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# A NATION MUST THINK BEFORE IT ACTS



FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

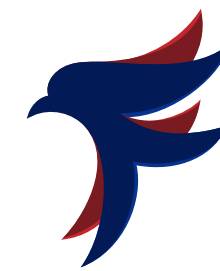
2018 ANNUAL REPORT



FOUNDED 1955

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FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

## MISSION

The Foreign Policy Research Institute is dedicated to producing the highest quality scholarship and nonpartisan policy analysis focused on crucial foreign policy and national security challenges facing the United States. We educate those who make and influence policy, as well as the public at large, through the lens of history, geography, and culture.

## OFFERING IDEAS

In an increasingly polarized world, we pride ourselves on our tradition of nonpartisan scholarship. We count among our ranks over 100 affiliated scholars located throughout the nation and the world who appear regularly in national and international media, testify on Capitol Hill, and are consulted by U.S. government agencies.

## EDUCATING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

FPRI was founded on the premise that an informed and educated citizenry is paramount for the U.S. to conduct a coherent foreign policy. Through in-depth research and extensive public programming, FPRI offers insights to help the public understand our volatile world.

## CHAMPIONING CIVIC LITERACY

We believe that a robust civic education is a national imperative. FPRI aims to provide teachers with the tools they need in developing civic literacy, and works to enrich young people's understanding of the institutions and ideas that shape American political life and our role in the world.



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# WHY FPRI MATTERS

A NOTE FROM ALAN LUXENBERG, PRESIDENT, FPRI

In January 2019, we hired **Dr. Aaron Stein** as director of our Middle East Program, a prominent expert on the Turkey-Syria-Iraq nexus an experienced “think-tanker.” From time to time, I give him background on some of the distinguished people that have traversed the world of FPRI, and I often found myself saying “Oh, yes, he (or she) got his/her start at FPRI.” I’ve now said it so many times that he quipped, “FPRI must be the center of the universe.” That’s only a mild exaggeration.

Take **Shirin Tahir-Kheli**. She came to the United States from India and Pakistan as a teenager, and entered the MA program in International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania at the age of 18, thanks to a critical intervention by **Robert Strausz-Hupe**, the founder both of FPRI and of Penn’s International Relations program. She went on to become a Junior Fellow, then a Senior Fellow of FPRI, and then served in key positions in the White House and the State Department under three presidents, including as Alternate US Representative to the UN, a post that carries the rank of Ambassador. At the 2018 book launch in Philadelphia for her memoir, she stated quite bluntly: “I am an FPRI creation.” I had the opportunity to work with her in the 1990s, when she was out of government and conducting a backchannel project at FPRI that brought prominent Indians and Pakistanis together to find ways to reduce tensions between the two countries. She titled her memoir *Before the Age of Prejudice* because, despite being a Muslim immigrant, she encountered few problems rising through the national security establishment under three presidents; today’s political climate is another question, however.

As it turned out, two of her classmates at Penn, the late **Harvey Sicherman** and the **Hon. John Lehman**, both went on to illustrious careers: Harvey became president of FPRI and served as an

aide to three U.S. secretaries of state; John served as Secretary of the Navy and a commissioner on the 9/11 Commission. In 2018, we celebrated the publication of John’s book *Oceans Ventured*, a riveting account drawing on previously classified documents explaining the Navy’s role in winning the Cold War at sea. Both of them could legitimately be described as “creations” of FPRI.

Another FPRI “creation” is **Adam Garfinkle**, who started working at FPRI when he was an undergraduate at Penn and stayed for many years until he joined the staff of the Commission on National Security/21st Century (the “Hart-Rudman Commission”), where he drafted their report on the vulnerabilities to our homeland – released just months before 9/11. He went on to become editor of *The National Interest* magazine, then speechwriter to Secretary of State Colin Powell, then founding editor of *The American Interest* magazine. Adam is still actively writing under the FPRI name, epitomizing the geopolitical cast of mind embedded in FPRI by Strausz-Hupe. In 2018, he penned several essays under FPRI auspices on the Middle East and other topics, including one for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on “How Afraid Should Americans Be Right Now?”

In 1976, just months after I started working at FPRI, I met **John Maurer**, who was then an FPRI intern. Even then he had a phenomenal historical background: each day he could tell you what important event happened on this day hundreds of years ago – and describe precisely the event’s significance. He went on to become a pre-doctoral fellow at FPRI, then a Senior Fellow, and then a professor of strategy at the Naval War College, where he earned medals from the Navy for meritorious service. He is still a part of FPRI and regularly lectures our audiences in Philadelphia, the Main Line, Princeton, and New York City.

The stories above are all about people who joined

FPRI at a young age – there are many more I could tell – and then rose to positions of stature and influence in the public sector, where they made a difference. This is one of the reasons FPRI matters.

The recruitment and development of young scholars continues to this day.

Just a few years ago, a young man by the name of **Chris Miller** walked into my office. His specialty was Russian history and the Russian economy. At the outset of 2018, Chris was named Director of our Eurasia Program, which has launched an incredible number of initiatives in the span of a couple of years. Chris won a year-long grant for a book on *Putinomics*, and, breaking all Institute records, wrote the book in under a year (published in 2018). The Eurasia Program’s projects include the Baltic Initiative, the Black Sea Initiative, the Russian Political Economy Project, and BMB Russia (our daily newsletter on the Russian economy). Under development is an initiative on Central Asia, where China is projected to play a larger role and where a new generation can be expected to make a difference.

Not all of our Fellows hail from academia. One such Fellow is **Clint Watts**, a military veteran, former Executive Officer of the Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point, and a former FBI agent who served on a Joint Terrorism Task Force. He has been affiliated with us for some 10 years, often called up to testify on Capitol Hill and consult with U.S. government agencies on such issues as the fracturing of al Qaeda, the rise of ISIS and its use of social media as a tool of recruitment, and, most recently, Russian influence operations designed to sow distrust in America’s democratic institutions. The story of his work is well explained in his 2018 book *Messing with the Enemy*. In recognition of his accomplishments as a researcher (and now an NBC analyst), we named him our first Distinguished Research

Fellow in 2018, and he’s now exploring how new technologies are reshaping the global landscape. Relatedly, **Paul Bracken** began a project in 2018 on how new technologies are making mobile missiles more vulnerable.

Another reason FPRI matters is that apart from the scholarship and policy analysis that we have conducted since our founding in 1955, we have offered a range of educational programming for students, teachers, and the general public for some 30 years, including animated video primers for students, history institutes for teachers, and lectures for the general public. But what really excites me going forward is an innovative concept developed by our colleague **Agnieszka Marczyk**, a historian of Eastern Europe with extensive experience in pedagogy. Her idea is to use the comparative assessment of alternative interpretations of selected historical issues to teach critical thinking skills at the high school level. If successful, this approach can bring students from impoverished areas up to the level of their more privileged peers, and help all students to become better thinkers and better citizens, able to distinguish fake news from real news. **Could anything be more important for the future of our country than that?**

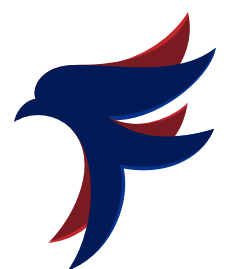
If you find merit in the efforts we describe in this report, and in our commitment to the search for truth in service to our nation, I hope you will support us.

Sincerely,



Alan H. Luxenberg, President





# 2018 BY THE NUMBERS

# IMPACT

#1

U.S. THINK TANK  
WITH A BUDGET  
UNDER \$5  
MILLION\*

100+  
SCHOLARS

300K+  
FANS ON  
SOCIAL MEDIA

50+  
PUBLIC EVENTS  
PER YEAR

300+  
PUBLICATIONS

20%  
INCREASE IN WEB  
TRAFFIC FOR FPRI.ORG

63%  
INCREASE IN  
YOUTUBE  
SUBSCRIBERS

500+  
MEDIA HITS  
PER YEAR

5  
RESEARCH  
PROGRAMS

200+  
STUDENT  
AND TEACHER  
PARTICIPANTS  
PER YEAR

40%  
INCREASE  
IN TWITTER  
FOLLOWERS

RESEARCH

EDUCATION

ENGAGEMENT



# RESEARCH PROGRAMS

7 EURASIA

19 MIDDLE EAST

23 ASIA

27 NATIONAL SECURITY

31 AMERICA & THE WEST



# EURASIA

The Eurasia Program at FPRI includes 26 scholars, four thematic initiatives, and five regular publication series. In January 2018, we appointed **Chris Miller** as Director of the Eurasia Program, and **Maia Otarashvili** as the Deputy Director. **Amb. Adrian Basora** and **John Haines** were appointed as co-Chairs of the program. We also appointed two Black Sea Fellows and two Baltic Sea Fellows, and named Dr. Stephen Kotkin as our special Eurasia Fellow for 2018.

A number of major events in the Eurasia region occurred in 2018, causing a further rise in its significance to U.S. foreign policy and national security interests. Russia made global headlines

as Vladimir Putin was re-elected as president for his fourth term, making him the longest-running leader of the country since Stalin. FPRI hosted and co-sponsored a number of events and scholars' meetings on Putin's re-election, and published a series of articles addressing Russian socio-economic, political, and foreign policy issues.

In 2018, several Central and Eastern European countries celebrated their centennials. To celebrate this historical event, FPRI dedicated many of its articles and public lectures to understanding the significance of these anniversaries and deriving lessons learned from

the experiences of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Poland, and other post-Communist states.

Furthermore, our reach and impact were significantly multiplied thanks to collaborations with institutions including the **Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs** (democracy and global engagement projects), **Chatham House** in London (Russia Political Economy project), **Baltic Times** (Baltic Initiative publications), and **War on the Rocks** (Black Sea Initiative publications).



## CHINA'S BLACK SEA AMBITIONS

In this report, Yevgen Sautin examines how China is actively engaging Black Sea states through various initiatives to open new markets for Chinese goods, facilitate the acquisition of strategic local industries, and offer loans for development projects.

Read it here:

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/12/chinas-black-sea-ambitions/>





# RUSSIA POLITICAL ECONOMY PROJECT

In late 2017, we inaugurated the Russia Political Economy Project, which produces papers providing a clear-eyed assessment of Russia’s political economy trends. The program features credible expert analysis on key themes on Russian political economy. The initiative has published **11 major reports** by leading scholars and a number of shorter articles and blog posts throughout 2018.

The initiative has also included over a dozen events in cities such as **Austin, Denver, Washington, New York, and London.**

### 2018 REPORTS

- Governing Business: The State and Business in Russia
- Buying Support? Putin’s Popularity and the Russian Welfare State
- Running in Place: The Latest Round of Russian Economic Modernization
- Corruption and Power in Russia
- The Eurasian Economic Union: Putin’s Geopolitical Project
- Debt and Discontent: The Collapse of the Putin Consensus
- Reining in the Runet: The Kremlin’s Struggle to Control Cyberspace
- The Sources of Post-Soviet Conduct
- Russia-Saudi Arabia Oil Cooperation: The Rise of OPEC+?
- Bond of War: Russian Geo-Economics in Ukraine’s Sovereign Debt Restructuring



### THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION: PUTIN’S GEOPOLITICAL PROJECT

**Rilka Dragneva** explains how the Eurasian Economic Union’s external relations primarily benefit Russia’s strategic interests despite being marketed as working in pursuit of its member states’ common economic objectives.

Read it here:  
<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/10/the-eurasian-economic-union-putins-geopolitical-project/>

# SCHOLAR SPOTLIGHT



CHRIS MILLER

**Chris Miller** is the Director of the Eurasia Program in the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He is also Assistant Professor of International History at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. His research examines Russian history and political economy. His dissertation on the Soviet collapse was published by the University of North Carolina Press and was named, in the New York Times by no less a figure than Niall Ferguson, as one of the best recent books on economic history. He then won a year-long grant for a book, *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia*, and, breaking all Institute records, wrote the book in under a year (published in 2018). Dr. Miller’s first book, *The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy: Mikhail Gorbachev and the Collapse of the USSR*, was published in 2016. His third book — on the Russian pivot to Asia — is scheduled for publication in 2020. He received his PhD from Yale University and his BA from Harvard University.

# BMB RUSSIA

The Russia Political Economy Project also produces a daily newsletter, **BMB Russia**, which brings you news about Russia’s economy, politics, business climate, and political risk environment.

It features a daily news brief and blog. BMB Russia also runs a bi-weekly news roundup on Eurasia, covering 11 post-Soviet states. BMB Russia strives to be a resource for specialists and generalists, a platform for analysis, particularly for emerging area experts and academics, and a space for even-handed, fact-based conversations in hopes of improving Russia/Eurasia analysis and coverage. The newsletter has seen a remarkable growth over the past six months. **BMB Russia subscription rates have tripled in 2018, and the blog traffic has quadrupled.**





# BALTIC INITIATIVE

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2014 and its ongoing confrontation with the West has brought the Baltic region to the top of Western policymakers' agendas. The U.S. and its partners have been challenged to develop a coherent response. The Foreign Policy Research Institute believes that at a time of international tension in the Baltic Sea, it is crucial for Americans to understand the history, politics, and culture of the region.

In January, we appointed two new Baltic Sea Fellows. **Indra Ekmanis** and **Anke Schmidt-Felzmann** have been conducting policy-relevant research in the region throughout the year, and their forthcoming Baltic Bulletins will aim to illuminate some of the key regional challenges looking ahead. **Col. Robert Hamilton**, a fellow in the Eurasia Program, published a detailed analysis of U.S. and NATO force posture in the Baltic Sea and its effect on Russian threat perceptions and Baltic Sea security more broadly.

In addition, this year the Baltic nations celebrated the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of their independence. The Baltic Bulletin has focused on anniversary-related topics, including the historic visit of the three Baltic presidents to the United States. FPRI President **Alan Luxenberg** attended a private meeting with the **President of Latvia** in March. In the fall, FPRI held a conference in Philadelphia, marking the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Baltic States' independence and seeking to draw lessons from history for preserving Baltic Sea security.

# SCHOLAR SPOTLIGHT



## UNA BERGMANE

Una Bergmane is a Baltic Sea Fellow in the Eurasia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute and a Teaching Fellow at the London School of Economics. She holds a Ph.D. from Sciences Po Paris. She was a 2016-2017 postdoctoral fellow at the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell University. Her research focuses on the USSR's disintegration and the end of the Cold War, Russian-Baltic relations, and contemporary politics of Latvia.

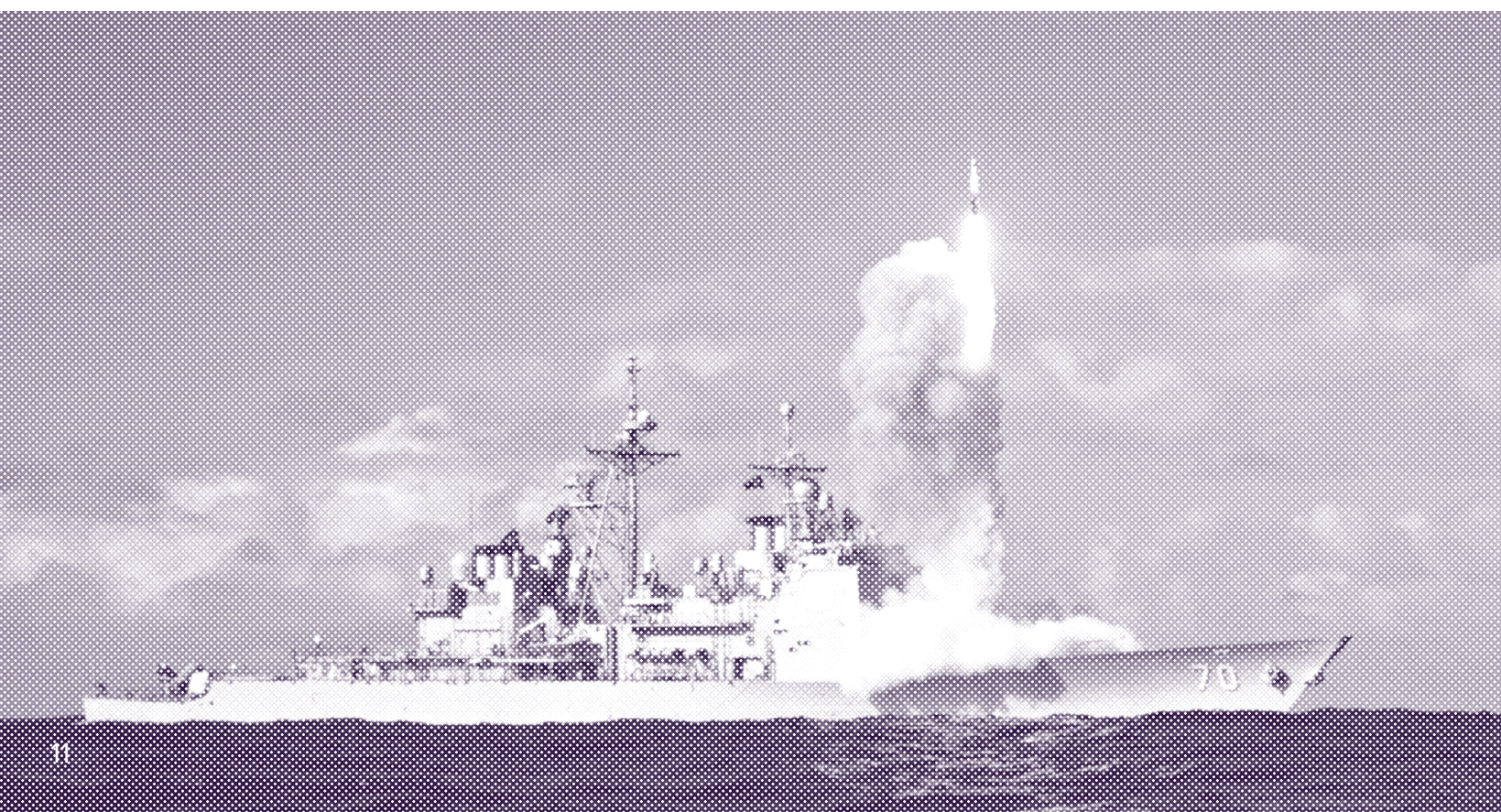


## WHY LATVIA'S ELECTIONS MATTER FOR EUROPE

In the most read Baltic Bulletin of the year, **Una Bergmane** argues why the parliamentary elections in Latvia would have consequences beyond the borders of this small Baltic state.

Read it here:

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/09/why-latvian-elections-matter-for-europe/>



Eurasia Fellow Stephen Kotkin speaks at the "Baltic Independence at 100" conference at the Union League of Philadelphia, December 2018.





# BLACK SEA INITIATIVE

During the first half of 2018, FPRI convened study groups on various topics related to the Black Sea region and published four major **Black Sea Strategy Papers** in the fall. We launched a special publication series, “**Black Sea’s Back, Alright?**” in partnership with *War On The Rocks*. The series included a number of articles covering an array of issues, including Russia’s Black Sea fleet, Turkey-Russia relations, NATO’s Black Sea presence, and Ukrainian military reform efforts.

In November, we hosted a conference dedicated to Georgia’s role as a key security, trade, and business partner for the U.S. in the Black Sea region. Conference participants included scholars, experts, and diplomats from both Georgia and the U.S. The Georgian Ambassador to the U.S. and Georgia’s Deputy Minister of Economy and Sustainable Development were among the speakers.



## THE RESILIENCY OF TURKEY-RUSSIA RELATIONS

**Selim Koru** highlights the importance of the Turkish leadership’s worldview as a force that brings the countries together and discusses the limits of Turkey’s enchantment with Russia, arguing that enthusiasm is outweighing caution in Ankara.

Read it here:

[www.fpri.org/article/2018/11/the-resiliency-of-turkey-russia-relations/](http://www.fpri.org/article/2018/11/the-resiliency-of-turkey-russia-relations/)

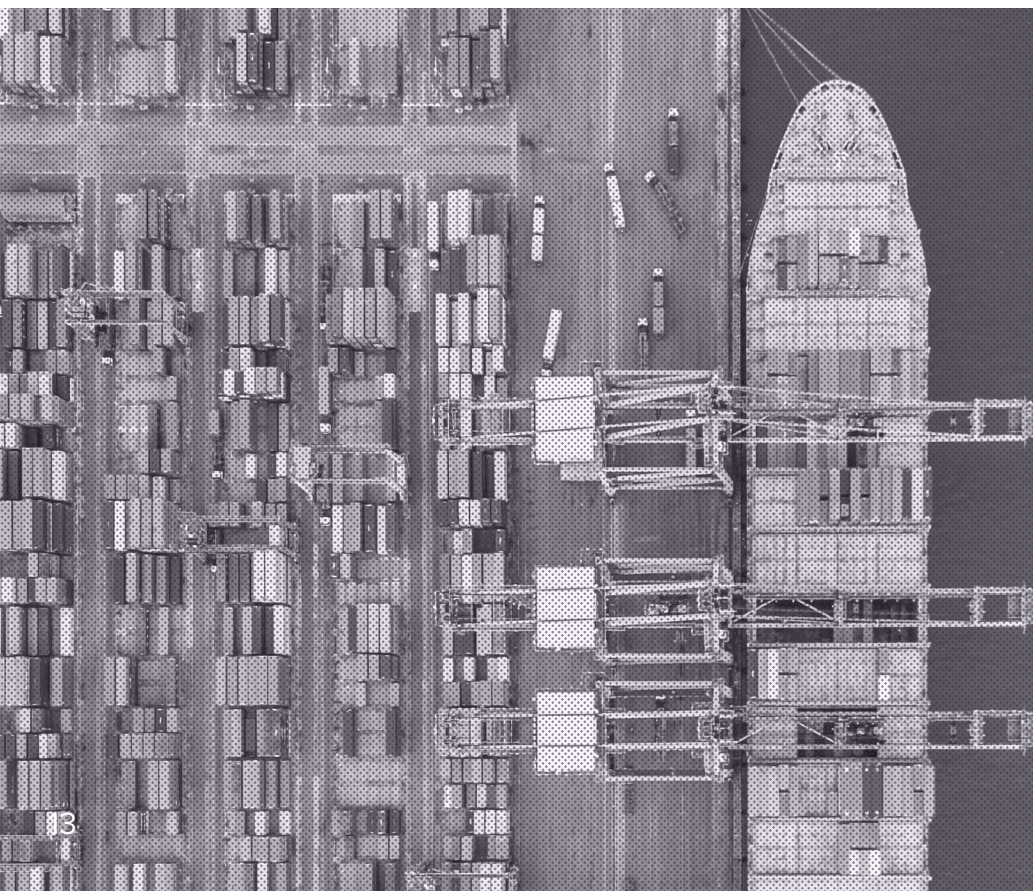
# SCHOLAR SPOTLIGHT



## COLONEL (RET.) ROBERT E. HAMILTON

Colonel (Retired) Robert E. Hamilton, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor of Eurasian Studies at the U.S. Army War College and a Black Sea Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. In a 30-year career in the U.S. Army, spent primarily as a Eurasian Foreign Area Officer, he served overseas in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Germany, Belarus, Qatar, Afghanistan, the Republic of Georgia, Pakistan, and Kuwait. He is the author of numerous articles and monographs on conflict and security issues, focusing principally on the former Soviet Union and the Balkans. He is a graduate of the German Armed Forces Staff College and the U.S. Army War College and holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the United States Military Academy and a Master’s Degree in Contemporary Russian Studies, and a Ph.D. in Political Science, both from the University of Virginia.

In 2019, Dr. Hamilton will take a two-week research trip to Ukraine and publish a monograph detailing the history of the first five years of the war there. The monograph will examine the war’s impacts on Ukraine’s security and its political, economic, and social development, as well as its relationships with key external states and organizations. He will also continue his work on a book manuscript examining the origins and impacts of the post-Soviet wars, focusing on the wars in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Dr. Hamilton also has an ongoing research project that compares the construction of identities in Ajara (Soviet-era Georgia) and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Throughout 2019, Dr. Hamilton will regularly publish articles on Russian foreign policy and the security situation in the Baltics, Central Europe and the Black Sea region.



Ambassador of Georgia to the United States, H.E. David Bakradze, delivers remarks at the US-Georgia Business Association Conference in Philadelphia, November 2018.





# RUSSIA FOREIGN POLICY PAPERS

Russia’s growing global role is forcing the United States to interact with Moscow in new regions. It is no longer enough to understand the Kremlin’s aims in Europe. Today, Russia is playing a larger role in Asia, the Middle East, and even Latin America. To understand Russia’s growing global role, we launched a publication series called “**Russian Foreign Policy Papers**,” which examines Russia’s aims in regions where it has previously been less active. Drawing on scholars with deep regional expertise and based on fresh research,

Russia Foreign Policy Papers provide new insight into understanding Russia’s international role. In 2018, we published papers on **Russian-Israel relations**, written by a former Israeli diplomat; two papers on Russia’s growing role in the Balkans that have been discussed in *Newsweek*; as well as two papers on **Russia’s aims in Syria and the Middle East**, including one by an officer who staffed the **U.S.-Russia deconfliction hotline in Syria**.

### 2018 Reports

- NATO in the Baltics: Detering Phantom Threats?
- Hanging by a Thread: Russia’s Strategy of Destabilization in Montenegro
- Moscow on the Mediterranean: Russia and Israel’s Relationship
- Outfoxed by the Bear? America’s Losing Game Against Russia in the Near East
- Russian and American De-Confliction Efforts in Syria: What’s the Endgame in the Civil War?
- The 2016 Coup Attempt in Montenegro: Is Russia’s Balkans Footprint Expanding?



### HANGING BY A THREAD: RUSSIA’S STRATEGY OF DESTABILIZATION IN MONTEGNEGRO

Reuf Bajrovic, Vesko Garčević and Richard Kraemer examine how October 2016 coup attempt, coordinated by Russia, Serb ethnonationalists and the local opposition, cast uncertainty on Montenegro’s progress towards Western integration.

Read it here:  
<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/07/hanging-by-a-thread-russias-strategy-of-destabilization-in-montenegro/>

# DEMOCRACY AT RISK

Does the health of democracy abroad matter to U.S. security interests? Do democracies make safer neighbors and better allies? How should the U.S. deal with the democratic recession of the past decade and the authoritarian counter-offensive that has reversed some of the spectacular democratic gains of the 15 years following the fall of the Berlin Wall? The **Democracy at Risk Initiative** aims to address these questions through its publications, events, study groups, and collaborative efforts with many partner insitutions. In May 2018, we partnered with **Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs** for a public event examining the promotion of democracy abroad.

We have also collaborated with University of Pennsylvania’s **Andrea Mitchell Center, Center for Ethics**

and **Rule of Law**, and **Department of Russian and East European Studies** to co-sponsor an event series called “**Democracy in Trouble?**”. This collaboration has included two major conferences and a number of small lectures and study groups, aimed to examine and counter the trends of democratic backsliding in Europe and the U.S. The wide-ranging discussions have featured distinguished democracy scholars such as **Francis Fukuyama** and **Steven Lewitsky**, and have reached a diverse audience of students, public, and policymakers. In September, we featured **Dr. Alina Mungiu-Pippidi**, on a special trip from Germany, who participated in study groups and public events aimed at understanding the challenges ahead for Western democracy.





# EURASIA EVENTS



Alina Mungiu-Pippidi briefs FPRI scholars and staff.



Francis Fukuyama



FPRI Senior Fellow Nikolas Gvosdev, Eurasia Co-chair Ambassador Adrian Basora, and Deputy Director Maia Otashvili participate in a panel discussion at the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, May 2018.



Senior Fellow Mitchell Orenstein speaks at FPRI's Princeton Committee, April 2018.



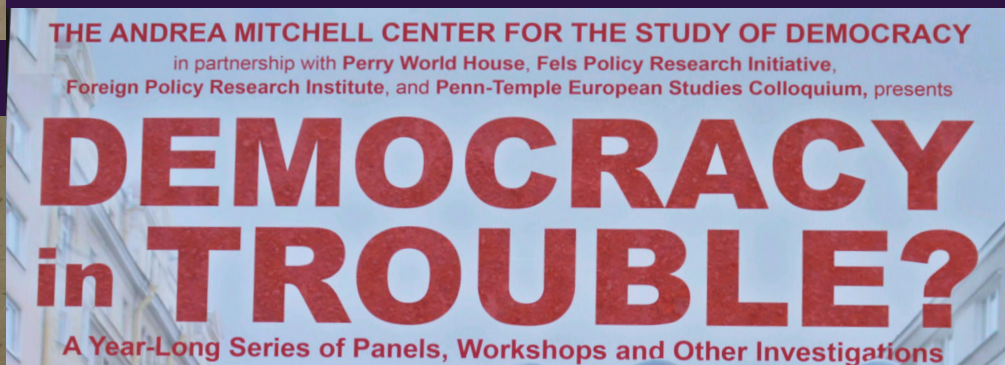
Alina Mungiu-Pippidi



From left: Mitchell Orenstein, Ruth Ben-Ghiat, Cas Mudde.



Cas Mudde



From left: Trudy Rubin, Steven Lewitsky, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi.



Ambassador James F. Collins



FPRI's Chris Miller (far left) participates in a panel discussion at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Affairs, April 2018.



FPRI's Mitchell Orenstein and Clint Watts (second and third from left) participate in a panel discussion at the "Democracy in the Crosshairs" Conference at the National Constitution Center, November 2018.



# MIDDLE EAST

In 2018, the Middle East saw a myriad of developments—from great power tensions in Syria, intra-state rivalry fueling proxy conflicts in Yemen and Iraq, and growing uncertainty in the United States about American policy in the region going forward. Amidst these challenges, the United States remained engaged in an air and ground war against Islamic State.

To address key questions about American strategy in Syria and Iraq, the Middle East Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute engaged in a multi-month study of the Islamic State, its Caliphate, and how to ensure the group's lasting defeat.

The project's findings were published in *Orbis*, FPRI's *Journal of World Affairs*, in a special issue, *Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent After the Fall of the Caliphate*. The 10 chapter edited volume focused on post-conflict governance in Syria and Iraq, the intra-ethnic tensions that helps sustain support for ISIS, and how to best ameliorate these challenges

given the current bipartisan consensus in the United States about the challenges of nation-building. FPRI Middle East Program Senior Fellow, **Dr. Barak Mendelsohn**, expanded on these key themes in a book, *Jihadism Constrained: The Limits of Transnational Jihadism and What It Means for Counterterrorism* (Rowman & Littlefield, Foreign Policy Research Institute, 2018). This project has further contributed to the program's reputation as one of the leaders for the study of terrorism, counterterrorism, and violent extremism.

In addition, the Middle East Program remained committed to its long-standing effort to amplify

the work of scholars and practitioners from or with experience in the region. This effort included **Dr. Joshua Krasna's** research on Israeli and Jordanian perceptions of the Middle East, **Ms. Rasha Al Aqeedi's** work on Saudi Arabia's policy towards Iraq, and **Dr. Chris Bolan's** analysis of the conflict in Syria. The President of Iraq also requested a copy of FPRI Senior Fellow **Dr. Frank Gunter's** report, "**Immunizing Iraq Against Al-Qaeda 3.0**" to help address Iraq's economic challenges to undercut local support for Islamic State.

At the end of 2018, FPRI bid farewell to the founding director of the Middle East Program, Ms. Tally Helfont, and welcomed Dr. Aaron Stein. In the coming year, the Program will focus on great power competition in the Middle East and continued challenges for the United States stemming from regional instability. The intent is to continue to provide valuable insights about daily developments in the region, with a focus on implementable policy options for the United States.

## AFTER THE CALIPHATE



### ORBIS SUMMER 2018

This special Summer issue of *Orbis: FPRI's Journal of World Affairs*, guest edited by Tally Helfont and Samuel Helfont, is designed to provide a framework for thinking about the threat of terrorism emanating from the Fertile Crescent now that ISIS's Caliphate is being undone and provides concrete recommendations to establish a tenable politico-economic status quo. As such, it brings together a mix of practitioners and academics to examine a wide range of topics at the local, state, transnational, and international levels.

Read it here: <https://www.fpri.org/issues/orbis-summer-2018/>



# SCHOLAR SPOTLIGHT



**Joshua Krasna**, a 2017-2018 Robert A. Fox Fellow in the Program on the Middle East, is an analyst specializing in Middle East political and regional developments and forecasting, as well as in international strategic issues. He recently retired after 30 years of service in Israel to include postings as an Israeli diplomat in Jordan and Canada. He has published articles in the *Journal of Conflict Studies and Contemporary Security Policy*.

Dr. Krasna holds a PhD from the Bar Ilan University and is a graduate of Columbia University and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

During his time at FPRI, Dr. Krasna was extremely prolific, writing reports on the relationship between Russia and Israel and on Israeli National Security Constellation; and articles on Israel's crisis of leadership, tensions between Israel and Iran, and the implications of leadership changes in Saudi Arabia on the Middle East region. He briefed the National War College at the National Defense University and gave talks for FPRI in Washington, D.C. and in Philadelphia at numerous think tanks and organizations. Krasna was also quoted in the media by publications ranging from the *Arab Weekly* to the *Jewish Exponent*.



## A GUIDE FOR THE PERPLEXED: THE ISRAELI NATIONAL SECURITY CONSTELLATION AND ITS EFFECT ON POLICYMAKING

Joshua Krasna provides a glimpse into Israeli national security policymaking, examining each of the bureaucratic players in the Israeli national security constellation, paying attention to its relative power and influence and its interactions with other players.

Read it here:

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/02/guide-perplexed-israeli-national-security-constellation-effect-policymaking/>



# MIDDLE EAST EVENTS



Senior Fellow Samuel Helfont (right) is interviewed by Ron Granieri, about his book *Compulsion in Religion*, April 2018.



Broadcasting Change: Arabic Media as a Catalyst for Liberalism - January, 2018 Joseph Braude



Booktalk with Barak Mendelsohn on *Jihadism Constrained*, December 2018.



Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent After the Fall of the Caliphate event, National Press Club, July 2018.



A Panel Discussion on Life after the Caliphate - January, 2018. Left to right: Tally Helfont, Nada Bakos, Mia Bloom



# ASIA

In East Asia and in U.S. relations with the region, 2018 was a year of high drama and rising tensions.

The relationship between the U.S. and China was the most significant, and among the most fraught issues. The previous year closed with the Trump administration issuing a National Defense Strategy that declared interstate strategic competition, rather than terrorism, to be the primary concern for U.S. national security and that cast China, alongside Russia, as the principal strategic “competitor” of the U.S.

The new sense of conflict in U.S.-China relations ranged across security and economic affairs. In April, **the Asia Program hosted a conference on Politics and Policy of East Asia’s Economic Future** that addressed the economic issues at stake during the new era of U.S.-China *disengagement*. Throughout the latter half of the year, economic

friction escalated into an incipient trade war, with escalating retaliatory tariffs and threatened tariffs on both sides. U.S. complaints extended beyond trade issues, narrowly defined, to include China’s improper acquisition of intellectual property and China’s high technology-sector targeting industrial policy.

China’s increasing influence, and potential dominance in the South and East China Seas, was a major source of concern. Its efforts to constrict Taiwan’s international space by pressuring foreign companies into classifying Taiwan as a part of China as well as by opening a new flight path in the Taiwan Strait were key moments of 2018 that the Asia Program covered in articles.

Although human rights and democracy have waned as U.S. foreign policy concerns during the Trump administration, developments in China raised new concerns in these areas. **The Program closely followed the trend toward political illiberalism continued as China’s paramount leader Xi Jinping moved into his second half-decade in power.** A constitutional amendment removed the ten-year limit on his tenure as China’s president, and escalating repression in northwest China’s Xinjiang region included the detention of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Uyghur Chinese Muslims.

U.S.-China relations were not the only major concern in the region during 2018. After threatening “fire and fury,” Trump held a summit with **North Korea’s Kim Jong-un—a topic that the Asia Program covered from a variety of perspectives.**

Beijing’s harder line toward Taiwan, which began with the election of Tsai Ing-wen as president in Taiwan in 2016, toughened during 2018 and as the year turned to 2019. Shortly after Tsai’s party suffered significant setbacks in November elections, dueling New Year’s speeches by Tsai and Xi, with Beijing asserting and Taipei rejecting, the long-standing (but, in Taiwan, deeply unpopular) “one country, two systems” model as the

template for reunification. The Program covered the continuing stalemate in cross-strait relations with a panel discussion in May and another one in November on the midterm elections in Taiwan and China’s attempted interference.

Activities addressing key issues in Asia and U.S. policy toward the region will continue in 2019, including early-in-the-year events on human rights in Greater China, the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Taiwan Relations Act (the fundamental framework for U.S.-Taiwan relations since the U.S. switched diplomatic ties to the PRC in 1979), and the agendas and roles of the U.S. and China in trade and investment across Asia.



## HOW CHINA DICTATES THE RULES OF THE GAME

**Thomas J. Shattuck** explains the ways in which China has pressured foreign governments and private companies to do its bidding and argues that by forcing companies to tow its line, particularly in regard to Taiwan and other Chinese “territory,” China is incrementally changing reality in its favor.

Read it here:

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/07/how-china-dictates-the-rules-of-the-game/>





## SCHOLAR SPOTLIGHT

**June Teufel Dreyer** is a Senior Fellow in the Asia Program at FPRI as well as a member of the *Orbis* Board of Editors. She is Professor of Political Science at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. Formerly senior Far East Specialist at the Library of Congress, she has also served as Asia policy advisor to the Chief of Naval Operations and as commissioner of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission established by the U.S. Congress. She received her Bachelor's degree from Wellesley and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. A frequent visitor to the Far East, Dr. Dreyer originally wrote *China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition* in 1993, but as of 2018, the book is in its tenth edition. Her latest book, *Middle Kingdom and Empire of the Rising Sun: Sino-Japanese Relations Past and Present*, was published by Oxford University Press in the summer of 2016. It won the 2017 Japan Study Award from the Japan Institute of National Fundamentals. Dr. Dreyer has served as keynote speaker for the National Security Agency's annual conference of cryptographers and also lectured at Oxford University, the Royal Institute of Strategic Studies in London, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Sorbonne, and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik in Berlin, among other venues. She serves on the board of editors of *Orbis* and the *Journal of Contemporary China*, and has received numerous teaching awards. She is the president of the American Association of Chinese Studies and is co-editor, with Jacques deLisle, of the special Fall 2016 issue of *Orbis* on "Taiwan in the Tsai Era."



### THE BIG SQUEEZE: BEIJING'S ANACONDA STRATEGY TO FORCE TAIWAN TO SURRENDER

**June Teufel Dreyer** examines the reality that the Beijing government's real aim is to force unification with Taiwan without firing a shot—by forcing its government to capitulate. In what might be called an anaconda strategy, the target is squeezed until it cannot resist, then swallowed whole.

Read it here:

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/08/the-big-squeeze-beijings-anaconda-strategy-to-force-taiwan-to-surrender/>



# ASIA EVENTS



Midterm Elections in Taiwan-and the United States: What Happened and What are the Implications for Taiwan-US-China Relations?

Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in New York



From left to right: Ann Harrison, Michael Horowitz, Eleonore Pauwels - Politics and Policy of East Asia's Economic Future



Dr. Yuan I briefs FPRI scholars.



Director Jacques deLisle (fourth from left) at the 47th Taiwan-American Conference on Contemporary China



From left to right: Shihoko Goto, Eleonor Pauwels, Robert Atkinson - Politics and Policy of East Asia's Economic Future



Toshi Yoshihara - Making the World Unsafe for Democracy: China's Approach to Political Warfare



# NATIONAL SECURITY

Declining resources and a multitude of troubling international actors ensure that level-headed thinking and dispassionate judgments from multiple perspectives are needed to respond to threats and shape opportunities, and the scholars of the program are well-suited to that task.

Program on National Security scholars delivered numerous books and articles on national and international security in 2018. This past year's trends saw continued great power competition across all elements of national power (i.e., diplomatic, informational, military, and economic) by China, particularly in the western Pacific, and by Russia, both in Ukraine and in Syria, lending to a further unraveling of an international order centered on economic prosperity and political pluralism. Other states such as North Korea and Iran continued to try to re-shape the already complicated realities of their regional geopolitics while non-state actors such as the Islamic State

and al-Qaeda seek to de-stabilize territories from North Africa to Southeast Asia while still trying to inspire or carry out attacks in Western Europe and the United States. Furthermore, advances in technologies such as artificial intelligence and machine learning and cyber tools—the lifeblood of 21<sup>st</sup> century advanced economies—suggest worrisome concerns over the trend-lines of the future modalities of conflict by both state and non-state players. The work of program scholars touches upon all of these issues and many others.

We estimate that 2019 will show a furtherance of these trends. In addition, domestic political considerations will also impact very important issues such as declining budgets for the Department of Defense and the other tools used to react to and shape the international environment and on increased tensions in areas such as civil-military relations. Scholars affiliated with the program published seven books in 2018 and put out articles and opinion pieces in leading outlets. Program fellows hold considerable expertise in areas relating to national security policymaking, U.S. defense policy, civil-military relations, irregular warfare, proxy warfare and great power competition, political warfare/competitive shaping, intelligence activities, drones, transnational foreign fighters, the terror-crime nexus, counterterrorism, naval capabilities, and artificial intelligence and national security. At least two books by program scholars should be out for publication in 2019. Affiliated scholars also conducted myriad media appearances.



## COMPETITIVE SHAPING IN WORLD POLITICS

Adam Elkus and Michael P. Noonan discuss the role of “competitive shaping,” i.e., the art of a country or non-state actors altering an opponent’s decision context through measures short of the use of major coercive military force. They also offer a course syllabus for graduate coursework on this subject.

Read it here:

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/05/competitive-shaping-in-world-politics-a-bibliographic-essay-and-course-outline/>





# SCHOLAR SPOTLIGHT

## CLINT WATTS



In 2018, FPRI was pleased to name **Clint Watts** a **Distinguished Research Fellow** in recognition of his unique contributions to the nation and, for the past ten years, to the work of FPRI, where he has been a Senior Fellow and a Robert A. Fox Fellow.

Watts has worked at the cutting edge of several key issues affecting US national security — first, for his work on the influx of foreign fighters into Iraq and Syria, then on the fracturing of al Qaeda, then on the rise of ISIS and its deft use of social media to recruit jihadis, and most recently on Russian influence operations to sow distrust in America's democratic institutions.

All of this work is captured in his new book *Messing With the Enemy: Surviving in a Social Media World of Hackers, Terrorists, Russians, and Fake News*, which recounts Watts' years of work tracking terrorists online and how he stumbled onto Russian trolls in 2014, leading him to focus on Russian influence operations in social media.

As cited by *The Washington Post*, Watts and his colleagues were among the first to identify and track Russian bots operating through

social media campaigns and networks in 2014. He testified about his findings before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on March 30, 2017 and his testimony is now a cornerstone of ongoing reporting on Russian bots. He subsequently became an NBC analyst and appears regularly on MSNBC. In August 2017, Watts and his colleagues launched Hamilton 68, a dashboard that tracks real time activity of over 600 monitored Twitter accounts linked to Russian influence operations.

As a consultant and researcher, he models and forecasts the behavior of nefarious state and non-state actors and develops countermeasures to disrupt and defeat them. Before becoming a consultant, Clint served as a U.S. Army infantry officer, an FBI Special Agent on a Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), as the Executive Officer of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point (CTC) and as a consultant to the FBI's Counter Terrorism Division (CTD) and National Security Branch (NSB).

His current work focuses on how new technologies are reshaping the global landscape.

**MESSING WITH THE ENEMY:**  
Surviving in a Social Media World  
of Hackers, Terrorists, Russians,  
and Fake News

In his first book, Clint Watts recounts his years of work tracking terrorists online and how he stumbled onto Russian trolls in 2014, leading him to focus on Russian influence operations in social media.

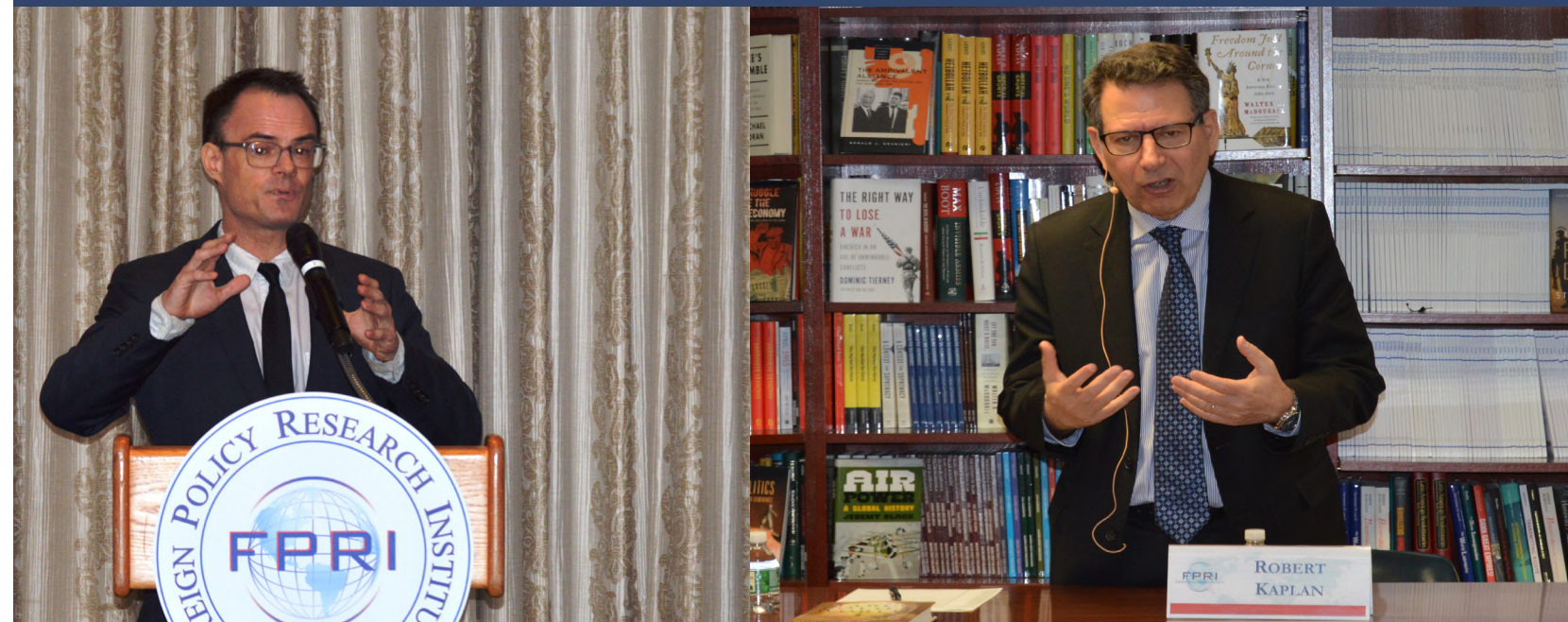
Available on amazon.com and  
wherever books are sold.

# NATIONAL SECURITY EVENTS



Senior Fellow Carol Rollie Flynn discusses the Internet, Social Media, and the Lone Wolf, Princeton Committee of FPRI, November 2018

Hon. John F. Lehman Jr. discussed his latest book *Oceans Ventured: The Cold War at Sea*, December 2018.



Templeton Fellow Dominic Tierney on "The World According to Donald Trump" at FPRI's MainLine Briefing, September 2018.

Robert Kaplan discussing his latest book, *The Return of Marco Polo's World*, April 2018.



# AMERICA & THE WEST

The Center for the Study of America and the West reflects an interest in transatlantic relations that is an integral part of FPRI's DNA.

The fascination of the West lies not in the happy harmony of some past golden age, but rather in the complex interaction between peoples and powers that have shared so much, yet still struggle to define their relationship. During the Cold War, political leaders and analysts on both sides of the Atlantic often praised Western Civilization and stressed the need to maintain transatlantic ties. Even then, however, Europeans and Americans speculated about the long-term viability of the Atlantic Alliance as a political/strategic organization, and even the concept of the West in general as a common cultural space. **FPRI strongly believes in the need for a forum that will encourage original analysis and thoughtful discussion of the transatlantic relationship and its connection to the wider world.**

In 2018, we named our Pulitzer Prize-winning historian **Walter A. McDougall** as the Ginsburg-Satell Chair of

the Center for the Study of America and the West. As Chair, he will deliver the Annual Ginsburg-Satell Lecture on American Character and Identity. **"Where Did the Founders Get Their Ideas?"** was the topic of his 2018 lecture, hosted and cosponsored by the Museum of the American Revolution. His conclusion: "American institutions derived from a Classical Republicanism leavened by Hebrew Republicanism; a Machiavellian body quickened by a Biblical spirit; a civil government inspired by a civil religion." Reviewers of McDougall's books have described him as "a national treasure" and "America's greatest living historian."

Also, we named **D.G. Hart** as our 2018 Novakovic Fellow. He studies the history of religion and society and is the author of many books, including most recently, *Damning Words: The Life and Religious Times of H. L. Mencken* (Eerdmans 2016). He is currently finishing a book for Cornell University Press on Roman Catholics and American exceptionalism after World War II and, for Oxford University Press, a spiritual biography of Benjamin Franklin. He is also a frequent contributor to the *Wall Street Journal*.

In February, Hart moderated a panel of Vietnam veterans who discussed the significance of the Vietnam War, both personally and for America's place in the world. The panelists reflected on their own experience in the war and how it shaped their post-war understandings of American politics and foreign policy. They also added insights on Burns and Novick's recent PBS documentary about the war and highlighted lessons that Americans should have learned from this consequential period in U.S. history. Panelists (all veterans of the Vietnam War) included: Michael Novakovic, Businessman; Alvan (Cappy) Markle, Attorney; Ray Tobey, Physician; Walter A. McDougall, historian; and Mackubin T. Owens, political scientist and military strategist.



## SCHOLAR SPOTLIGHT

### HON. SHIRIN TAHIR-KHELI

2018 saw the publication of a memoir by Ambassador Shirin Tahir-Kheli under the title *Before the Age of Prejudice: A Muslim Women's National Security Work with Three American Presidents*. Her tale is a compelling story of a Muslim American woman of Indian-Pakistani heritage who rose to play several key roles in the National Security Council and State Department under three U.S. presidents. As such, her story stands as a counterbalance to those who promote anti-Muslim sentiment in the United States as well as an inspiration and example both to Muslim Americans and to women in the United States and around the world.

It was most appropriate that FPRI was the institutional home for this labor of love, as Shirin's entry into the field of international relations began with an interview — at the age of 18 — with Robert Strausz-Hupe, both the founder of FPRI and the founder of the International Relations Program at the University of Pennsylvania. That interview led to her matriculation into the M.A. program in IR (and eventually the Ph.D. program) and her subsequent appointments as Junior Fellow and then Senior Fellow at FPRI. Later, when she went to Washington, D.C., she was ably guided by Harvey Sicherman, once her classmate at Penn and colleague at FPRI (and, later, FPRI's president). As Shirin put it at an FPRI book event, "I am a creation of FPRI."

Ambassador Tahir-Kheli is currently an adjunct scholar of FPRI and a member of our Board of Advisors.

## THINK TANKS AND FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAM

The growth of public policy research organizations over the last two decades has been nothing less than explosive. Not only have these organizations increased in number, but the scope and impact of their work has expanded dramatically. Still, the potential of think tanks to support and sustain democratic governments and civil societies around the world is far from exhausted. The challenge for the new millennium is to harness the vast reservoir of knowledge, information, and associational energy that exist in public policy research organizations so that it can support self-sustaining economic, social, and political progress in every region of the world.

Founded in 1989, the Think Tanks and Foreign

Policy Program has laid the foundation for a global initiative that will help bridge the gap between knowledge and policy in critical policy areas such as international peace and security, globalization and governance, international economics, environment, information and society, and poverty alleviation and health. This international collaborative effort is designed to establish regional and international networks of policy institutes and communities that will improve policy making and strengthen democratic institutions and civil societies around the world. The Think Tanks and Foreign Policy Program has assembled some of the leading scholars and practitioners from think tanks and universities around the world to collaborate on this program.



# TEMPLETON FELLOWS

In 2018, we appointed 5 Templeton Fellows, who contributed in diverse ways to FPRI's mission: by writing for FPRI and outside publications and speaking at FPRI public forums; appearing as commentators on news media, national and local; addressing numerous organizations in the community; and consulting with government officials.



**NADA BAKOS** served with the CIA and headed the hunt for Musab al Zarqawi, known as the “Godfather” of ISIS. She is at work on a memoir about the search for al Zarqawi and his ultimate demise, expected to be published in 2019. She has appeared from time to time on CNN and in the *Washington Post*, and curates a daily newsletter of key articles in the press. She addressed our Main Line Briefings in February of this year on “Life after the Caliphate,” assessing the threat level of a post-caliphate ISIS, and was a regular participant in FPRI podcasts.



**JEREMY BLACK**, a professor of military and diplomatic history at the University of Exeter, is probably the world's most prolific historian, with over 100 books to his name — with nine published in 2018, covering such as topics as English nationalism, “Big History,” and the history of the world. Last year, he gave the Lincoln Lecture at the Union League of Philadelphia, the first non-American to be invited to do so. In 2018, he wrote 10 essays for FPRI's American Review of Books, Blogs, and Bull, including “The Holocaust in Public Memory,” “Abraham Lincoln and American Destiny in a Divided World,” and “The Vietnam War and the Geopolitics of Southeast Asia.”



**RONALD GRANIERI** holds many roles at FPRI: Executive Director of FPRI's Center for the Study of America and the West; Editor of FPRI's American Review of Books, Blogs, and Bull; moderator of many of our podcasts; host of our monthly interactive program Geopolitics with Granieri; and cartoon narrator of our video primers for students. He periodically writes and lectures for FPRI, particularly on issues pertaining to transatlantic relations. His 2018 FPRI essays include: “NATO – Who's In, Who's Out, Who's Down?,” “America First, But What Comes Next?,” and “Immigrants, Islam and European Democracy.”



**DOMINIC TIERNEY**, an associate professor of political science at Swarthmore College, regularly writes for *The Atlantic* as well as various scholarly journals. His most recent book is *The Right Way to Lose a War*, a title that reflects his unorthodox approach to every subject he touches. In 2018, he addressed our Manhattan Salon and our Main Line Briefings on “The World According to Donald Trump,” placing the Trump administration's foreign policy in historical perspective and offering insights into areas of continuity as well as discontinuity. In 2018, he was a regular participant in FPRI podcasts. His 2018 *Atlantic* articles included “Russia's Strength Is Its Weakness,” “North Korea Wants to End Up as Pakistan, Not Libya,” and “America Keeps Accidentally Helping Iran.”



**EDWARD TURZANSKI** is a former member of the U.S. intelligence community. He advises Federal, State, and City homeland security authorities on measures to improve security in the state of Pennsylvania. He appears regularly on local television and radio shows and on Fox News radio outlets throughout the country. He chairs the annual Good Citizen Day for the Union League of Philadelphia and regularly addresses a variety of community organizations.



# EDUCATION

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# EDUCATION

FPRI's founder Robert Strausz-Hupe believed that the achievement of a coherent foreign policy is impossible in the absence of an informed public. Through the establishment of our Marvin Wachman Center for Civic and International Literacy in 1990, we laid the foundation for a multi-pronged program directed at educating students, teachers, and the general public.

## CIVIC EDUCATION

The United States faces a growing crisis in civic education. Shifting educational priorities have created a situation where many primary and secondary students in our schools receive inadequate instruction in basic elements of American history and government, if they receive any such instruction at all. Already a subject of avid discussion by opinion writers and think tanks, from the American Council of Trustees and Alumni to the National Conference of State Legislatures, this crisis has recently burst onto the public consciousness through a lawsuit by students in Rhode Island claiming that the absence of civics education means their schools have failed to prepare them to be “capable citizens.”

As former Harvard University President Derek Bok writes, “Uninformed voters can be easily manipulated, thus encouraging politicians and other purveyors of political information to resort more frequently to misleading or even blatantly false assertions. Civic education cannot cure those ills by itself. But improved preparation could help bring about higher levels of voting, a more knowledgeable electorate, and a more accountable government, while encouraging more graduates to become active in politics and public affairs.”

Responding to this crisis is a fight we must embrace and which we dare not lose. Guided by the motto of our founder, Robert Strausz-Hupé, that “a Nation must think before it acts,” FPRI

feels a special responsibility to respond to this palpable need. Thus, FPRI has begun an ambitious program in Civic Education, which includes both partnerships with Philadelphia-area schools and the production of materials aimed at school audiences nationwide, to enrich young people's understanding of the institutions and ideas that shape American political life.

Our work with students builds on 25 years of accomplishment with high school teachers through our Butcher History Institute. And now, we are poised to develop a program of using historiography to teach critical thinking skills.

# EDUCATING STUDENTS

## MULTIMEDIA PRIMERS

FPRI Primers provide lay and student audiences with the background details of figures, events, civic institutions, and important political organizations in American and world history. Because today's youth consumes information in vastly different ways than earlier generations, FPRI Primers include three components:

- A brief text, written by an FPRI expert, aimed at the lay or student audience.
- A five-minute video, in which the scholar presents that text, with animation to illustrate the main points.
- A lesson plan for teachers, which will help them to incorporate the information from the previous two items into their social studies curricula.

In 2018, FPRI produced four Primers—all available for viewing on the FPRI YouTube Channel—on the **National Security Council**, the **Declaration of Independence**, the **Development of the Constitution**, and **NATO**. Two more Primers are currently in production (scripts having been written and audio recorded) on **War Powers** and **Amending the Constitution**. These are scheduled

for release in the first half of 2019.

## HISTORICAL SIMULATIONS

Capitalizing on Philadelphia's unique position as the birthplace of American Liberty, FPRI has partnered with the Museum of the American Revolution to organize a series of Historical Simulations for Philadelphia area students on the founding of the American Republic. In “Debating Independence,” students assume roles as members of the Second Continental Congress and are encouraged to place themselves in late June 1776, when Congress debated the fateful step of declaring Independence from Britain. With preparatory documents and a post-debate debrief, the simulation aims to help high school-age audiences critically analyze the complex debates about independence, to help them appreciate both the challenges faced by those delegates and the meaning of the decisions they reached. After organizing two simulations during the 2017-2018 academic year, FPRI scheduled four during the 2018-2019 Academic year. Three were held over the course of the Fall Semester, the fourth is scheduled for March 20, 2019.





# EDUCATING TEACHERS

## HISTORY INSTITUTES

FPRI's Butcher History Institute for Teachers sponsors programs designed to bring high school teachers from around the country together with the nation's top scholars to provide them with professional development on a variety of topics in international relations, world history, and American history. At the conclusion of these weekends, teachers invariably describe them as **"the best professional development experience"** of their careers.

We take a particular interest in the teaching of American military history, a subject crucial to understanding American history as a whole and to the development of citizenship, but which is given only the barest attention in university and high school curricula. The premise of this work is that all Americans are responsible for the common defense and therefore all Americans should know something about it.

In 2018, FPRI held its 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Military History Institute in partnership with the First Division Museum at Cantigny Park near Chicago on **"Understanding the Many Missions of the American Military."** Designed to correspond to the new wing of the Museum focusing on the missions performed by the First Division since its inception in WWI. The weekend focused on these military missions: deterrence, battle, peacekeeping, counterinsurgency/counterterrorism, and military assistance.

Col. Paul Herbert, the now-retired director of the Museum, lectured on the history of the First Division as seen through the prism of these

various missions. His talk was an eloquent ode to the American soldier.

Thirty five teachers from 24 different states participated in the weekend, engaging with a distinguished roster of lecturers, including General Robert Scales, Erin Simpson (Editor, *War on the Rocks*), Mary Habeck (SAIS, FPRI), Austin Long (Rand Corp.), David Gray (Virginia Military Institute) and Col. Greg Fontenot.

## STUDY TRIPS ABROAD FOR TEACHERS

In addition to our history weekends for teachers, for the past few years, we've begun conducting study trips abroad for groups of high school teachers. Led by Paul Dickler, Associate Director of the Wachman Center for Civic and International Literacy at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, and Frank Chance, Emeritus Professor in East Asian Studies from the University of Pennsylvania, the 2018 Study Trip to Japan sought to immerse 18 American high school teachers (from 9 states) in Japanese culture, history, and politics through a combination of lectures before and during the trip as well as with site visits and access to relevant resources. The trip was cosponsored by UPenn's Center for East Asian Studies.

Prior to the two-week study tour, an online program of lectures, readings, and recommended activities were provided exclusively for study tour participants. Presenters included Robert Pekkanen, Jacques DeLisle, Frank Chance, Linda Chance, Mark Peterson, and Gil Rozman. Topics ranged from minorities in Japan to Japanese history, culture, and politics. Relations with China, Korea, and the United States were also explored.

The participants spent one week in Hokkaido and one week in the Tokyo area, visiting such sites as the Naritasan Shinshoji Temple, Edo-Tokyo Museum, Asakusa Kannon Temple, Tokyo National Museum, Meiji Shrine, Harajuku District, Tokyo Metropolitan Building, Hokkaido Prefectural Museum, Otokoyama Sake Brewery Museum and Brewery, Daisetsuzan National Park, Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum, Museum of the Northern Peoples, and Imperial National Gardens. Participants also visited the Diet, the American Center of the United States Embassy, and the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The 18 lesson plans prepared by the participating teachers are available on our website.

## USING HISTORIOGRAPHY TO TEACH CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS

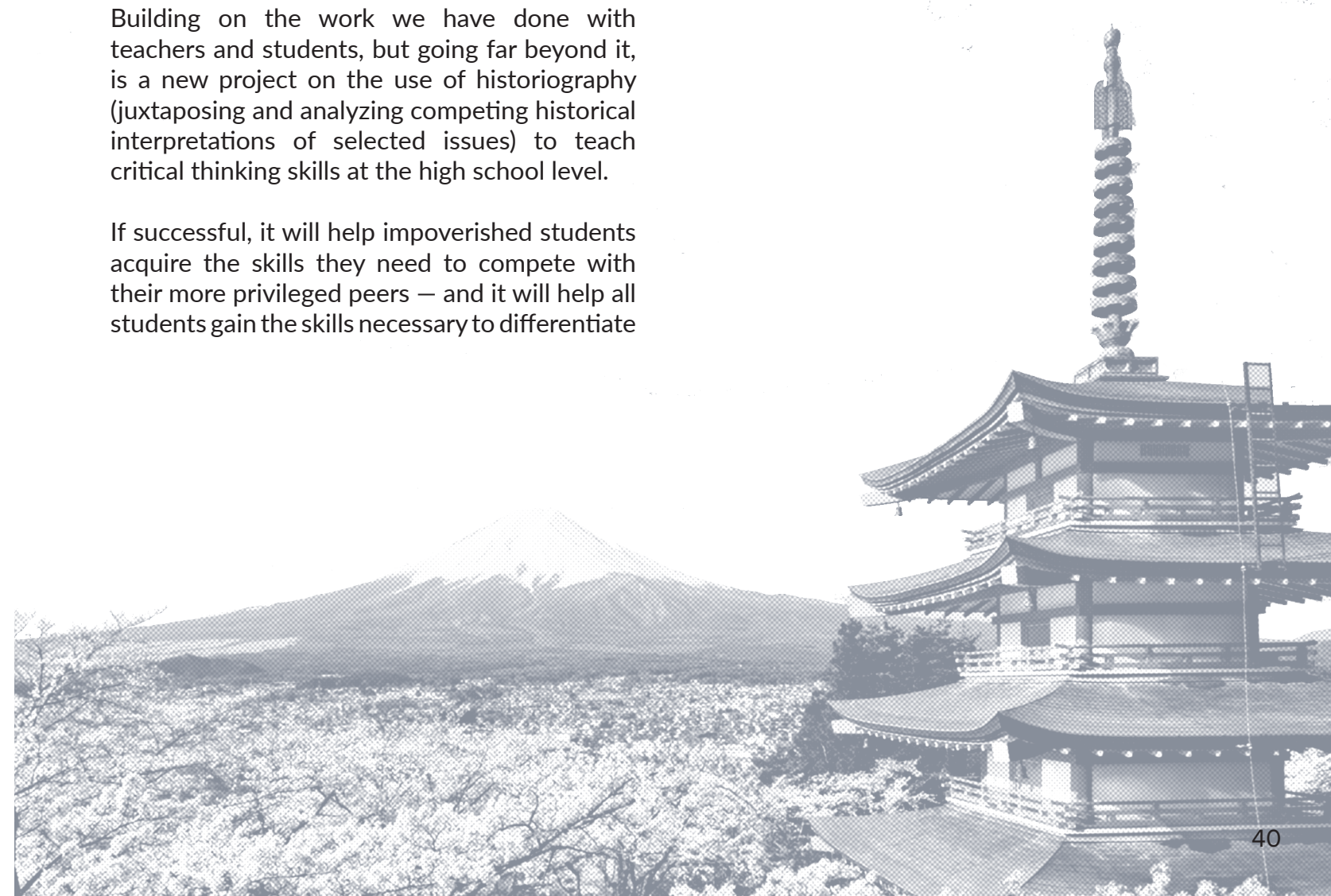
Building on the work we have done with teachers and students, but going far beyond it, is a new project on the use of historiography (juxtaposing and analyzing competing historical interpretations of selected issues) to teach critical thinking skills at the high school level.

If successful, it will help impoverished students acquire the skills they need to compete with their more privileged peers — and it will help all students gain the skills necessary to differentiate

fake news from real news and become better citizens.

The project has three components — development of curriculum modules, professional development for teachers (where we teach them the curriculum we develop), and research/evaluation, where we evaluate the actual impact in the classroom.

It is envisaged as a multi-year project, led by Agnieszka Marczyk, a historian of Eastern Europe who has done considerable work on pedagogy. In 2018, she completed a small pilot project that suggests her approach has great promise.





# EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

FPRI remains dedicated to offering insights to help the public understand our volatile world. **We hosted 57 public events** in the Greater Philadelphia area, New York City, and Miami in 2018. Through our three regular event series: **Main Line Briefings**, **Princeton Committee of FPRI**, and **Geopolitics with Granieri**, we aim to be a resource for our community. We also cooperate with the New York Historical Society to feature FPRI scholars in Manhattan. Friends of FPRI also host Manhattan and Miami salons.

Launched in 2013, **Main Line Briefings** are a series of monthly talks featuring a discussion with FPRI scholars over a wide range of foreign policy and national security issues.

Launched in 2012, the **Princeton Committee of FPRI** seeks to bring experts and policymakers in foreign affairs together with

individuals who seek a deeper understanding of the complex issues confronting us today. The format for these briefings is an intimate, salon-like setting in which participants may interact and exchange views with experts to a degree and depth not attainable in public forums.

**Geopolitics with Granieri** features a conversation with guest scholars on current events. Moderated by Ronald J. Granieri, each session draws upon FPRI's vast network of scholars and outside experts to elicit a broader understanding of the geographical, political, and historical context of current events.



Juan Zarate, Main Line Briefing

Ron Granieri (left) and Stuart Eizenstat (right), Geopolitics with Granieri



Amy Knight, Geopolitics with Granieri

John Maurer,  
Princeton Committee



Jeremy Black, Main Line Briefings

Robert Kaplan, Book Talk



# ANNUAL DINNER

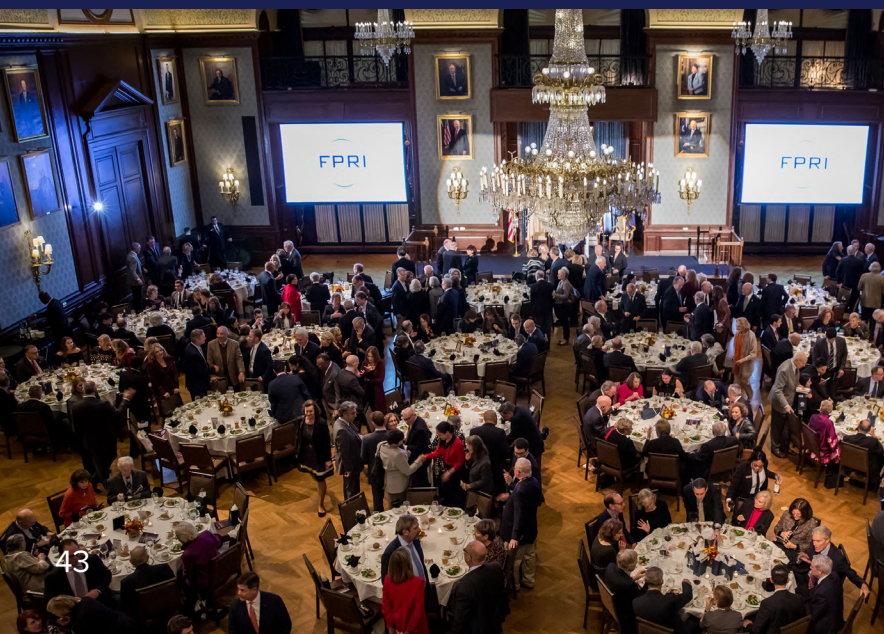
Presentation of the 14th Annual Benjamin Franklin Award for Public Service to Anne Applebaum.



Bob Freedman, Susan Goldberg, Anne Applebaum, Alan Luxenberg, Marina Kats, Ron Naples.



Ambassador Adrian Basora and Anne Applebaum



Congressman Brendan Boyle and Anne Applebaum.



Ron Naples and Marina Kats



Award recipient Anne Applebaum delivering the keynote address.



Alan Luxenberg, President of FPRI, gives opening remarks.



FPRI Vice Chair Devon Cross presents the Ben Franklin Award.





# ANNUAL CHAMPAGNE BRUNCH FOR PARTNERS



## WHAT EVERYONE NEEDS TO KNOW ABOUT RUSSIA UNDER PUTIN

Stephen Kotkin  
Eurasia Fellow, FPRI

# TEMPLETON LECTURE ON RELIGION AND WORLD AFFAIRS



## Defeating Religious Nationalism with Faithful Patriotism

Senior Fellow Chris Seiple



# FIRST ANNUAL GINSBURG-SATELL LECTURE

## Where Did the Founders Get Their Ideas?

Walter A. McDougall  
Ginsburg-Satell Chair, Center for the  
Study of America and the West





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IN MEMORIAM

We mourn the loss of our long-time senior fellow Rens Lee, who passed away in January 2019. Associated with FPRI since 1985, he earned degrees at Princeton, Columbia, and Stanford, and was fluent in Russian, Chinese, Spanish and French. He won many grants under our auspices and covered a wide range of subjects from nuclear smuggling, to cocaine trafficking, to the geopolitics of the Russian Far East. He completed his final project on Russian-North Korean relations in 2018 while battling cancer; it was a unique collaboration with scholars from the Far Eastern Federal University in Vladivostok (plus scholars from other Russian institutions). Notably, he took a great interest in our younger scholars, hoping to encourage their professional development. At one point, he paid FPRI the greatest compliment we could receive, saying that if he had thought we wore ideological blinders, he would never have associated himself with FPRI. He himself was a man of extraordinary intellectual integrity and a peripatetic traveler, always in search of the Truth.



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FPRI has made tremendous strides in recent years in increasing and broadening our sources of support, permitting us to expand programming and substantially improve our outreach efforts.

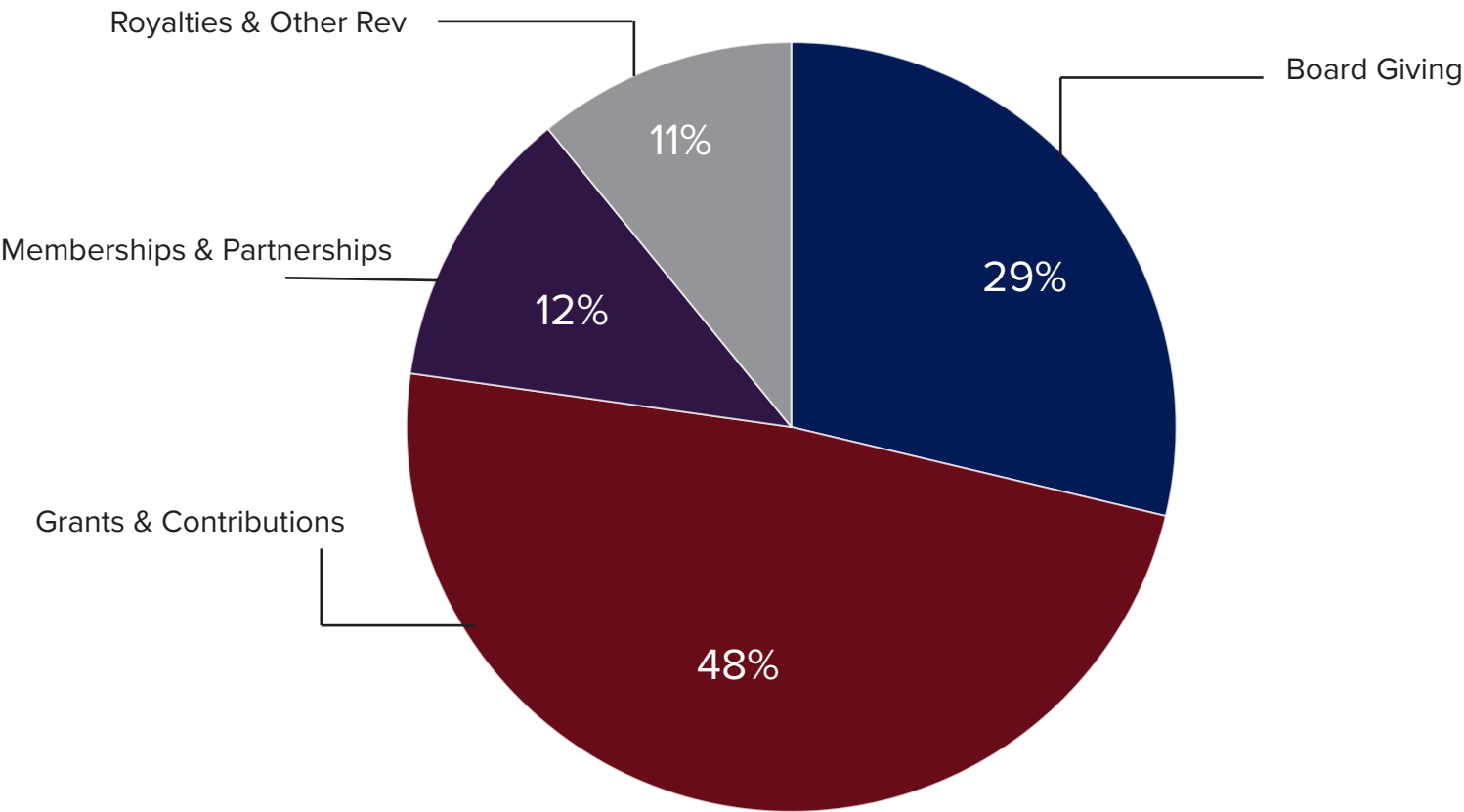
SUPPORT 2018	%	\$
Board Giving	29%	\$574,300
Grants & Contributions	48%	\$993,000
Memberships & Partnerships	12%	\$234,500
Royalties & Other Rev	11%	\$212,900
Total Receipts	100%	\$2,014,700

EXPENDITURES 2018	%	\$
Publications & Research	58%	\$1,449,000
Educational Programs	25%	\$637,100
Administration	8%	\$195,400
Development & Outreach	9%	\$219,800
Total Expenditures	100%	*\$2,501,300

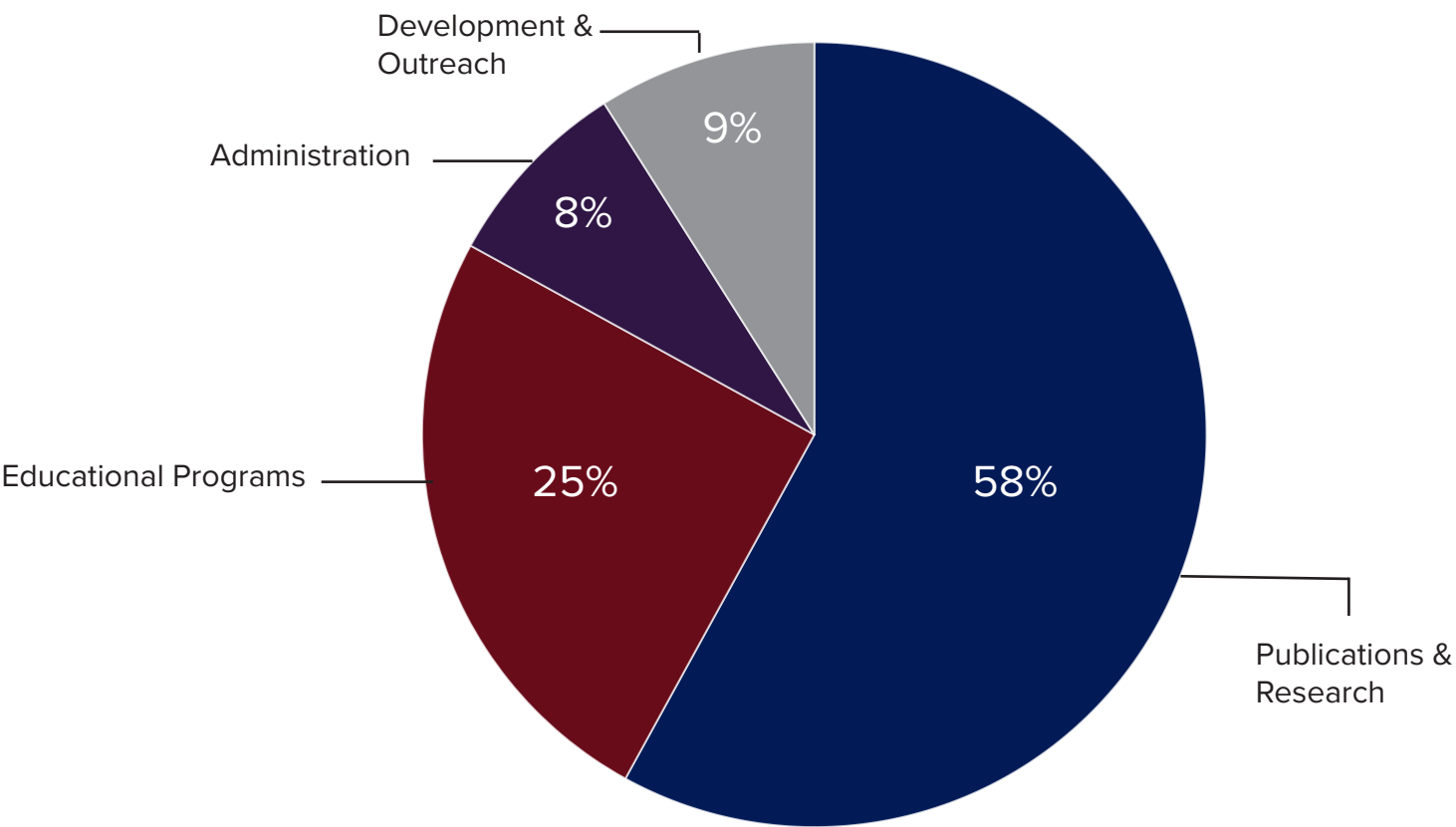
\*Approximately \$700,000 of 2018 expenditures relate to fulfilling project obligations on restricted grants whose funds were received in prior years.



FPRI: SUPPORT: 2018



FPRI: EXPENDITURES: 2018







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