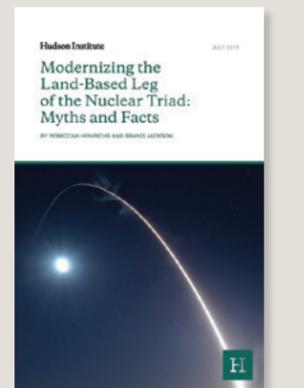
*“Transatlantic cooperation is certainly necessary with respect to China; acting alone, neither the United States nor Europe is likely to succeed in reining in the mercantilist practices of such an enormous and determined economic power.”*



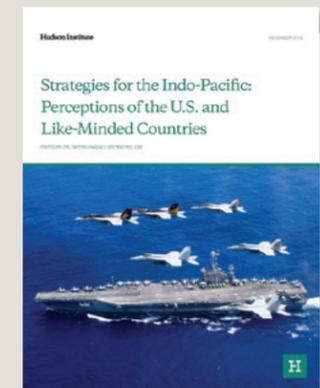
*“The Chinese Communist Party has been cleverly transforming domestic vulnerability into grand strategy and using economic approaches to gain pre-eminence and win without fighting.”*



*“Haifa Port's new container facility is part of China's Belt and Road strategy to access and control seaports around the world.”*



*“China's growing ability to deny foreign navies access to waters and airspace is connected to the sophisticated defense platforms provided by Russia.”*



## H Government Relations

### Hudson Institute analysis and recommendations are sought out by senior policy makers—both at home and abroad.

In Washington, Hudson experts testified regularly on Capitol Hill and conducted dozens of briefings with administration officials, members of Congress from both parties, and senior congressional staffers to inform discussion and shape key policy areas, including federal sentencing reform; U.S. global strategy and defense modernization; the challenge of China and 5G; how to counter Iran; Europe and the future of NATO; the threat of kleptocratic regimes to Western democracies; South Asia and the role of India in U.S. security strategy; and trade.

Prominent policy makers regularly visited Hudson to discuss critical issues with our experts and offer news-making public remarks. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo,

*“If we aren’t the ones that are helping to set and lead the world and set the rules by which people operate, then nations like China and Russia will step in. And neither the Chinese nor the Russians share our commitment to freedom, to the importance of the individual, or to open, global commerce around the world.”*

—Rep. Liz Cheney (R-WY)

a frequent visitor to Hudson since his time on the House Select Committee on Intelligence, delivered a major address on countering the strategic challenge of China. State Department Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism Elan S. Carr discussed rising anti-Semitism in both Europe and America. Director of the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) Andrei Iancu addressed federal efforts to protect U.S. intellectual property. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Tibor Nagy previewed the administration’s new Africa strategy. Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Engineering Michael Griffin outlined the Pentagon’s efforts to



Rep. Liz Cheney (R-WY) participates in Dialogues on American Foreign Policy and World Affairs at Hudson Institute on May 14, 2019.



Sen. Chris Murphy (D-CT) participates in Hudson’s Dialogues on American Foreign Policy and World Affairs with Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Fellow Walter Russell Mead on October 21, 2019.

maintain the U.S. military’s technological superiority. Kiron Skinner, director of policy planning at the State Department, addressed an audience of NATO officials on the future of the transatlantic alliance. Stephen Biegun, then-U.S. Special Representative for North Korea, spoke on the prospects of the administration’s denuclearization efforts while Senior Advisor and Chief Strategist to the Vice President Tom Rose remarked on human rights conditions inside North Korea. Randall Schriver, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific affairs, spoke on ensuring a free and open Indo-Pacific region. Lieutenant General Robert Ashley Jr., Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, offered insight on the status of defense programs in China and Russia, particularly in the areas of missile development and nuclear modernization. Assistant Secretary of State

for International Security and Nonproliferation Christopher Ford and then-Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Weapons of Mass Destruction and Biodefense Tim Morrison twice visited Hudson to outline the Trump administration’s policy on arms control and weapons proliferation. Lastly, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy John C. Rood discussed the Pentagon’s 2019 Missile Defense Review.

From Capitol Hill, Hudson continued to host members to discuss key issues and deepen Hudson’s ties to influential policy makers. Sen. Mitt Romney (R-UT) keynoted Hudson Institute Political Studies’ annual alumni dinner.

Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX) discussed opioids and illicit drug use, border security and prospects for immigration reform. Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) spoke on the role of allies and U.S. power in advancing America’s national interest. Senators Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), Todd Young (R-IN), Chris Murphy (D-CT), and Representative Liz Cheney (R-WY) participated in the Hudson speaker series, Dialogues on American Foreign Policy and World Affairs. Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR) keynoted an event on the implications of China’s surveillance network and brutal repression inside the Xinjiang province.

Rep. Joe Courtney (D-CT) offered keynote remarks for a dinner Hudson held for NATO policy planners who were in Washington celebrating the alliance’s 70th anniversary. Rep. Mike Gallagher (R-WI) discussed the need for administrative reform in how



Top, from left: Sen. Todd Young (R-IN), Rep. Mike Gallagher (R-WI), Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR). Below, from left, Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), Sen. John Cornyn (R-TX), and Sen. Chris Murphy (D-CT).



Congress operates. Rep. Jim Banks (R-IN) addressed stability, democracy, and Islamism in Bangladesh and its implications for U.S. regional goals. Lastly, Rep. Seth Moulton (D-MA) addressed the role of U.S. naval power in our national security strategy. Hudson also hosted a briefing series, the Nuclear Security Forum, to inform Capitol Hill staff members on reducing the threat of nuclear terrorism.

During 2019, Hudson experts testified before the House Committee on Natural Resources, the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, the House Committee on

the Judiciary, and the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Topics included the importance of maintaining a domestic uranium mining capability to U.S. national security; promoting policies to safeguard a free and open internet; and the implementation of the criminal sentencing reform under the First Step Act. Additionally, several Hudson experts appeared before the U.S.-China Commission to assess China's military doctrine and capabilities, the China-Russia security relationship, and U.S. deterrence in East Asia. The hearings informed the Commission's 2019 Annual

## Key Hudson Briefings with Foreign Officials in 2019

- **Shinzō Abe**, Prime Minister of Japan (Tokyo)
- **Takeo Akiba**, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan (Tokyo)
- **Yeng Kit Chan**, then-Permanent Secretary of Defense of Singapore (Washington)
- **Peter Hultqvist**, Swedish Minister of Defense (Washington)
- **Toomas Hendrik Ilves**, former President of Estonia (Tallinn)
- **Kersti Kaljulaid**, President of Estonia (Tallinn)
- **Nobukatsu Kanehara**, Japanese Deputy Secretary General of the National Security Secretariat and Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary (Washington)
- **Krišjānis Kariņš**, Prime Minister of Latvia (Washington)
- **Minoru Kihara**, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Japan (Washington)
- **Shigeru Kitamura**, Secretary General of the Japanese National Security Council (Tokyo)
- **Tarō Kōno**, Japanese Minister of Defense (Tokyo)
- **Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer**, German Minister of Defense (Hamburg)
- **Theresa May**, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (London)
- **Scott Morrison**, Prime Minister of Australia (Canberra)
- **Benjamin Netanyahu**, Prime Minister of Israel (Jerusalem)
- **Sauli Niinistö**, President of Finland (Helsinki)
- **Yasutoshi Nishimura**, Japanese Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary (Washington)
- **Itsunori Onodera**, former Minister of Defense of Japan (Tokyo)
- **Linda Reynolds**, Australian Minister for Defense (Washington)
- **Arnold Ruutel**, former President of Estonia (Tallinn)
- **Kentaro Sonoura**, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Japan (Washington)
- **Shotaro Yachi**, then-Secretary General of the Japanese National Security Council (Tokyo)

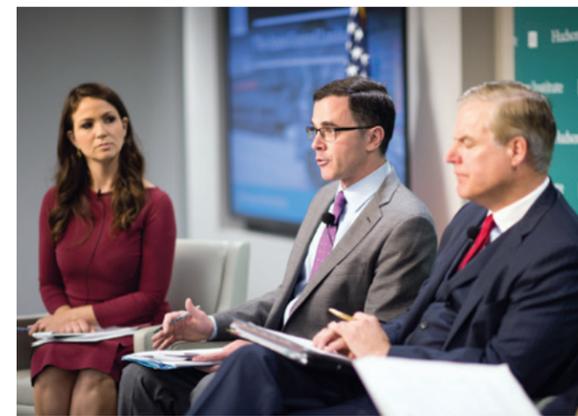
Report to Congress on the national security implications of the economic relationship between the U.S. and China.

Hudson hosted dozens of senior foreign officials in Washington to discuss a range of regional and global issues. We also frequently engaged with officials in overseas capitals to promote ties with key allies.

Hudson led a bipartisan congressional delegation to the United Kingdom that focused on the strategic relationship between our two nations in a post-Brexit environment. The delegation met with senior British government officials to discuss issues related to bilateral trade, the future of NATO, and joint U.S.-U.K. efforts to counter the increasing challenge of China.



Left to right, from top: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy John Rood; President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and Distinguished Fellow Walter Russell Mead; Latvian Prime Minister Krišjānis Kariņš; Senior Advisor and Chief Strategist to the Vice President Tom Rose; German Ambassador to the U.S. Emily Haber; Senior Fellow Arthur Herman and Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR); Heath Hardage Lee, Vice President of Government Relations Daniel McKivergan, and Andrea Rander; former Flag Officer Commanding in Chief of India's Western Naval Command Shekhar Sinha; Koichiro Iizuka and Takuya Yokota of the Association of Families of Victims Kidnapped by North Korea; then-Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Weapons of Mass Destruction and Biodefense at the U.S. National Security Council Tim Morrison; Rep. Seth Moulton (D-MA); Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering Michael Griffin; Sen. Mitt Romney (R-UT); Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX); and National Security Advisor to Vice President Joe Biden Jake Sullivan.



# 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.



*"The U.S. objective is to ensure that Turkey is pulled toward the United States, not pushed away toward Russia."*

—Peter Rough



*"There is a national security emergency with regard to Huawei."*

—Robert Spalding

*"This is not about a drone. This is about Iran trying to tell everyone in the region that they run the Middle East. Not the United States."*

—Michael Doran



*"We have got to invest in missile defense systems and deploy them regionally. The better we can offer a defense against Iranian and North Korean missiles that is credible and reliable, the more we can take away their coercive sting."*

—Rebecca Heinrichs



*"President Trump has to ask himself: Can Kim Jong-un deliver denuclearization?"*

—Patrick Cronin



*"China's larger plan is to deny technological supremacy to America. This is a targeted effort to steal our most innovative technology and thereby dominate world markets."*

—Michael Pillsbury

*"China, Russia, and Iran share the same goal: to displace the United States and create a new authoritarian world order."*

—Arthur Herman



*"There is a war on Christianity from the Muslim extremist population, and we've seen that intensify over the last decade in places like Egypt, Nigeria, and Sri Lanka."*

—Nina Shea

*"200 people a day are dying of overdoses, let alone uncounted thousands being addicted. And people are saying, 'This isn't a real problem.' That's horrifying."*

—John P. Walters



**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. In 2019, Hudson’s footprint grew on both new and traditional media platforms. More people than ever before were engaged through social media, television, radio, print media, and at events. Hudson experts shaped major policy debates through features in major opinion pages, on the broadcast and cable networks, and at Hudson events in D.C. and around the world.

■ **Hudson’s impact in both new and tradition media continued to grow in 2019.** Hudson experts authored more than 400 op-eds in leading domestic and international publications, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Foreign Policy*. Print publications cited Hudson experts more than 1,000 times, and fellows lent their expertise in more than 100 radio and 200 television interviews, including on BBC, CNN, Fox News, CNBC, and more. Through rapidly growing online audiences, Hudson increased social media engagement and impressions by more than 100%, directing tens of thousands of new visitors to research and analysis on Hudson’s website.

■ **Hudson’s state-of-the-art office expansion to the Betsy and Walter Stern Policy Center in Washington,**



Cindy Warmbier listens during a seminar on North Korea abductions at Hudson on May 3, 2019.



Then-U.S. Ambassador to Japan William Hagerty answers questions from reporters following a Hudson event on April 25, 2019.

**D.C. opened the door to more robust public programming opportunities.** Hudson hosted more than 120 public events, featuring debates, roundtable briefings, and policy speeches by scholars, grassroots leaders, executive branch officials, members of Congress, diplomats, foreign leaders, think tank experts, and military leaders.

■ **Hudson launched *The Realignment* podcast in 2019.** Hosted by **Saagar Enjeti** and **Marshall Kosloff**, *The Realignment* engages prominent thought leaders and policy makers in discussions about shifting ideological fault lines and the intersection of national security, economics, technology, and the role of government. Guests have included Secretary of State Mike Pompeo; Sens. Tom Cotton and Josh Hawley; Rep.

Mike Gallagher; J.D. Vance, Peter Navarro, and Eliana Johnson, as well as Hudson’s own Michael Doran, Douglas Feith, Rebecca Heinrichs, Robert Spalding, and John Walters. Since its launch, *The Realignment* has grown to enjoy a worldwide audience and episodes have been downloaded more than 150,000 times.

■ **Hudson hosted a remarkable group of speakers in 2019** including Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo**; Senators **John Cornyn** (R-TX), **Tom Cotton** (R-AR), **Ted Cruz** (R-TX), **Chris Murphy** (D-CT), **Sheldon Whitehouse** (D-RI), and **Todd Young** (R-IN); Reps. **Jim Banks** (R-IN), **Liz Cheney** (R-WY), **Mike Gallagher** (R-WI), and **Seth Moulton** (D-MA); former Senator **Joe Lieberman**; former Secretary of Homeland

**MEDIA OUTREACH AND EVENTS**

Security **Tom Ridge**; U.S. Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom **Sam Brownback**; U.S. Ambassador to Japan **William F. Hagerty**; U.S. Ambassador to Romania **Hans Klemm**; Federal Trade Commissioners **Noah Phillips** and **Michael O’Rielly**; Under Secretary of Defense **John C. Rood**; Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering **Michael Griffin**; Senior Advisor and Chief Strategist to the Vice President **Tom Rose**; U.S. State Department Director of Policy Planning **Kiron Skinner**; Defense Intelligence Agency Director **Lt. Gen. Robert P. Ashley, Jr.**; Army Research Laboratory Chief Scientist

**Alexander Kott**; Assistant Attorney General **Makan Delrahim**; Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Non-Proliferation **Christopher Ford**; Director of the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office **Andrei Iancu**; former Assistant Secretary of Defense **Mary Beth Long**; Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs **Tibor Nagy**; U.S. National Security Council Director of Defense Policy and Strategy **Mir Sadat**; Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs **Randall Schriver**; Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs



Senior Fellow and Director for Chinese Strategy Michael Pillsbury listens to Japan Chair H.R. McMaster speak during Canada’s Munk Debates on May 9, 2019.

**Marcia Bernicat**; Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary for Southeast Asia **Mark D. Clark**; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Afghanistan Affairs **Nancy Jackson**; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Cyber and International Communications and Information Policy **Robert Strayer**; former Air Force Commander **Lt. Gen. Steven L. Kwast**; Director of the Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance Resources **James Richardson**; General Counsel of the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative **Stephen Vaughn**; Vodafone CEO **Nick Read**; former National Security Advisor to Vice President Joe Biden **Jake Sullivan**; Australian Defense Minister **Linda Reynolds**; Indonesian Ambassador to the United States **Mahendra Siregar**; Afghan National Security Advisor **Hamdullah Mohib**; Danish Ambassador to the United Nations **Martin Bille Hermann**; Indian Ambassador to the United States **Harsh Vardhan Shringla**; former Commander-in-Chief of India’s Western Naval Command Vice Admiral (ret.) **Shekhar Sinha**; Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations **Danny Danon**; Japanese Deputy Secretary General of National Security Secretariat & Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary **Nobukatsu Kanehara**;



Above, Ravenel B. Curry III Distinguished Fellow Walter Russell Mead and Sen. Chris Murphy (D-CT) participate in Hudson’s Dialogues on American Foreign Policy and World Affairs on October 21, 2019. Below, Senior Fellow Eric Brown leads a discussion on China’s human rights abuses in the Xinjiang region on December 18, 2019.



Japanese Minister of Trade, Industry/ Business, and Energy **Takeshi Komoto**; Romanian Ambassador to the United States **George Maior**; South Korean Ambassador to the United States **Cho Yoon-je**; Taoyuan City Mayor **Cheng Wen-Tsan**; President of the World Uyghur Congress **Dolkun Isa**; and authors **Alex Berenson** and **Mike Giglio**, among many others.

# H Hudson by the Numbers

## WEBSITE



**1.7 MILLION PAGEVIEWS** ▲ (11% increase from 2018)



**735,000 UNIQUE VISITORS** ▲ (14% increase from 2018)

## SOCIAL MEDIA

(across Twitter, Facebook, & Instagram from Hudson & KI accounts)



**12 MILLION IMPRESSIONS** ▲ (191% increase from 2018)



**194,000 ENGAGEMENTS** ▲ (125% increase from 2018)



**73,819 TOTAL FOLLOWERS** ▲ (20% increase from 2018)

## YOUTUBE



**597,489 VIEWS**



**5,181 NEW SUBSCRIBERS**



**9.6 MILLION IMPRESSIONS** ▲ (2% increase from 2018)

## GOOGLE SEARCH



**565,000 CLICKS**



**23 MILLION IMPRESSIONS**

## PODCASTS

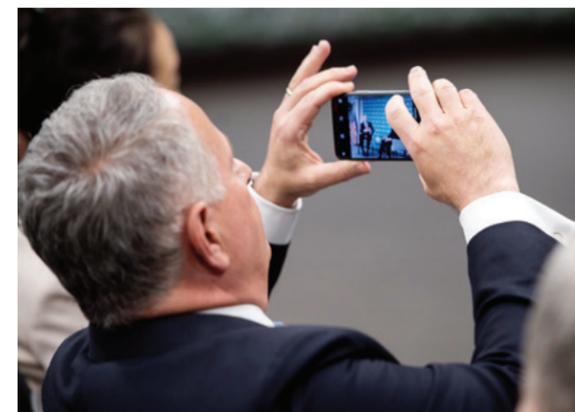


**48,000 DOWNLOADS & LISTENS**

## EARNED MEDIA



**705 PRINT MENTIONS, 397 OP EDS**



Clockwise from top left: Rep. Mike Gallagher (R-WI); Vice President of Public Affairs Ann Marie Hauser; Media Fellow Saagar Enjeti; Krystal Ball and Media Fellow Marshall Kosloff; Sen. Tom Cotton (R-AR); President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein takes a photo of Hudson's panelists on April 25, 2019; and Sen. Josh Hawley (R-MO).



# H Educating Future Leaders

Hudson’s commitment to strengthening America and its allies is furthered in our programs devoted to educating the leaders of tomorrow.

## Hudson Institute Political Studies

Hudson Institute Political Studies offers exceptional undergraduates a summer fellowship based in Washington, D.C. that focuses on the serious study of politics. Participating students are encouraged to think independently through a curriculum of political philosophy, strategy, and policy.

In 2019, some 36 students—selected from over 1,100 applicants from renowned colleges and universities across the country and around the world—convened in the nation’s capital for Hudson’s six-week program directed by **John Walters** and **Rachel Mackey**, involving rigorous seminars, workshops, and events

with distinguished professors, policy practitioners, and national leaders.

Seminar studies examined the foundations of political regimes, how political life is sustained, America’s founding, the Civil War, policymaking, and life beyond politics. Students studied seminal philosophical thinkers and texts, including Plato, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Locke, Montesquieu, the Constitution of the United States, the *Federalist Papers*, the writings and speeches of Abraham Lincoln,

*“Hudson Institute Political Studies provides an unparalleled intellectual opportunity to ask the most important questions with others who are interested in doing the same. This education is an active experience orienting oneself to what is meaningful and learning how to shape life in response.”*

—Sydney Riley,  
Villanova University



Daniel Cordray and Babs Hough discuss Plato’s Republic during a seminar on July 4, 2019.



Clockwise from top left: Echo Zhuge discusses Plato’s Republic; Captain Brian Park leads students through the Arlington National Cemetery; Luka Rone listens to presentations during a staff ride to the Gettysburg Battlefield; and John DiGravio listens to discussion during a morning seminar.



*“The Hudson Political Studies summer program exceeded my expectations on all fronts. Learning from leading academics, government officials, generals, and Supreme Court justices was an invaluable experience. More than this, I had never been immersed in such an intellectually stimulating environment, and the friends I made throughout the program will be in my life for years to come. Anyone who is serious about the study of politics should consider this program.”*

—Shane Leary,  
Rochester Institute  
of Technology

## EDUCATING FUTURE LEADERS

Shakespeare, and selections from the Old and New Testaments.

Hudson experts including **Eric Brown**, **Jack David**, **Michael Doran**, **Melanie Kirkpatrick**, **Walter Russell Mead**, **Peter Rough**, and **Nadia Schadlow** led discussions focused on policy and history and engaged students in the policymaking process, using crisis simulations to push students to their intellectual limits. Finally, a bipartisan lineup of distinguished speakers, including Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Sen. Tom Cotton, Leon Kass, Harvey Mansfield, Sen. Mitt Romney, and Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse addressed students on current and enduring political questions in intimate, off-the-record sessions.

*“The Hudson Political Studies program is an experience like no other. It is thoughtful, exciting, and rigorous. What it is able to achieve for its students in just six weeks is astounding. I leave this program with more changed questions, a deeper understanding of the American political system, and great friends. I cannot put into words how much I have gained.”*

—**Thato Kgalema**,  
St. John’s College



At left, Hudson Institute Political Studies Assistant Director Rachel Mackey on October 3, 2019. At right, Chief Operating Officer John P. Walters speaks with a group of students before morning seminars on July 4, 2019.



Hudson’s Summer 2019 interns with President, CEO, and Walter P. Stern Chair Kenneth R. Weinstein.

## Internships

Over 125 students, recent graduates, and veterans from leading universities in more than 20 countries participated in Hudson Institute’s internship program in 2019, providing invaluable research assistance—often working one-on-one with Hudson’s experts and project managers—to enhance Hudson’s work.

Hudson interns support core policy studies of the Institute—including national security, international relations, defense, grand strategy and history, and economics—and also have the opportunity to learn about and support the operational management of a think tank.

Research interns tackled a wide array of interesting projects in 2019:

- Asia-Pacific Security interns researched qualitative models for analyzing a nation’s threat perceptions, contributing to ongoing research projects on North Korea. They also helped conduct literature reviews on U.S. force posture to support analysis on the trajectories of U.S. and Chinese maritime forces and the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific.
- South and Central Asia Program interns conducted research for forthcoming books on Islam, the Muslim world, the Middle East, and India.
- Center for Chinese Strategy interns compiled U.S. administration public remarks on U.S. China policy.
- International Relations interns set about to create a bibliography of Confucian thinkers in Asia, particularly those who have defended the rich tradition of Confucian

## EDUCATING FUTURE LEADERS

humanism against its appropriation by the Chinese Communist Party. Others researched Russian views of India in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and assessed the decline of the study of India in Russia since the Soviet collapse.

- Grand Strategy interns studied U.S. arms sales and security policy in the Middle East from the Kennedy administration through the Reagan administration, specifically researching how the U.S. government thought oil sales would impact the post-Bretton Woods monetary system and how

arms sales could enhance the capabilities of American partners in the Middle East while reducing financial instability.

Hudson interns also 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.



Former Hudson intern Sunao Takao, left, translates for Prime Minister of Japan Shinzō Abe in a meeting with U.S. President Donald Trump at the G7 Summit in Biarritz, France, on August 25, 2019.

*“Interning at Hudson Institute has been a truly formative experience. I have gained invaluable insights and guidance from the scholars here at Hudson, who are not only incredibly knowledgeable, but who also devote so much of their time and energy to cultivating the next generation of thoughtful, responsible policy researchers. The scholars and*

*research staff at Hudson have a shared vision of producing high-quality, high-impact work that addresses salient policy issues in real time. These values shine through in the finished products Hudson generates, as well as in the work ethic of each individual staff member.”*

*—Isabelle Burke,  
Asia-Pacific Security Research  
Intern, University of Virginia*

# H 2019 Herman Kahn Award Gala

AT A GALA CEREMONY IN MANHATTAN ON OCTOBER 30, Hudson Institute paid tribute to Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo, presenting him with the Institute's 2019 Herman Kahn Award.

“Your founder, Herman Kahn, was an extraordinary scholar whose provocative insights challenged conventional wisdom and helped shape the destiny of our nation and the world,” said News Corp Executive Chairman and Fox Corporation Co-Chairman Rupert Murdoch while introducing Secretary Pompeo. “Mike Pompeo is also unafraid to confront the status quo, dauntless in dealing with intractable problems.”



national security. He described the many ways in which China is threatening the free and open American-led world order—from Chinese intellectual property theft that has caused American job loss, to extrajudicial territorial and maritime claims in places like the South China Sea and the Taiwan Strait, to the trampling of human rights in Hong Kong and the Xinjiang province. He called on

Americans to engage China as it is, not as we wish it were.

*“We want to see a prosperous China that is at peace with its own people and with its neighbors. We want to see a thriving China. ... And we want to see a liberalized China that allows the genius of its people to flourish. ... But above all, it's critical that as Americans, we engage China as it is, not as we wish it were.”*

—Secretary of State  
Michael R. Pompeo  
October 30, 2019

Secretary Pompeo received Hudson's Herman Kahn Award for his accomplishments as secretary of state and director of the CIA; for his leadership on key policy issues as a member of Congress from Kansas; for his private sector leadership; and for his service in the United States Army.

Secretary Pompeo's remarks focused on the Trump administration's decision to take on the challenge from the People's Republic of China in a way called for by our time. He described America's long-cherished tradition of friendship with the Chinese people, but stated that it is no longer realistic to ignore the threats the communist People's Republic of China poses to American

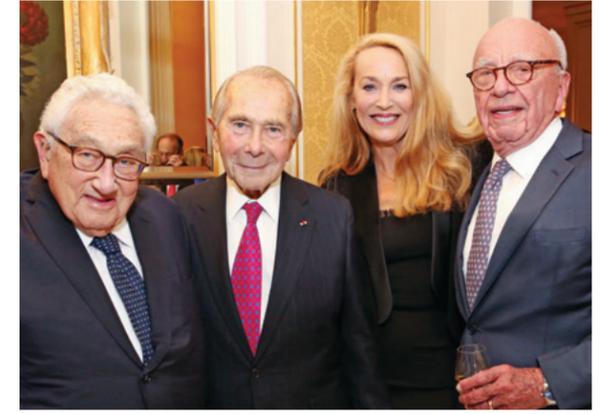


Clockwise from top left: Chairman of Hudson Institute's Board of Trustees Sarah May Stern presents Secretary of State Mike Pompeo with the 2019 Herman Kahn Award; News Corp Executive Chairman and Fox Corporation Co-Chairman Rupert Murdoch introduces Secretary Pompeo; and President and CEO Kenneth Weinstein interviews Secretary Pompeo.





Camillo Santomero, Bill Strong, Samantha Strong, Fletcher Strong, Sandi Strong, and Denise Santomero; Sec. of State Mike Pompeo and Margaret Whitehead; Kimberly Guilfoyle, Brian Kilmeade, and Ed Henry; Henry Kissinger, Hank Greenberg, Jerry Hall, and Rupert Murdoch; Melanie Kirkpatrick, Jack David, John and Barbara Lehman; Debbie, Katie, and Daniel Cooper, Gilbert Scharf, and Sec. Pompeo; Walter and Betsy Stern, and Sec. Pompeo; Davis Moore, Karen and Scott Stuckman, Lori and Sean Hunter, Martyna Lopacynska, Joanna Lopacynski, Diane Moore, and Wlodek Lopacynski; Yushi Kumitsobo, Shinichi Hayase, Kenneth R. Weinstein, and Shigeru Hattori; Stuart Varney, Ray and Ellen Oneglia, and Liz Peek; Nora and Suzannah May, and Luke Leshinsky; Peter and Karen Leidel; Chris Wallace, Lorraine Smothers, and Sec. Pompeo; Karen Davidson, Sec. Pompeo, and Ravenel Curry; Patrick Cronin, Carol Deane, and Greg Scarlatoiu.



# H Support for Hudson Institute

## HUDSON'S IMPACT IN TODAY'S PUBLIC POLICY DEBATES DEPENDS ON THE GENEROUS SUPPORT OF INDIVIDUALS, FOUNDATIONS, AND CORPORATIONS

who underwrite the Institute's mission-driven work: promoting strong and engaged U.S. leadership, defending free markets, and securing the vital interests of the U.S. 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 promoting security, prosperity, and freedom, and are gratefully accepted in the form of cash, securities, stocks, bequests and other planned giving, and contributions to our endowment. Hudson also receives support from U.S. government grants and contracts and from democratic allies of the United States.

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

■ **Hudson's New York Discussion Series welcomed incredible speakers at intimate,**

**off-the record sessions in Manhattan.** At monthly meetings, members of Hudson's Chairman's Advisory Board received an insider's briefing on North Korea nuclear negotiations; discussed technology trends and threats to national security; analyzed the policy record of the Trump administration; and debated current events in the Middle East. Distinguished speakers included Hudson experts **Patrick Cronin, Thomas Duesterberg, Michael Doran, Arthur Herman, Lewis Libby, H.R. McMaster, Walter Russell Mead, Heather Nauert, Michael Pillsbury, Bill Rhodes, Nadia Schadlow, Robert Spalding, John Walters,** and **Kenneth Weinstein**, as well as guest speakers such as then-U.S. Special Representative for North Korea Stephen Biegun, historians Victor Davis Hanson and Andrew Roberts, and Vice President Dan Quayle.

■ **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 that can change quickly and



Hudson Institute Chairman's Advisory Board members visit the Lockheed Martin Skunk Works facility in Palmdale, California on January 31, 2019.

decisively. Members of Hudson's Corporate Advisory Council receive expert guidance on key policy issues when it matters most, including time-sensitive and tailored

briefings in response to breaking news, closed-door briefings, invitations to special events, and a network of trusted peers and policy makers in the nation's capital.

## ENDOWED CHAIRS

Endowed chairs are an essential investment in Hudson’s work and help the Institute recruit top policy experts. We were proud to announce three endowed chairs in 2019.

### Asia-Pacific Security Chair

With American policy makers focusing increased attention on the challenges and opportunities in the Asia-Pacific region, Hudson inaugurated in January its Asia-Pacific Security Chair, held by Patrick Cronin. The chair’s research program analyzes the challenges and opportunities confronting the United States in the Indo-Pacific region, including China’s total competition campaign, the future of the Korean peninsula, and strengthening U.S. alliances and partnerships.

“Patrick’s clear-eyed analysis of Asia’s shifting geopolitical boundaries is built on decades of policy experience,” said Hudson Institute President and CEO Kenneth Weinstein at the Chair’s dedication. “America’s relationships across Asia have never been more important to global stability, and we’re proud to have Patrick at Hudson working towards policy that strengthens those alliances.”

“I am grateful to be the new Asia-Pacific Security Chair at Hudson Institute,” said Patrick Cronin. “The Chair grants me an ideal platform for applying independent critical thinking to urgent challenges and



Asia-Pacific Security Chair Patrick Cronin discusses U.S.-Japan relations on April 25, 2019.

vital opportunities facing America in the Asia-Pacific region. As we contemplate the remainder of this century and imagine the next, what the United States brings to Asia and the world may determine the future of individual liberty, democratic governance, and world peace.”

### Japan Chair

Since our founding nearly 60 years ago, Hudson Institute has championed a strong Japan and the importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance. Hudson’s founder, Herman Kahn, was among the first to predict the rise of Japan as a major world economic power. In 2013, Prime Minister Shinzō Abe received Hudson’s Herman Kahn Award, in part in recognition of Japan’s crucial role in helping secure a free and prosperous future for democracies around the world. In 2019, Hudson proudly created its Japan Chair and announced the inaugural chair holder, former U.S. National Security Advisor, Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster (U.S. Army, Ret.).

“Today, more than ever, growing threats in Northeast Asia and the Indo-Pacific prove the need for an enduring U.S.-Japan alliance,” said Hudson President and CEO Kenneth Weinstein in April at the Japan Chair’s inauguration. “We have launched the Japan Chair to address these challenges and opportunities, and we are honored to have H.R. McMaster at the helm of this major new initiative. With deep ties in both Washington and Tokyo, Hudson is poised to use this program to expand economic ties, enhance defense cooperation, and promote closer scientific and technological collaboration between the United States and Japan.”

“In light of direct threats such as North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs, as well as indirect threats such as those posed by the policies and actions of the Chinese Communist Party, the Japan-United States



Japan Chair H.R. McMaster delivers remarks at the Mount Fuji Dialogue in Tokyo on October 26, 2019.

alliance is more important than ever,” said McMaster. “I look forward to doing all I can to support Hudson’s important work to strengthen our relationship and identify opportunities to preserve peace, promote prosperity, and advance our common principles as free, open, democratic nations. I hope also to contribute to increasing our confidence not only in our individual nations and relationship, but also in the free and open systems that connect the United States and Japan to like-minded democracies across the Indo-Pacific region and beyond.”

## Walter P. Stern Chair

In December, Hudson inaugurated the Walter P. Stern Chair, named for Hudson's extraordinary chairman emeritus whose vision and dedication to Hudson has set the gold standard for leadership in the think tank community. President and CEO Kenneth Weinstein, who celebrated his 20th anniversary with Hudson Institute in 2019, was named the inaugural chair holder.

"Our family has been looking forward to this opportunity to honor Ken for some years," said Chairman of the Hudson Institute Board of Trustees Sarah May Stern. "His dedication to Hudson, friendship to our family, and leadership in the policy community over the last two decades has made this organization what it is today."

During his tenure as president and CEO of Hudson, Weinstein has shaped and led Hudson's strategic transformation to become a top-tier think tank promoting American leadership, with a focus on foreign policy, national security, economics, and technology. Under his leadership, Hudson's influence globally has dramatically

*"Ken's dedication to Hudson, friendship to our family, and leadership in the policy community over the last two decades has made this organization what it is today."*

—Sarah May Stern



President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein and Chairman Emeritus Walter P. Stern at Hudson's 2018 Herman Kahn Award Gala.

increased, especially in Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. Drawing on founder Herman Kahn's vision, Weinstein has encouraged Hudson experts to highlight the critical importance of the intersection of strategy, technology, and policy. Most importantly, he has restored Hudson's tradition of looking at challenges in new ways in order to develop creative and unconventional policy solutions.

"Ken has had a tremendous impact on Hudson, and I cannot think of a better person to serve as the inaugural holder of this Chair," said Wally Stern.

"I am profoundly moved to be the inaugural holder of the Walter P. Stern Chair," said Weinstein. "Wally is a mensch in the truest sense: a dedicated patriot, a wise leader, and a man of enormous accomplishment who remains selfless and humble."

## Why I Support Hudson Institute

*"At this critical time for America, Hudson Institute provides the intellectual firepower and fresh ideas essential to a secure, free, and prosperous future. Its work is highly valued by policy makers throughout government and its scholars help to shape the public's understanding of key issues and challenges facing our country. It is a privilege to be a Hudson supporter."*

—Russell Pennoyer

*"The work of Hudson serves the national security and other policy needs of the United States. The written and oral advice Hudson experts offer is informed by their ferreting out all of the facts pertinent to our most important national decisions—rejecting none on ideological grounds—and persuasively arguing for practical solutions to public policy problems. Hudson Institute also helps to develop future leaders who are knowledgeable and intellectually honest. This is why I have supported and do support Hudson Institute"*

—Jack David

*"It is a difficult thing, to acknowledge and learn from the past while carefully planning for the future. Time after time, Hudson Institute has proven its ability to do just that. Hudson has consistently demonstrated the efficacy of its winning blend of thoughtful, often unconventional, policy solutions and the firepower to see them through to adoption. I am excited about what the future holds for the Institute and am pleased to do my part to help ensure Hudson's enduring success."*

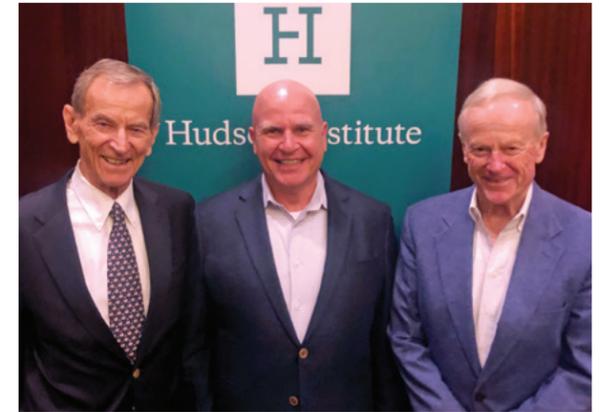
—Linden S. Blue

*"Hudson's deep bench of experts meets the challenge of shaping our defense and foreign policy in ways that have given our freedom and prosperity greater meaning throughout the world. The result has not only shored up the foundations of our national security, but won Hudson respect and support among our leaders, policy institutions, citizens, and allies. Supporting this vital work at Hudson Institute has been one of my great pleasures."*

—Margaret Whitehead



Kenneth R. Weinstein, H.R. McMaster, and Shinya Katanozaka; Marie-Josée Kravis; Roger Hertog and Kenneth R. Weinstein; Margaret Whitehead; Mami Hidaka, Debbie Cooper, and Will Scharf; Ravenel B. Curry III and Karen Davidson; Barbara and Stanley Arkin; Gilbert Scharf and U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer; Walter P. Stern; Thomas Barry; Linden S. Blue, H.R. McMaster, and Neal Blue; John P. Walters, H.R. McMaster, and Leslie Schweitzer; Russell Pennoyer; and a session of Hudson's New York Discussion Series in Manhattan.



# H Charles H. Adler Wing

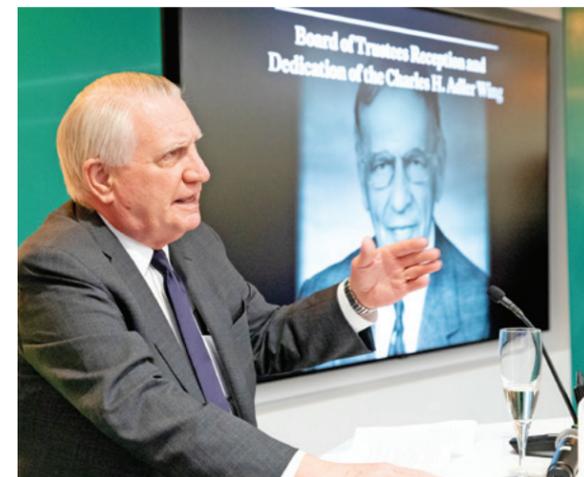
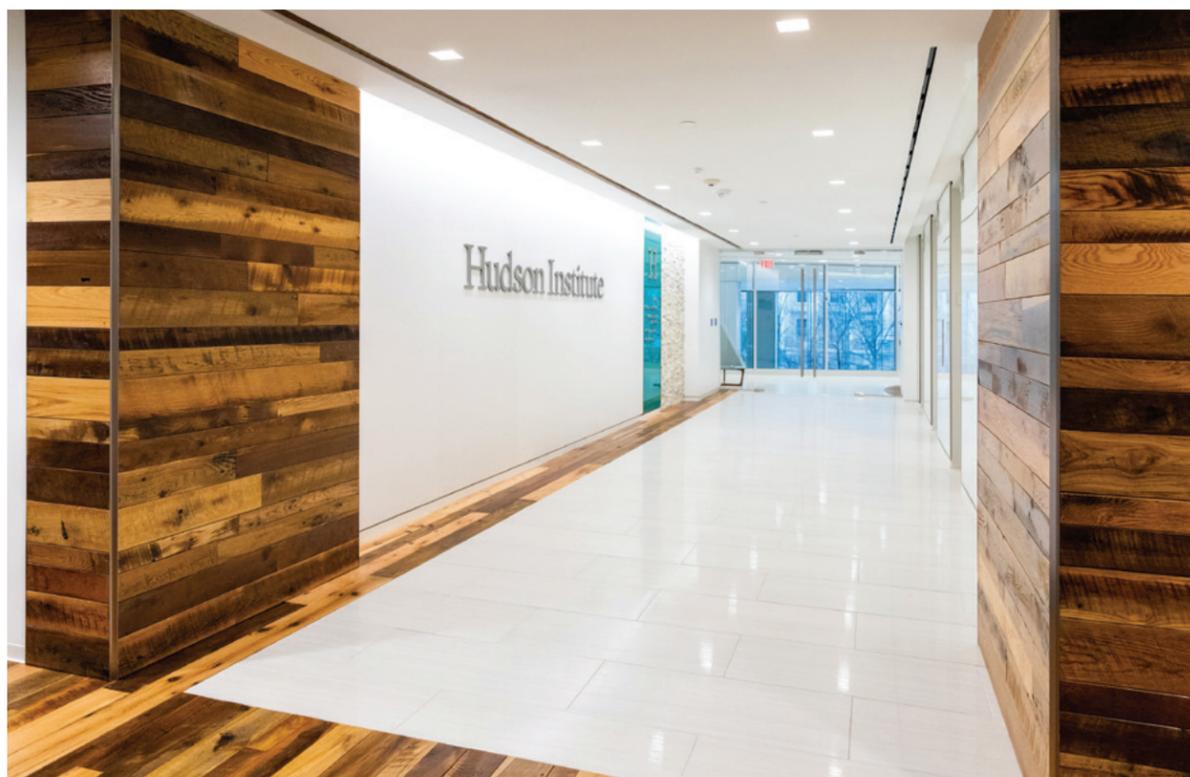
**TO SUPPORT OUR GROWING PROGRAMS AND STAFF, HUDSON** expanded its Washington, D.C. headquarters, opening the Charles H. Adler Wing in July.

An extraordinary and transformative bequest from the late Charles H. Adler—a longtime supporter of Hudson and true patriot—along with the valued support of Hudson’s Board of Trustees and Chairman’s Advisory Board made possible the office expansion.

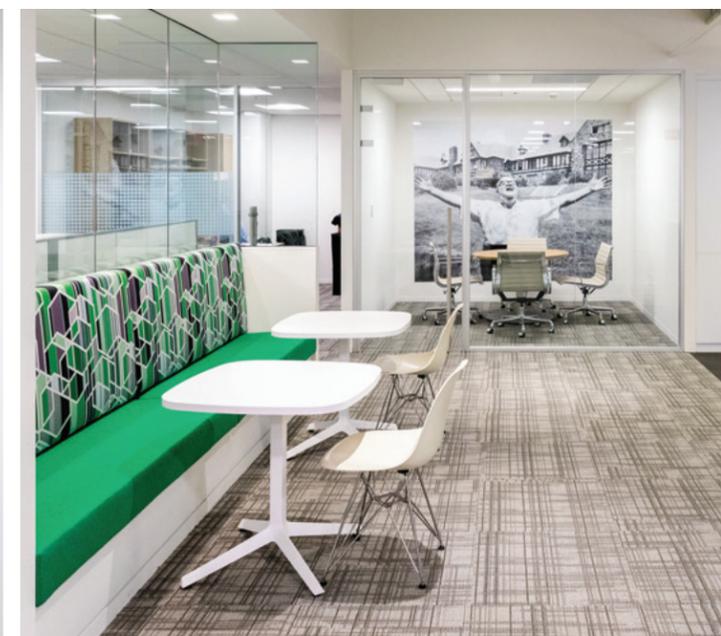
The 8,000 square foot expansion included construction of a beautiful seminar room for

briefings, policy addresses, and roundtable discussions; state-of-the-art podcast and film studios; 12 new offices for Hudson experts; and 12 workstations for junior research staff.

Hudson owes special thanks to Fox Architects, HITT Construction, and MOI Furniture for their partnership on the project.



Clockwise from top left: Chief Operating Officer John P. Walters delivers remarks at the dedication reception for the Charles H. Adler Wing; Melody and Cary Adler pose for a photo atop the United States Capitol Building; President and CEO Kenneth R. Weinstein, U.S. Chamber of Commerce CEO Thomas Donahue, Export-Import Bank President and Chairman Kimberly Reed, and Trustee Gilbert Scharf at Hudson’s grand opening of the Charles H. Adler Wing.



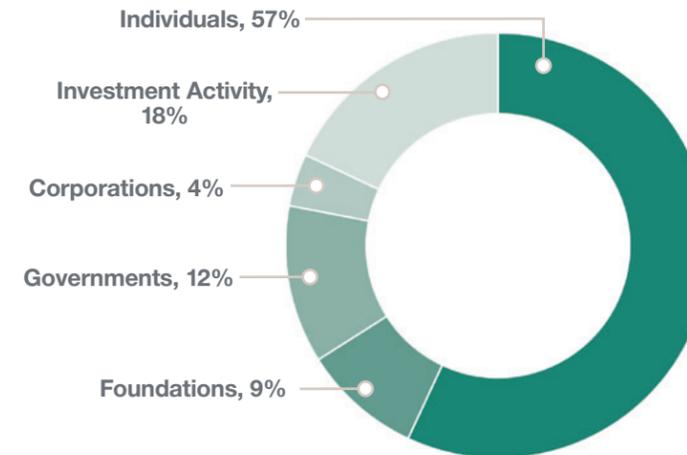
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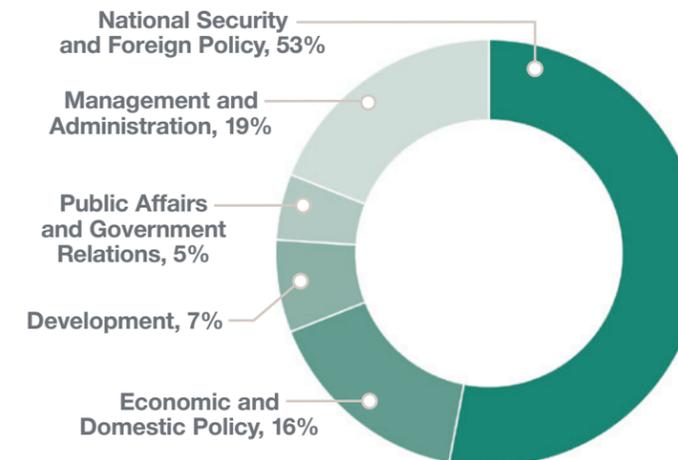
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# H 2019 Financials

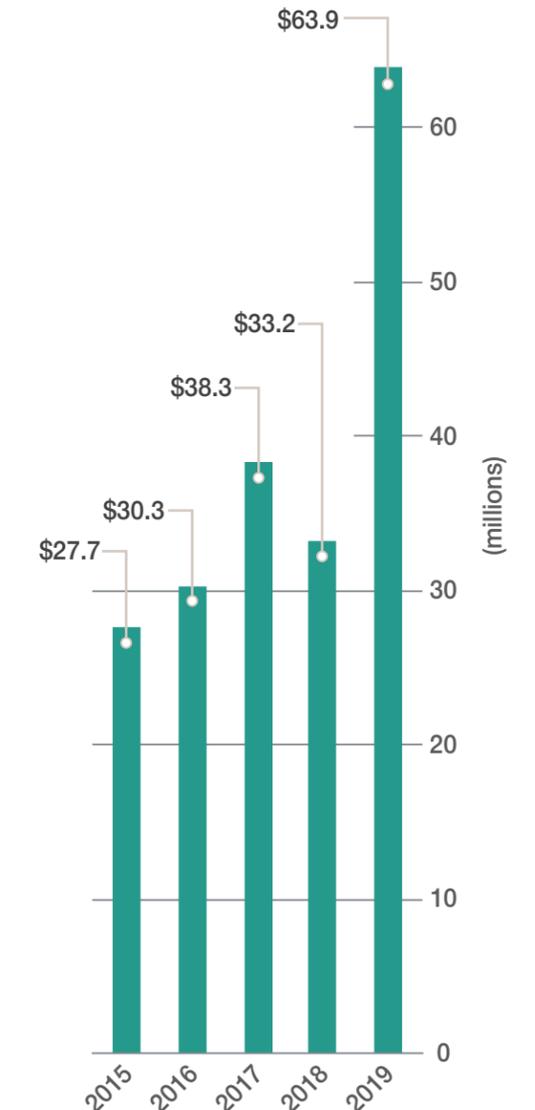
**TOTAL REVENUES**  
**\$57.1 million**



**TOTAL EXPENSES**  
**\$18.6 million**



**ENDOWMENT INVESTMENT BALANCES**



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## H In Memoriam

### Max Singer (1931-2020)

**I**t was with great sadness, that at the dawn of a new decade, Hudson Institute lost its cherished co-founder, former president, senior fellow, and trustee emeritus. Max Singer, beloved member of the Hudson family, passed away on January 23, 2020, at the age of eighty-eight.

Born in 1931, Max grew up in New York City. He graduated from Columbia University and earned a Juris Doctor degree from Harvard Law School.

Hudson's origins date to 1960, when Max, a young lawyer at the Atomic Energy Commission interested in national security affairs, met the iconoclastic Herman Kahn, then a researcher at the RAND Corporation in Los Angeles. Herman had recently become famous following the publication of *On Thermonuclear War*. Together they participated in a "summer study" on arms control organized by Massachusetts Institute of Technology mathematician Don Brennan. Max and Herman hit it off, and a year later, they and Oscar M. Ruebhausen incorporated Hudson Institute, which they intended to be a different sort of think tank. Working from a campus in Croton-on-Hudson, New York—far from Washington and the urgency of the policy calendar—Max and Herman charted Hudson's mission, which still informs the Institute today: to think about the future in unconventional ways and to develop solutions for the most challenging problems facing the United States and the world.



*“Max was a highly creative, but equally a courageous thinker. When I think of a ‘Hudson tradition’ he is one of the first people who comes to mind, and he should, because he, as much as anyone, created that tradition.”*

—Gov. Mitch Daniels

Max served as Hudson's first president, helping to recruit to Hudson an extraordinary group of interdisciplinary researchers—including physicists, mathematicians, political analysts, lawyers, engineers, and demographers—who shaped the Institute's pathbreaking work on nuclear policy, deterrence, economic growth, energy, and the future of Asia.

Max made Hudson an institution that takes ideas seriously. In 1962, he helped Herman write, *Thinking about the Unthinkable*. As Gil Troy noted in the *Jerusalem Post*, “[Max and Herman] argued, paradoxically, that only by thinking through a nuclear catastrophe could America develop a coherent deterrence strategy to minimize the chances of such a war breaking out.”

Max, his wife Suzanne and their four sons made an extended “visit” in Israel from 1973 to 1977. The impact of that time led both parents and sons eventually to make Israel their home where they still live and where all 11 grandchildren were born. At Hudson's 50th anniversary event in 2011, Max said: “Jerusalem is a wonderful place to live. You feel that you are a part of creating something. In space it's a small city, but somehow if you stand in the middle of it and wait long enough, everybody comes by.” Tragically, their second son, Alex, was killed while serving in the Israeli Defense Forces trying to save his commander during a terrorist ambush in Lebanon in 1987.

Max was an enduring optimist about the potential of human beings and their futures. He was the author of three prescient books: *Passage to a Human World: The Dynamics of Creating Global Wealth* (1987), *The Real*

*World Order: Zones of Peace / Zones of Turmoil* (1993), and *History of the Future: The Shape of the World to Come is Visible Today* (2011). Gil Troy wrote of *History of the Future*, “[Max] saw the world evolving toward a universal democratic reality wherein freedom dominates, education spreads, wealth grows, families shrink and...‘all people count.’ But, he warned, when democracy triumphs and ‘the war system’ disappears, humanity's ‘biggest challenge’ will be finding ‘a substitute for the adversity that has helped to shape human character.’”

Max remained an active contributor to Hudson's work until the very end, publishing in the *Wall Street Journal* about current events in the Middle East and debating with colleagues the ideas that informed his work at Hudson for decades.

Max is survived by Suzanne, his wife of 61 years; sons Saul, Daniel, and Benjy; and 11 grandchildren.

*“The world needs help looking forward and thinking how to enter intelligently, constructively, idealistically, into the optimistic future Max Singer envisioned—and helped build.”*

—Gil Troy

## H In Memoriam

### Charles H. Adler (1927–2019)

**Hudson Institute remembers Charles H. Adler, a dedicated patriot and longtime supporter of Hudson.**

Charles' story is an incredible testament to the "American dream." Born in Germany in 1927, Charles witnessed firsthand the rise to power of Hitler and the Nazi Party. His family fled to Holland and an aunt living in America successfully sponsored their emigration to the United States.

Living in Harlem, Charles' family found work making German chocolates and candies, with Charles—even as a young boy—traveling the streets of New York after school and on weekends to sell the candies.

Charles enlisted in the United States Navy at age 17 to fight in World War II, serving in the South Pacific.

After the war, Charles returned to the food industry, founding the company that eventually became Estee Foods Company, an industry pioneer in sugar-free candy and foods. As chairman of Estee Foods, Adler grew skeptical of government regulations, however well-intentioned they may be.

Charles is survived by three children—Cary, Alan, and Melody—and four grandchildren. All who knew Charles will remember him for his kindness, generosity, and love for his country.



## What They Say about Hudson Institute

*“Hudson Institute has played a leading role in American public life by thinking about the future in unconventional ways.”*  
—Vice President Mike Pence

*“One of the things that gives us trust in Hudson’s perspective is that it’s not one single perspective.”*  
—Senator Marco Rubio

*“I regularly rely on Hudson Institute scholars to help inform my thinking and the way I help shape policy here in the Senate.”*  
—Senator Tom Cotton

*“Hudson Institute is one of the most outstanding institutions in America.”*  
—Former Senator John McCain

*“[Hudson] is known as an institute that can work across the aisle on so many issues.”*  
—Former Senator Mary Landrieu

*“Hudson Institute understands something that’s very important: American leadership is indispensable to the advancement of freedom.”*  
—Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley

*“Hudson has a point of view: it’s for strong American leadership in the world to protect America’s security, prosperity, and freedom.”*  
—Former Senator Joe Lieberman

*“People who do ‘cut-and-paste’ work don’t belong at Hudson Institute. It takes a kind of intellectual courage or willingness to challenge fundamentals, and it takes a willingness to stand alone oftentimes. That’s been the essence of Hudson Institute since 1961. It’s the essence of Hudson Institute today”*  
—Kenneth R. Weinstein

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