

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

# 2019

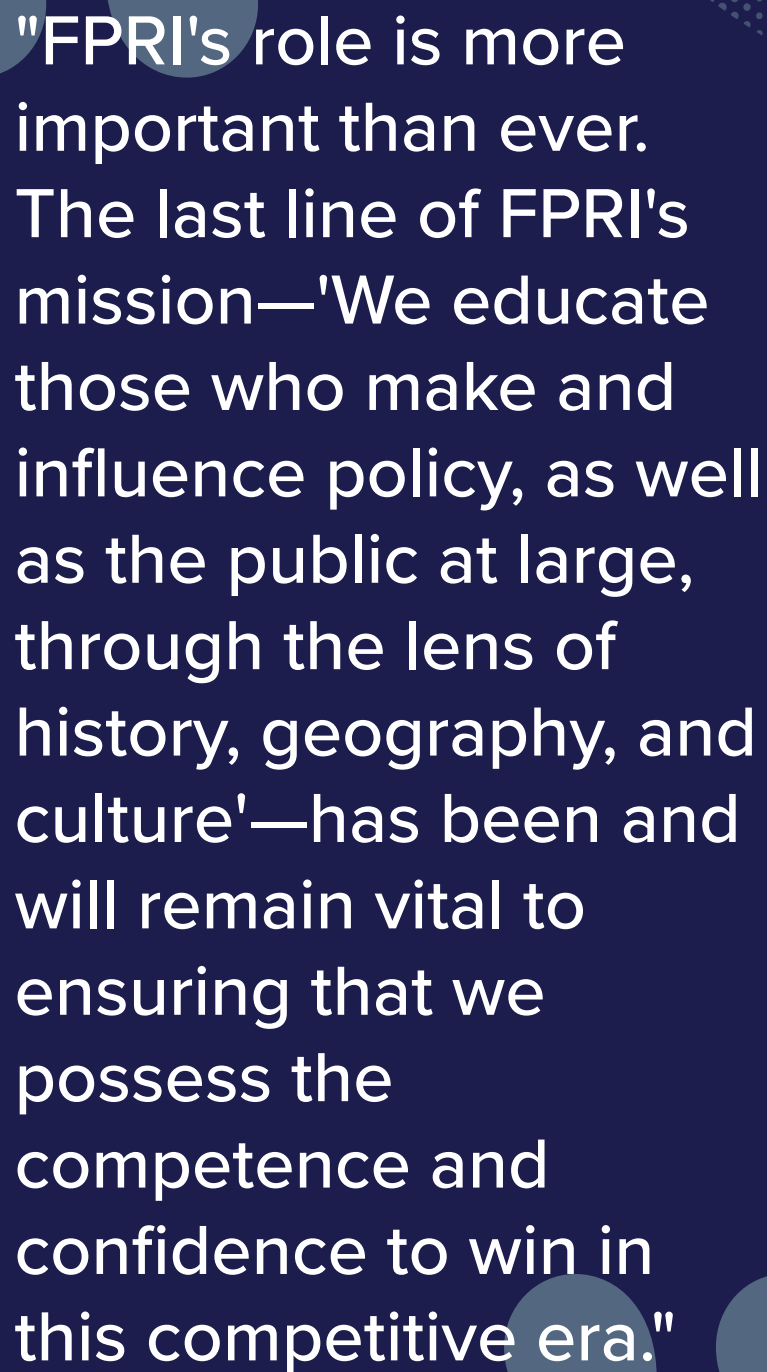
## Annual Report



**BIG IDEAS**

*GLOBAL VOICES*

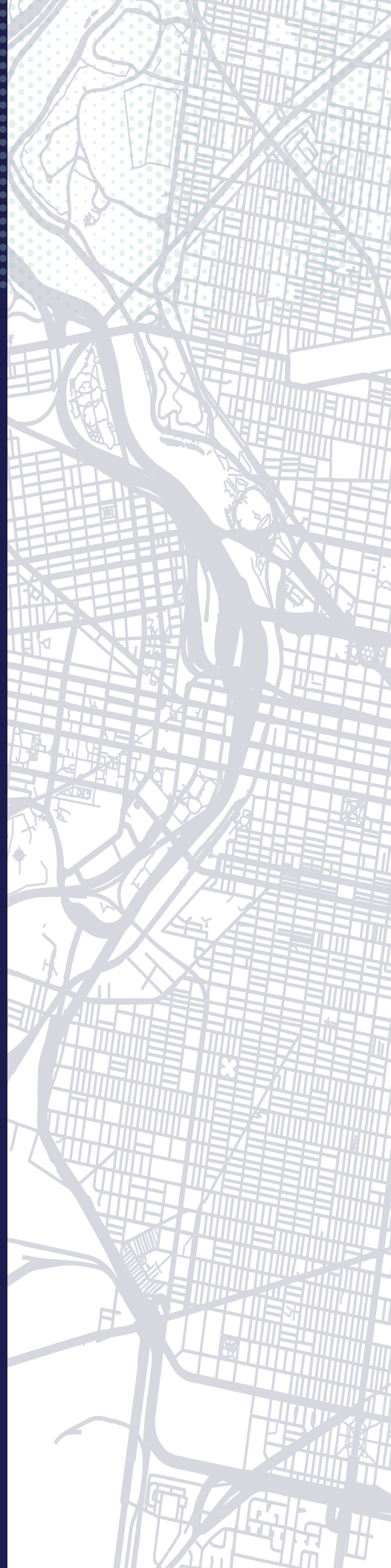
**LOCAL ACTION**



"FPRI's role is more important than ever. The last line of FPRI's mission—'We educate those who make and influence policy, as well as the public at large, through the lens of history, geography, and culture'—has been and will remain vital to ensuring that we possess the competence and confidence to win in this competitive era."

— H.R. McMASTER

*Former National Security Advisor*





# FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

*A nation must think before it acts*

## OUR 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.





**BIG IDEAS**

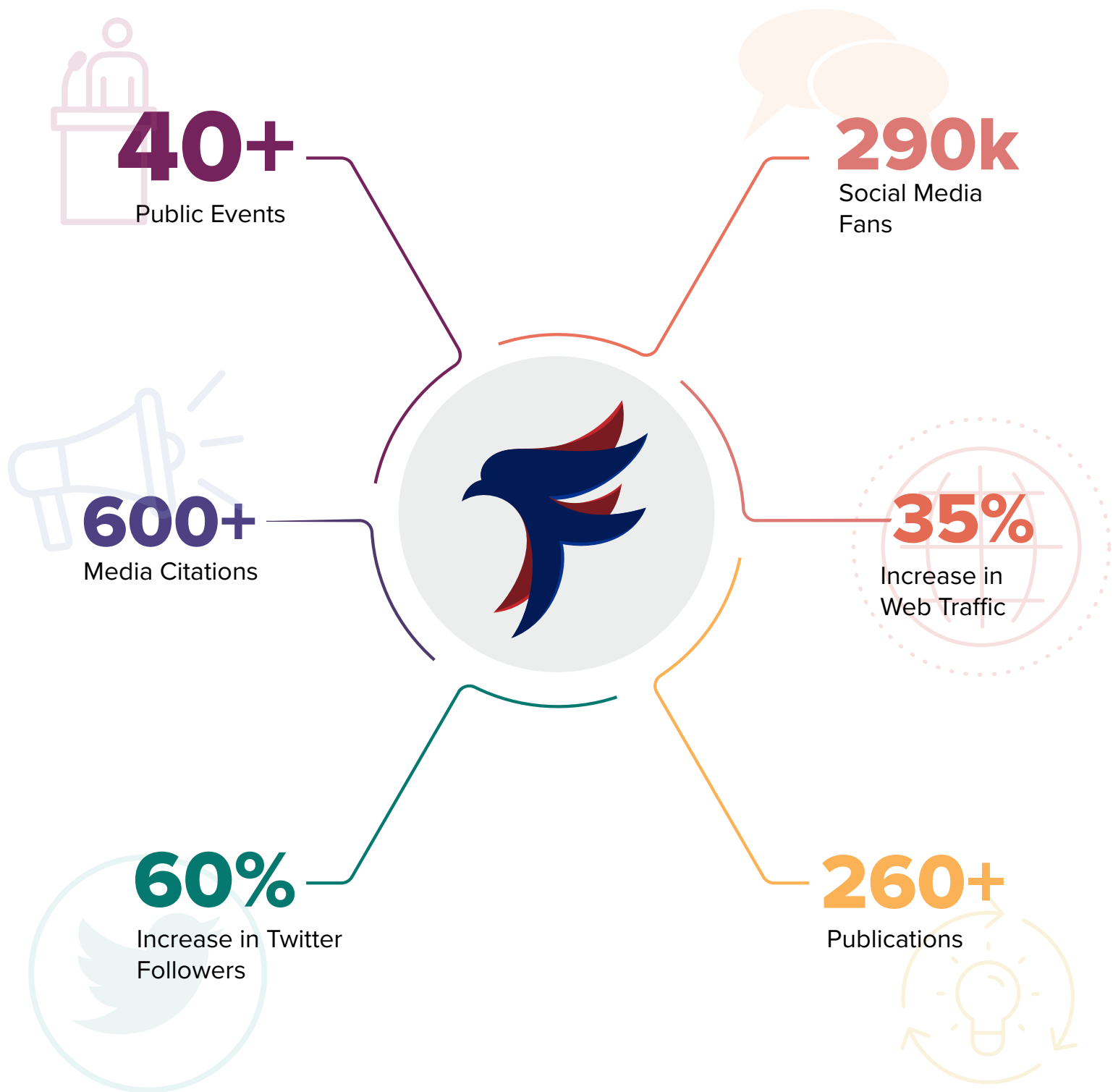
*GLOBAL VOICES*

**LOCAL ACTION**

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# 2019 IN NUMBERS



# LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Friends,

As a preliminary matter, both personally and on behalf of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, I would like to thank you all for your support, cooperation, and understanding during this unprecedented and challenging time. In the face of these difficulties, FPRI's mission remains critical. We have an excellent and committed staff, superb scholars, a wise and involved board, discerning and active supporters, and a world that needs the informed and critical analysis, reporting, and education that we provide more than ever. Together, we will emerge from these challenges stronger, more resilient, and undaunted.

Looking back on what now seems an eon ago, FPRI had an outstanding 2019. We continued to do what we do best: educating policymakers, policy influencers, and the public at large to advance our national interests and promote a peaceful world. As the public debate and information disseminated by media outlets has grown more polarized, our mission to provide thoughtful, in-depth analysis—the story behind the story—could not be more relevant. The following are some highlights of the past year.

Our Eurasia Program, under the able direction of Program Director Dr. Christopher Miller and Deputy Director Maia Otarashvili, continued to grow and lead the think tank community with its coverage of the Eurasia region with five thematic initiatives and seven publication series, including the newly launched BMB Ukraine, a companion brief to BMB Russia, both of which provide comprehensive coverage of evolving economic and political developments in these regions. The Eurasia Program launched its new Central Asia Initiative and held 20 public and private events, including a co-sponsored conference in Vilnius, Lithuania, which addressed the destabilizing role of Russia and China in Central and Eastern Europe. The Eurasia Program's 25 affiliated scholars published 45 articles and 6 special reports. The program appointed three new Baltic Sea Fellows, two new Black Sea Fellows, and a special Eurasia Fellow, Dr. Stephen Kotkin.

The Middle East Program had a remarkably productive year under the leadership of Dr. Aaron Stein. In partnership with the Atlantic Council and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Foundation, FPRI convened a conference in Erbil, Iraq, to address the future of northeast Syria and the implications for American and

European security, and held a separate dialogue in Brussels, in partnership with the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, on transatlantic and global security. Dr. Stein published over two dozen articles and roundtable discussions, and launched a bi-weekly podcast, *The Middle East Brief*, whose dedicated audience continues to grow. Scholars in the Middle East Program were cited hundreds of times and published nearly 50 articles in major media outlets. Notably, our new scholar Elizabeth Tsurkov has provided remarkable, firsthand coverage of the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Idlib, writing for the *New York Review of Books*, *The New Republic*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Forward*.

The Foreign Influence Election 2020 (FIE2020) project, led by Distinguished Research Fellow Clint Watts, has exposed and tracked Russian, Chinese, and Iranian media efforts to influence public opinion about presidential candidates competing in the 2020 U.S. election. Mr. Watts was among the first to identify and track Russian social media influence during the 2016 election, and this project has received ample coverage in media, including on *MSNBC*, *ABC*, *Newsweek*, *Newsmax*, and, of course, *Russia Today*.

FPRI launched the Luxemburg Education Fund, with its centerpiece project to develop an innovative curriculum to teach high school students critical thinking through historical case studies. Dr. Agnieszka Marczyk was appointed on July 1 as Education Director and Templeton Education Fellow to develop this curriculum and will lead workshops to introduce this curriculum to teachers with a view toward its inclusion in high schools in the Philadelphia region and beyond.

The Asia Program, under the leadership of Jacques deLisle, continued its focus on relations among China, Taiwan, and the United States, delving into the most important issues that East Asia faces in the 21st century, including the evolution of U.S. trade strategy in Asia and human rights issues in China. DeLisle provided deft analysis on discontent in Hong Kong and collaborated with Research Associate Thomas J. Shattuck on the publication of the special report "The Taiwan Relations Act at 40" and, together with Senior Fellow Avery Goldstein, co-edited *To Get Rich Is Glorious: Challenges Facing China's Economic Reform and Opening at 40*. Mr. Shattuck also spearheaded a project on transitional justice efforts in Taiwan, conducting research during two visits to Taiwan, and producing articles published by FPRI and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and a special

report featuring policy recommendations for the major parties in Taiwan and the U.S. Government.

At our Annual Dinner, FPRI was honored to confer upon former National Security Advisor General H.R. McMaster the 15<sup>th</sup> annual Benjamin Franklin Award for Public Service as a statesman, sage, and soldier who exemplified the ideals of Benjamin Franklin and the United States. General McMaster provided a fascinating talk at the dinner on the challenges to American security.

We were delighted to feature Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Walter McDougall in two named lectures: the Ginsburg-Satell Lecture on American Character and Identity, where he delivered a novel profile of Benjamin Franklin as a reluctant revolutionary; and the Templeton Lecture on Religion and World Affairs, where he gave an overview of the last 500 years of the history of the role of religion in world politics.

FPRI's public presence grew significantly with over 600 citations and articles in major U.S. media, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*, and in foreign media. Clint Watts continued to be a frequent commentator on major television networks and testified in Congress on two important issues: domestic terrorism and the shortfalls in countering terrorism in the homeland, and deep fakes and the dangers they pose to public discourse.

On a personal note, we mourned the loss of two trustee emeriti, Edward L. Snitzer and Graham Humes. Ed served as chairman of our Finance Committee for some years. Even after he rotated off the board,

Ed remained a good friend to FPRI. Graham's health issues prevented him from being active with us the last couple of years, but he nonetheless remained an avid consumer of our written work and a loyal supporter of FPRI until his death.

We lost our dear friend Pina Templeton who passed away after a long illness. The Templeton family has been a part of FPRI for nearly 30 years, with Pina's husband the late Jack Templeton serving on our board for nearly 25 years. During the years that Jack served as chair of our Annual Dinner, Pina personally picked up the cost of our featured performers from the U.S. Army Band (in addition to their annual exceedingly generous contributions), as she so loved that very patriotic dimension of our dinner. In person, Pina was unassuming, humble, and approachable, and the kind of person everyone should aspire to be. The world will miss her dearly.

I would be remiss if I did not express my deep gratitude to those who have been so generous in providing advice and guidance during my initial months as President, with special thanks to former President Alan Luxenberg and Chairman of the Board Robert L. Freedman.

We are deeply grateful to our loyal supporters, without whom we could not fulfill our mission. For those who are newly discovering FPRI, we invite you to get to know us better and I hope to see you (either in person or virtually) at our upcoming events.

With all best wishes,

Carol Rollie Flynn  
*President, FPRI*







RESEARCH

# EURASIA

The Eurasia Program was founded in 2015 with the aim of examining the political, security, economic, and social trends shaping the region. It has a multi-year focus on the Baltic and Black Seas, emphasizing how geography, economics, ideology, and history continue to shape politics and security in both areas. The program publishes analyses of Russian foreign policy, including Russia's role in Europe, the Balkans, and the Middle East. The Russia Political Economy Project, along with BMB Russia, analyzes the linkages between Russia's economy and its political system. The Central Asia Initiative is our newest project dedicated to examining the geopolitics and geoeconomics of the rapidly changing region and informing U.S. policymakers and policy influencers on matters that affect U.S. national interests.

The Eurasia Program includes 25 affiliated scholars, five thematic initiatives, and seven regular publication series. In January 2019, we appointed two Black Sea Fellows and three Baltic Sea Fellows, and named Dr. Stephen Kotkin our special Eurasia Fellow. In 2019, we published 45 articles, 16 special reports, held 20 public and private events, launched the Central Asia Initiative, and inaugurated **BMB Ukraine**, a companion brief to our long-standing BMB Russia newsletter.

We expanded our work on Russia's political economy by mapping Moscow's economic influence abroad and examining the Russian military-industrial complex. We enhanced our focus on the Black Sea region by adding regular video-commentary to the special Black Sea reports, and placed a spotlight on the conflict in Ukraine through field research, public lectures, and private briefings.



We also deepened our Baltic Initiative work by collaborating with the Vilnius Institute for Policy Analysis and co-organizing a conference in Lithuania. We partnered with the Baltic Security Foundation in Latvia, and laid groundwork for exciting new initiatives to more closely analyze Baltic security issues in 2020.

## The Baltic Initiative

The Baltic Initiative analyzes the geopolitics, geoeconomics, and security issues of the Baltic Sea region, and their implications for Europe and the United States. The monthly Baltic Bulletin and Baltic Roundup newsletter, authored by Dr. Indra Ekmanis, Editor of the Baltic Bulletin, analyze major political, cultural, and economic events in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In January 2019, we appointed three Baltic Sea Fellows. Una Bergmane, Indra Ekmanis, and Lukas Milevski are driving the initiative's focus on political and security issues in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and on NATO-Russia relations in

## RESEARCH SPOTLIGHT

**Dr. Indra Ekmanis** is the editor of the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Baltic Bulletin and a Baltic Sea Fellow in the Institute's Eurasia Program. She is the author of the monthly **Baltic Roundup**, an FPRI newsletter covering developments in the region.

She is an Editor for PRI's Global Nation through the ACLS/Mellon Public Fellows Program, where she works primarily on worldwide migration and European issues. Dr. Ekmanis recently completed a fellowship as a Kennan Institute Title VIII Research Scholar at The Wilson Center. She has a PhD in International Studies from the University of Washington and her academic research looks at social integration, minority rights, nationalism, civil society, and democratic transition, with an area specialization in the Baltic Sea Region and post-Soviet space.



the Baltic Sea region more generally.

Dr. Milevski is an American scholar based at Leiden University, where he writes and presents regularly on Baltic defense, grand strategy, and strategic studies. In January, Dr. Milevski briefed our Philadelphia audience about NATO-Russia relations and the role of the Baltic states. Based at the London School of Economics, Dr. Bergmane is developing a research project entitled **“How to Confront Ukraine’s Oligarchs: Lessons from Latvia.”** Her Baltic Bulletin work focuses on Latvian domestic politics and Russian disinformation efforts. Earlier this year, we launched the **Baltic Roundup**, a monthly newsletter authored by Dr. Ekmanis; it reaches over a thousand subscribers per month.

In addition to this research, we continue to expand on Baltic-related partnerships in the U.S. and Baltic Sea region. In October, FPRI co-sponsored a conference with the Vilnius Institute for Policy Analysis, titled **Europe on the Edge: The Politics of Grey Zones**. The event, which took place in Vilnius, Lithuania, emphasized the destabilizing role that China and Russia play in Central and Eastern Europe.

### The Black Sea Initiative

The Black Sea Initiative recognizes that the challenges of the Black Sea region influence all of Europe and Eurasia. The region is home to frozen conflicts in Moldova, Georgia, and Ukraine, and is surrounded by major geopolitical actors, such as Russia and Turkey.

This year, we named Dr. Robert Hamilton of the Army War College and Dr. Nicholas Gvosdev of the Naval War College as Black Sea Fellows. In May 2019, Dr. Hamilton traveled to Ukraine for field research in Kyiv and Donetsk. Upon his return, he briefed scholars, policymakers, and Ukraine-watchers in Washington, Philadelphia, and Boston. The resulting report draws lessons from the **Russia-Ukraine war in the Donbas** in the five years since that conflict began.

Dr. Gvosdev's work has analyzed Russian foreign policy towards its Black Sea neighbors, and Russia's impact on regional security and geoeconomics. Furthermore, Dr. Gvosdev regularly writes on American foreign policy more generally in a period of increased great power competition. In November, Dr. Gvosdev wrote a report on **Russia's Southern Strategy**, examining Russia's pursuit for reasserting and

strengthening its dominant position in the Black Sea and Caspian Sea regions and beyond.

### Russia Political Economy Project

In late 2017, we inaugurated the Russia Political Economy Project, which publishes reports that provide a clear-eyed assessment of Russian political economy trends. The project is based on the notion that American analysis of Russia has too often projected its own ideas and politics onto Russia rather than understanding how Russia's leaders think.

Rather than trying to maximize their population's wealth, Russia's leaders see economics as a tool for projecting Russian power on the international stage. The Russia Political Economy Project provides deep research on key themes on Russian political economy. In 2019, the project produced a series of reports mapping how Russia uses economic tools to achieve foreign policy leverage. These reports examined Russia's interests in Asia, the history of Russian propaganda and interference in other countries, Russia's economic ties to Venezuela, Russia's energy politics, Russia-Belarus relations, and Russia's history of imperial expansion.

### BMB Russia

BMB Russia provides news about Russia's economy, politics, business climate, and political-risk environment. It features a twice-weekly news brief and 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.

BMB Russia is meant for anyone who wants to understand the politics and economics in one of the **world's key emerging markets** as well as a peek into the broader post-Soviet space. The brief is a resource for those looking for business opportunities to make sense of one of the U.S.' most significant bilateral relationships and to cut through the cacophony to find the important signals few outlets cover. **The project is led by Fellow and BMB Editor-in-Chief Stephanie Petrella.**

In 2019, we expanded this initiative by adding **BMB Ukraine**, which is led by Associate Scholar **Fabrice Deprez**. At the end of 2019, we launched the **BMB Podcast**, which is hosted by Fellow and founder of BMB Russia **Aaron Schwartzbaum**.





## RESEARCH SPOTLIGHT



**Maximilian Hess** is a Central Asia Fellow in the Eurasia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He is the Head of Political Risk Analysis and Consulting at AKE International in London, where he also heads the Europe and Eurasia desks. He is a graduate of Franklin & Marshall College and SOAS, University of London. His research focuses on the relationship between trade, debt, international relations, and foreign policy, as well as the overlap between political and economic networks. He is currently researching the impacts of Uzbekistan's post-Karimov economic reforms, including comparing the development of the state's credit networks to foreign direct investment. Hess is also researching the politics around the hydrocarbon strategies of various states, the Turkmen economy and its relation to Russian-Chinese "great power" politics in the region, and finally how Russian-Kazakh relations are set to develop over the coming years.

### Democracy At Risk

Does the health of democracy abroad matter to the security of the United States? Do democracies make safer neighbors and better allies? How should the United States deal with the democratic recession of the past decade and the authoritarian counteroffensive 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 publications, events, study groups, and partnerships with other institutions. In 2018, we worked with the 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?** The final conference was held in March 2019, assembling 15 researchers for a day-long event entitled **Is Russia Undermining Democracy in the West?**

The Democracy at Risk Initiative places special emphasis on contemporary political developments in Central and Eastern Europe, with recent publications focusing on the protest movement in the Czech Republic, Ukraine's elections, unrest in Georgia, and politics in Moldova.

### Central Asia Initiative

In June 2019, we inaugurated the Central Asia Initiative, inspired by concern that America was losing focus on the region even as it was becoming a center of geopolitical competition. As the region's old post-Soviet dictators leave the scene, a new generation must reckon with Russia and China, both of which are trying to shape the region's politics and economics. Both Russia and China also have competing integration schemes for the region, with Moscow pushing the Eurasian Economic Union and Beijing advocating the Belt and Road Initiative. **This initiative will provide objective analysis of trends in Central Asia, informing policymakers and the public on matters that affect U.S. national interests,** including energy; the Belt and Road Initiative; terrorism and extremism; and competition between powers, such as China, Russia, Turkey, and Iran.





## PLANS FOR 2020

While we intend to continue our existing work on the Eurasia region in 2020, the following thematic areas will take special priority:

### Develop the Central Asia Initiative

As the United States continues its long drawdown from Afghanistan, American attention toward Central Asia is reaching its lowest point since the countries gained independence from the Soviet Union. The Eurasia Program launched a Central Asia Initiative on the contention that America's loss of interest in Central Asia is dangerous. Given rising Chinese influence, Central Asia will be a testing ground for understanding the new era of great power competition. How does Beijing interact with its neighbors? How will Russia respond as Chinese influence grows? How will this shape the durability of the Sino-Russian entente?

Strategic competition in Central Asia comes as the region itself is changing. A long-dominant older generation is preparing to leave the scene. For example, Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev—who first came to power as a Soviet-era Party Secretary—stepped down earlier this year as he tried to manage a transition of power. Our goal is to help strengthen U.S. policymakers' and

policy influencers' understanding of the region. **In 2020, through a series of special reports, briefings, and a conference in Washington, we aim to consolidate this initiative, making FPRI the go-to think tank for the latest cutting-edge research on Central Asia.**

### Focus on Turkey and Black Sea Security

FPRI has long prioritized research on the Black Sea, on the grounds that American analysis too often missed the region's interconnections, putting the region's countries into wholly separate mental boxes—some in Europe, some in the post-Soviet space, and Turkey in the Middle East. The ongoing crisis in Turkey's relations with the West shows the danger of such an approach. It was only four years ago that Turkey shot down a Russian jet along its border. Now, the Kremlin is selling Turkey advanced S-400 surface-to-air missiles, sparking a crisis within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We plan to focus our Black Sea research over the next year on the question of Russia and Turkey, with a special emphasis on Syria. What is Russia's long-term strategy vis-à-vis Turkey and Syria? To what extent does the new alignment reshape regional security? Will Turkey's pivot toward Russia outlast Erdogan? How should the U.S. respond? We will explore these questions in upcoming roundtable discussions in Washington and Philadelphia, and further deepen our thinking on these issues

through a series of published reports and an edited volume on the complex roles of the U.S., Russia, and Turkey in Syria.

### Emphasize Long-Term Thinking

FPRI believes that its most impactful research is not reactive analysis that responds to the news cycle, but deep thinking about long-term trends. Three long-term issues will motivate the Eurasia Program's thinking and writing throughout 2020. The first is the future of the European security architecture. The U.S. president's attitude about NATO points to a broader question about the Alliance's future that Washington has yet to answer. The Western Alliance was remarkably successful at securing Europe in the Cold War and enlarging the zone of peace and prosperity in the years after 1991. **What should its strategic purpose be today, at a time when the world is increasingly multipolar and as all powers are shifting their attention toward the Indo-Pacific?**

Second is the question of Russian politics and foreign policy. Russian President Vladimir Putin's current term in office ends in 2024, and per the Russian constitution, this term ought to be his last. Constitutions are changeable, of course, especially in dictatorships like Russia, and already the first few months of 2020 have been eventful in this regard. The Kremlin faces a dilemma about what to do, and seems to be leaning towards extending the Putin presidency to 2036—allowing him to surpass any of his modern predecessors

with a potential 36-year-long rule. We are likely to find out the fate of his presidency during 2020, while the impending deadline of 2024 makes the question of post-Putin politics relevant for the first time. **We will explore potential pathways of Russian foreign policy beyond 2024, examining long-term historical continuities and exploring the broader implications of both, a potential change in leadership, or lack thereof.**

The third question is concerned with the impacts of Russia's political economy and defense sector on its current and future domestic and foreign policymaking. FPRI will continue its in-depth study of Russia's military industry and its technological development. Key questions include Russia's technology goals, its tech cooperation with China, and its investment in artificial intelligence. **FPRI is also examining the efficacy of Russia's military-industrial complex, including its technological basis, and its ability to hire talented engineers and computer programmers and to source complex IT components from other countries.** Finally, FPRI scholars are analyzing trends in Russia's arms exports to understand the effect of U.S. sanctions on the future of the sector.





# MIDDLE EAST

Over the past year, the Middle East Program has sought to expand its programming and raise FPRI's profile. As part of this effort, the Middle East Program, in partnership with the Atlantic Council and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung convened a 25-person conference in Erbil, Iraq, to discuss events in northeast Syria; the implications for American and European security; and proposed a series of policy options in a follow-on report titled **The Future of Northeast Syria**. In October, the Middle East Program held a separate dialogue, in partnership with The Heinrich Böll Stiftung in Brussels, which brought together close to 60 American, European, and Turkish experts and policymakers to discuss transatlantic and global security. The report, **Transatlantic Dialogue: Turkey, the Syrian War, and the Future of the Transatlantic Alliance**, was released in December 2019, and includes a series of insights gleaned from two days of dialogue with the different participants. Finally, the Program published a special report, **Narrowing Interests in the Middle East: Planning for Great Power Competition**, which explored the history of America's role in the region and made a series of concrete recommendations to implement the National Defense Strategy in a way that enables American interests and retains a strong foothold in the Middle East.

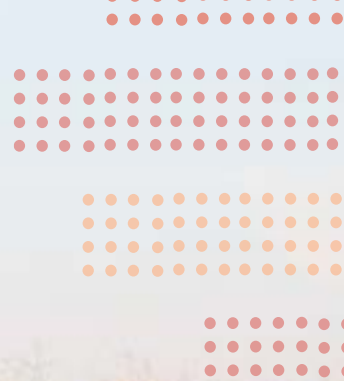
Separately, Program Director **Dr. Aaron Stein** published over two dozen articles and roundtables in external outlets and for FPRI detailing the war in Syria, U.S.-Iran relations, and broader issues involving American interests in the Middle East. Dr. Stein also began a Middle East-focused podcast, the **Middle East Brief**, which is published biweekly online and has managed to attract a dedicated listener base after a year of content and interviews.

The Program's scholars also had an active year, with **Dr. Afshon Ostovar**, a 2019-2020 Fox Fellow,

publishing articles in the *Washington Post* and *Foreign Affairs*, along with articles in the academic journals *Security Studies* and *International Affairs*. Senior Fellow **Dr. Sean Yom** published the edited volume *The Societies of the Middle East and North Africa: Structures, Vulnerabilities, and Forces*, which includes scholarly contributions about politics and governance in the Middle East and North Africa. Fellow Ms. Elizabeth Tsurkov was active, publishing pieces in the *New York Review of Books*, *Foreign Policy*, and other online publications. Finally, Senior Fellow **Dr. Christopher Bolan** wrote a series of articles about American strategy in the Middle East, with a focus on Syria and U.S.-Iran relations, along with Senior Fellow **Dr. Joshua Krasna's** voluminous writings about Israeli and Arab politics.

Over the past year, scholars were cited in the media hundreds of times and published close to 50 articles in major media outlets. The program looks forward to expanding the work that we do and provide timely and non-partisan analysis for policymakers.





## THE MIDDLE EAST BRIEF



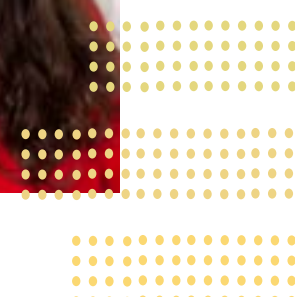
Started in 2019, the Middle East Brief is the Foreign Policy Research Institute's biweekly podcast on policy-relevant news about the Middle East, with an interview about why it matters for U.S. foreign policy. The podcast is hosted by Middle East Program Director Dr. Aaron Stein.

In 2019, podcast guests included scholars Elizabeth Tsurkov, Joshua Krasna, Nada Bakos, Clint Watts, and Afshon Ostovar, as well as other policy experts such as Ariane Tabatabai, Yousef Eltagouri, Elizabeth Dickinson, Becca Wasser, and Rob Lee.

To date, episodes of the Middle East Brief have been downloaded tens of thousands of times.

## RESEARCH SPOTLIGHT

**Elizabeth Tsurkov** joined the Middle East Program as a Fellow in 2019. She is a doctoral student in political science at Princeton University. Her research is based primarily on a large network of contacts she has cultivated across the Middle East and particularly in Syria, as well as fieldwork across the region. She is also a Research Fellow at the Forum for Regional Thinking, a progressive Israeli-Palestinian think tank based in Jerusalem. Tsurkov has worked as a consultant with the International Crisis Group, Atlantic Council, and European Institute for Peace. She has over a decade of experience working with human rights organizations in the Middle East defending the rights of refugees, migrants, laborers, Palestinians, as well as ethnic and religious minorities. Her work has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *New York Review of Books*, *Haaretz*, *War on the Rocks*, *The New Republic*, and *New Humanitarian*, among other outlets.





**The U.S.-China trade war and dramatic events in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Xinjiang were the key developments in East Asia and defined U.S. relations with the region in 2019.**

With the long-standing U.S. policy of constructive engagement with China largely supplanted by a consensus in Washington demanding a tougher stance toward a more powerful and assertive China, the “trade war” between the U.S. and China was the principal economic story of the past year. As the Trump administration continued to press demands ranging from reduction of the bilateral trade deficit and stronger protection for U.S. intellectual property in China to fundamental reforms in Beijing’s high-tech-promoting industrial policies, each side imposed escalating tariffs on the other and threatened to take additional measures. The conflict between the world’s two largest economies went well beyond trade, and the prospect of U.S.-China economic decoupling threatened to shake the broader regional and international economy, which had been reshaped by decades of globalization and deepening integration. To address these issues, the Asia Program, in cooperation with the Woodrow Wilson International Center For Scholars, convened a symposium on the **Evolution of U.S. Trade Strategy: Causes and Consequences for Asia.**

The issues confronting China’s economy and economic policy go beyond the bilateral conflict with the United States. Beijing’s long-successful model of pursuing rapid growth and development through market-oriented reforms and opening to the outside world faces challenges in readjusting to a more prosperous but slower-growing economy and diminished prospects for expansion and liberalization in the world economy. But China’s political system and growing distrust of China abroad make necessary reforms difficult. These were among the themes of an Asia Program book discussion on **To Get Rich is Glorious** (edited by current and former Asia Program Directors **Jacques deLisle and Avery Goldstein**). A key component of China’s new international economic and political strategy—the Belt and Road Initiative to promote



Chinese investment in infrastructure across Asia and into Europe and Africa—has drawn increasing skepticism from potential partner states. This was a key theme of a conference convened in Vilnius, Lithuania, organized by the Eurasia Program, with participation from Program Director Jacques deLisle.

Politics in China and along China’s periphery were fraught and consequential in 2019. Throughout the year, China continued apace in building an extraordinarily far-reaching surveillance state and continued its suppression of the regime’s critics, including advocates for human rights and the rule of law. In Xinjiang, repression of the Muslim Uyghur minority intensified, with Chinese authorities detaining up to one million in massive camps and imposing “education” programs and other measures that sought to undermine Uyghur culture. These developments were the focus on an Asia Program symposium on **Human Rights in China.**

In Hong Kong, popular opposition to proposed legislation to permit extradition of Hong Kong residents to face trial in Chinese courts triggered



the territory's most severe political crisis in more than a generation. With critics seeing the bill as an existential threat to the long-eroding autonomy and rule of law that Beijing had promised when Hong Kong returned to Chinese rule in 1997, a months-long spiral of massive public demonstrations, widespread police brutality, increasingly radical tactics by protesters, and warnings from the local Hong Kong and central Chinese governments of possibly dire consequences set in. Asia Program events in Philadelphia and Princeton and an article in *Orbis* examined these events, their origins, and implications.

Taiwan faced mounting pressure from China, and enjoyed increased support from the U.S., as Taiwan's presidential and legislative elections approached and as Taipei and Washington marked the **40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Taiwan Relations Act**. The tougher tone on cross-Strait policy in Xi Jinping's 2019 New Year's speech, Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen's pointed response, and the reaction in Taiwan to developments in

Hong Kong—which is the principal example of the “one country, two systems” model Beijing proposes for Taiwan—led to a dramatic turnaround in Tsai's reelection prospects, ending in a landslide victory. Asia Program events on these developments included a **panel discussion in New York on the Taiwan Relations Act**, and several FPRI commentaries published by Asia Program scholars.

The Asia Program will continue to address major developments in the region in 2020, including a special issue of *Orbis* and a related symposium on political warfare in East Asia.

## RESEARCH SPOTLIGHT

In 2019, Research Associate Thomas J. Shattuck carried out a project on transitional justice efforts in Taiwan. Supported by the Global Taiwan Institute, Shattuck went on two research trips to Taiwan to conduct field work, visit key sites, and interview politicians, academics, civil society leaders, political victims and their family members, and other key stakeholders. The project resulted in articles published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. It culminated in a special report that evaluated the Tsai Ing-wen administration's two commissions that deal with the authoritarian legacy of the Kuomintang and provided policy recommendations on how the two major parties in Taiwan as well as the United States government should move forward and support transitional justice in the country.



# NATIONAL SECURITY



The National Security Program remains committed to providing non-partisan and implementable policy recommendations, and looks to expand its areas of focus in the coming year to match changes in American national security planning.

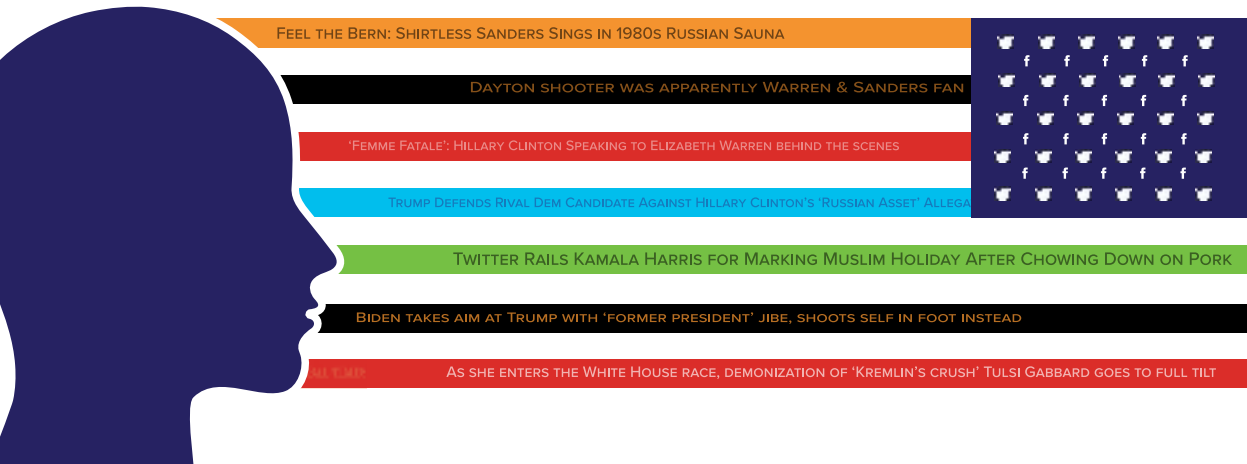
As the United States shifts away from planning for smaller, counter-terrorism-focused policy and devotes more resources to competing with large nation states, the Program is adapting. It will soon launch a **Technology and National Security Initiative** that blends technological and political expertise to bridge gaps between these two communities and to provide policy recommendations to manage the challenges that advancements in technology will pose to American national security. The Program will begin to utilize more publicly available “open source” tools, ranging from high-resolution satellite photography to monitoring all forms of openly available social media to enhance our analysis and contribute to FPRI’s work on policy.

We are committed to working on the longer-term challenge that is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the threat that poses

to the United States and its allies, as well as to expand work on an issue that impacts the entire the planet: climate change. These two issues are certain to define near-and-medium-term policy debates, and inform thinking about American national security in the 2020s and beyond and have cross-programmatic overlap. The WMD issue has particular relevance for American relations with Russia, China, and North Korea, the core foci of FPRI’s Asia and Eurasia Programs, and for U.S.-Iran relations, the main focus of the Middle East Program.

In 2019, Program scholars authored five books, edited four volumes, and contributed to dozens of online publications and journals. Program Fellows hold considerable expertise in areas relating to national security policymaking, U.S. defense policy, civil-military relations, irregular warfare, proxy warfare, great power competition, and counterterrorism.

# FOREIGN INFLUENCE ELECTION 2020



The Foreign Influence Election 2020 Project, led by **Distinguished Research Fellow Clint Watts**, was born out of lessons learned from the 2016 U.S. presidential election. As Russia, Iran, and China habitually use state media apparatuses to publish propaganda, the project seeks to understand the general thrust of such efforts and assess the magnitude of any overt or subtle election influence efforts they contain.

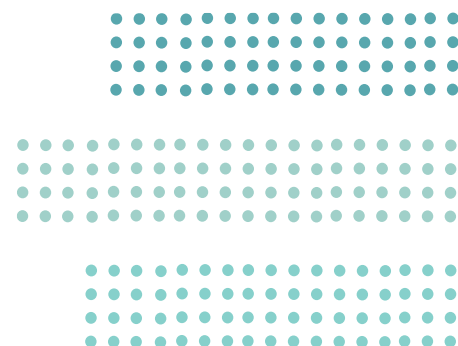
The purpose of this project is to conduct a persistent and consistent review of state-sponsored media outlets to understand their foreign influence goals and anticipate their interference in the 2020 U.S. presidential election.

FIE 2020 identifies, catalogues, and analyzes English-language reporting disseminated by non-U.S., state-sponsored media outlets. State-sponsored content related to the 2020 presidential election, the 2020 candidates, and significant campaign issues are aggregated daily. FIE 2020 analyzes these news stories and then reports on the overt content of three authoritarian regimes broadcasting English-language media to American audiences: Russia, Iran, and China. All three countries have robust state-sponsored media outlets, and all three countries have demonstrated a willingness to employ their state-sponsored outlets to advance narratives and themes that directly support the interests of their parent states.

FIE 2020 collects and analyzes state-sponsored news stories from January 2019 to the present. FIE 2020 will continue this collection and analysis through the 2020 U.S. presidential election on November 3, 2020.

Project leader Clint Watts was among the first to identify foreign election interference in the 2016 presidential election. Watts has testified before Congress numerous times on the threats posed to American democracy.

The backbone of FIE 2020 is a team of researchers from dozens of universities and colleges across the U.S. and Europe. Each researcher has been trained by FIE 2020 leaders to identify information in designated foreign news sources and synthesize data related to the 2020 presidential election and its candidates.



# EDUCATION





# EDUCATION

## TEACHING CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS THROUGH HISTORICAL INQUIRY

In 2019, FPRI launched a new initiative that focuses on teaching critical thinking skills through historical inquiry in high school classrooms. Our goal is to create a World History curriculum that can expand students' capacity for critical and independent thinking and competent democratic citizenship. Alongside the curriculum, we are developing a professional development program to support teaching of the curriculum in diverse school settings in the Philadelphia region.

**We also launched the Luxenberg Education Fund, to honor Alan Luxenberg's 44 years of service to FPRI and to support our education programming.**

### PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The curriculum will be designed to give students opportunities to practice skills that are essential for the vitality of our democracy:

- Critical evaluation of arguments and evidence
- Examination of different viewpoints
- Articulation and investigation of meaningful questions
- Analysis of connections between the past and the present
- Active participation in constructive, open-ended discussion

We will assess the curriculum's effectiveness by using think-aloud interviews, formative writing assessments, validated tests of historical thinking, and teacher and student surveys.

### THEMES & TOPICS

The curriculum's guiding themes will be comparative revolutions, collective identities, and human rights. These themes will provide a lens for investigating the history of democratic governance in a pluralistic and global perspective.

The curriculum will explore a range of topics:

- French Revolution
- Haitian Revolution
- Mexican Independence
- Emergence of nations and nationalism
- Human rights after 1945
- Fall of communism in 1989-91
- End of apartheid

### IMPLEMENTATION

In 2020, we will work in partnership with school districts, teachers, historians, education scholars, universities, and museums to:

- Incrementally develop and test the curriculum with teachers and students
- Provide associated professional development for teachers in diverse school settings
- Disseminate and help embed the curriculum into teaching practice in the Philadelphia region

### OTHER FPRI EDUCATION INITIATIVES

#### MULTIMEDIA PROGRAMS

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 classes.





In 2019, FPRI produced two Primers—all available for viewing on our YouTube Channel—on the Bill of Rights and Amending the Constitution and War Powers in American Politics.

### **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. This simulation aims to help high school-age audiences critically analyze the complex debates about independence, appreciate the challenges faced by those delegates, and better understand the meaning of the decisions they reached. Over the course of 2019, FPRI and the Museum of the American Revolution held three simulations for students. In all, 89 students from 7 different

schools participated. Over the summer, a special simulation was also held for high school teachers as part of the Museum’s inaugural Summer Teacher Institute.

### **INTERNSHIP PROGRAM**

In 2019, we have continued our long tradition of offering internships to college, graduate, and high school students. These internships give students opportunities to develop their research and analytical skills, expand their content knowledge in the field of international relations, and interact with FPRI scholars.

In 2019, we engaged 45 interns, 36 of whom participated in our summer internship experience. They supported our research programs, worked on projects of their own, and assisted with daily operations of the organization. Over the course of the summer, we offered 6 seminars for interns, led by FPRI scholars. After each scholar’s presentation, students had a chance to participate in a roundtable discussion.



# EVENTS

FPRI remains dedicated to offering insights to help the public understand our volatile world. We hosted over 40 events in 2019, in Philadelphia, New York City, Washington, D.C., and Miami.

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. Friends of FPRI also host salons in New York City and Miami.



Kori Schake, Spring Brunch for Partners



Philadelphia Inquirer's Trudy Rubin, Spring Brunch for Partners



Ronald Granieri & Nada Bakos, Geopolitics with Granieri



Sumit Ganguly, Main Line Briefing



Ariane Tabatabai, Main Line Briefing





Ronald Granieri & Aaron Stein, *Geopolitics with Granieri*



John Nagl & Marisa Porges, *Main Line Briefing*



Walter McDougall, *Templeton Lecture*

## Center for the Study of America and the West

Among this year's highlights were the annual Ginsburg-Satell Lecture on American Character and Identity by Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Walter A. McDougall, in which he took a fresh look at Benjamin Franklin as a reluctant revolutionary. He is also the Ginsburg-Satell Chair of the Center and gave this year's Templeton Lecture on Religion and World Affairs, providing a remarkable overview of the role of religion in world politics during the last 500 years of history.

The Center's Executive Director, Ron Granieri, hosted six episodes of *Geopolitics with Granieri*, an interview program that featured conversations with Templeton Fellow Dominic Tierney discussing the significance of Brexit and implications for the U.S.; J.M. Berger, author of *Extremism*; and Senior Fellow Nada Bakos, who related her experiences tracking terrorists across the globe.

Education Director Agnieszka Marczyk was named a Novakovic Fellow and a Templeton Fellow, which enabled the development of new curriculum to teach high school students critical thinking through historical case studies.

Senior Fellow and Emeritus Professor of Political Science at Swarthmore College James Kurth provided a fascinating lecture on the trajectory of U.S. foreign policy, drawing on research in his new book, *The American Way of Empire: How America Won a World—But Lost Her Way*.



Sophie Richardson, Jacques deLisle, Michael Davis, *Human Rights and China conference*

A large photograph of H.R. McMaster, a bald man with glasses, wearing a dark suit and a light blue tie. He is standing at a dark wooden podium, speaking into a microphone. His right hand is resting on the podium. The background is dark and out of focus.

# 2019 BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AWARD FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

**H.R. McMaster**  
Former National Security Advisor



**The Annual Dinner** is the organization's gala held each year in Philadelphia. Since 2005, on the occasion of FPRI's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary and on the eve of Benjamin Franklin's 300<sup>th</sup> birthday, the Annual Dinner includes the presentation of the **Benjamin Franklin Award for Public Service**. This award is given each year to the American whose service as a statesman, sage, or soldier best exemplifies the ideals of Benjamin Franklin and the United States. Past honorees include Henry A. Kissinger, James Mattis, Robert D. Kaplan, Walter Russell Mead, Ash Carter, and Anne Applebaum.

**The 2019 Benjamin Franklin Award Reciepiant was former National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster.**









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**About the Luxenberg Education Fund**



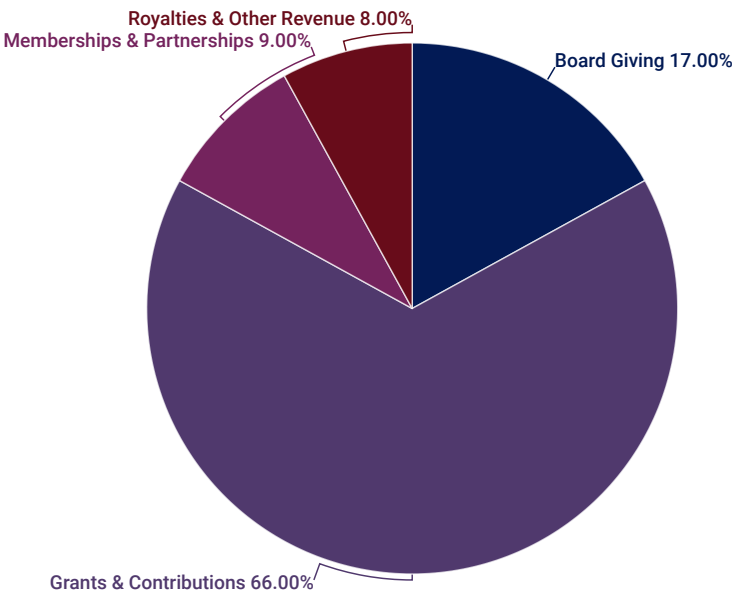
Alan Luxenberg was president of FPRI from February 2012 to December 2019 (and Acting President from December 2010 to January 2012), completing 44 years of service at FPRI in a variety of capacities. He fostered numerous partnerships with organizations and institutions of higher education in Philadelphia,

Washington DC and elsewhere, including the First Division Museum in Wheaton, IL, where FPRI enjoyed a 13-year partnership offering history weekends for high school teachers on topics in American military history. In 1990, he founded FPRI's Wachman Center (originally known as the Marvin Wachman Fund for International Education), which has served as the outlet for FPRI's educational programming, including its nationally renowned Butcher History Institute for Teachers. Luxenberg received a B.A. in psychology from the University of Pennsylvania, where he was a Benjamin Franklin Scholar, and an M.A. in history from Temple University, where he was a Russell Conwell Fellow. Upon his retirement, FPRI's board established the Luxenberg Education Fund in his honor, the focal point of which is a project designed to use historiography to teach critical thinking skills to high school students.



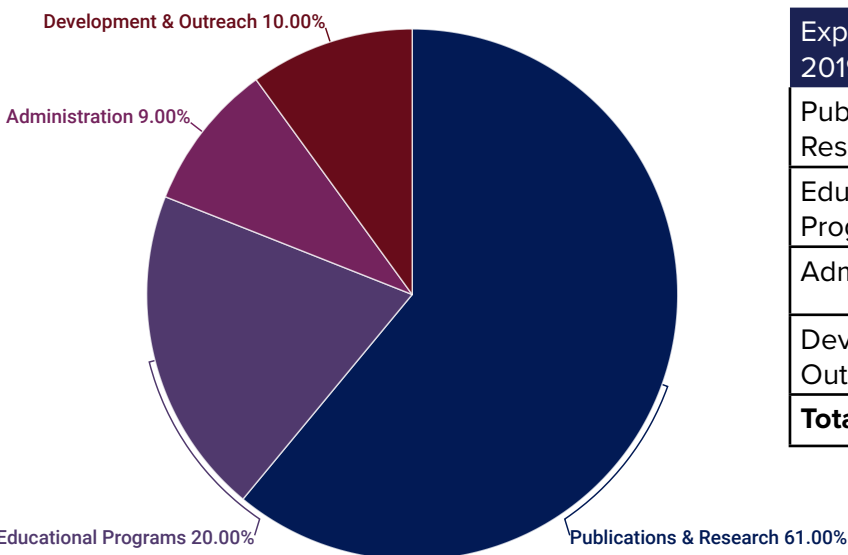
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FPRI currently operates on a budget of approximately \$2.4 million dollars. The charts below show the percentages of how FPRI is supported and how FPRI spends its funds.



## SUPPORT 2019

Support 2019	%	\$
Board Giving	17%	\$416,000
Grants & Contributions	66%	\$1,579,900
Memberships & Partnerships	9%	\$216,100
Royalties & Other Revenue	8%	\$193,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>\$2,405,000</b>



## EXPENDITURES 2019

Expenditures 2019	%	\$
Publications & Research	61%	\$1,461,700
Educational Programs	20%	\$459,900
Administration	9%	\$199,300
Development & Outreach	10%	\$223,800
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>\$2,344,700</b>

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March 2020

Design: Natalia Kopytnik  
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