

# MEETING THE MOMENT: SHAPING THE FUTURE

2018 / 2019 ANNUAL REPORT

THROUGH THE PAPERS WE WRITE, THE IDEAS WE GENERATE, AND THE COMMUNITIES WE BUILD, THE **COUNCIL SHAPES POLICY CHOICES AND STRATEGIES TO CREATE** A MORE SECURE **AND PROSPEROUS** WORLD 2018 / 2019 ANNUAL REPORT

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## LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN AND THE PRESIDENT & CEO

For nearly sixty years, the Atlantic Council has pursued the mission bestowed on us by our founders: to galvanize constructive US leadership, alongside our global friends and allies, to shape the future.

This mandate underpins all efforts across our twelve programs and centers, driving the purposeful, results-oriented approach we bring to our work. In the pages that follow, we have laid out the purpose of each of these operations—while at the same time including essays on what we consider five over-arching and **defining challenges** of our times.

We confront the return of major power confrontation and potentially

South Korean President Moon Jae-in and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un shake hands at the truce village of Panmunjom inside the demilitarized zone separating the two Koreas, South Korea, April 27, 2018. Korea Summit Press Pool/Pool via Reuters.



conflict; new doubts have emerged regarding democracy's future even as autocracies have grown stronger; the global system of rules and institutions that Atlantic Council founders helped establish after World War II is in question; and it remains uncertain what global leadership role the United States will play after presiding over a seventy-year period of extraordinary progress and prosperity.

Beyond that, we have entered an era of unprecedented technological change—the Fourth Industrial Revolution—that will influence all other challenges and touch all aspects of human existence, societal development, and international affairs.

The United States and allies around the world have seldom operated in such a dynamic time of political, economic, and societal change and uncertainty.

At the Atlantic Council, we view these defining challenges not as reason for despair.

### We view them as a call to action.

We believe these issues will define the future of the international system and have developed strategies that harness the breadth and depth of Atlantic Council expertise—through our work with partners across the globe—to build achievable

### solutions to address them.

The statesman Dean Acheson, among the Atlantic Council's founders, wrote the famous book about the post-war period, "Present at the Creation."

Unless we can muster the creativity and political will to be there "at the reinvention," we risk becoming witnesses to the erosion of this order.

### Never in recent memory has our work or our mission been as important or as urgent.

The Atlantic Council is seizing this as a rallying moment for our community, recognizing that we live at a historic inflection point as defining as the end of World War I or II, when the decisions taken by that era's leaders had generational consequences.

To quote the late Senator John McCain, whom we honored posthumously last year with the Atlantic Council's Global Citizen Award, "Glory belongs to the act of being constant to something greater than yourself, to a cause, to your principles, to the people on whom you rely and who rely on you in return."

Our twelve programs and centers are driven by the conviction that if we work together constructively, we can shape and secure a peaceful and prosperous future.

Through the ideas we generate, the papers we write, the future leaders we develop, and the communities we build, the Atlantic Council shapes policy choices,



U.S. Republican presidential nominee Senator John McCain (R-AZ) listens as he is introduced at a campaign rally in Fayetteville, North Carolina October 28, 2008. REUTERS/Brian Snyder.

on-the-ground solutions and strategies to create a more free, secure and prosperous world.

We are indebted to those in our community who provide us wisdom and support. You will find our generous partners listed on our honor roll of contributors on pages 84 and 85. Above all, we thank the Atlantic Council Board of Directors, International Advisory Board, individual and corporate members, partners, and staff.

At a time when so much of what once seemed foundational is thrown into question, the Atlantic

Council remains anchored in our enduring mission even as we focus on shaping the future. In the face of great challenges, this annual report underscores how our community is buoyed by the conviction that we have the talent. imagination, and expertise to contribute to a better world.

Onward and upward,

Shites. In - Jul/ bye

John F.W. Rogers Chairman Atlantic Council

Frederick Kempe President & CEO Atlantic Council

### **SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN**

"GLORY BELONGS TO THE ACT OF BEING CONSTANT TO SOMETHING GREATER THAN YOURSELF, TO A CAUSE, TO YOUR PRINCIPLES, TO THE PEOPLE ON WHOM YOU RELY AND WHO RELY ON YOU IN RETURN."

# THEMATIC PROGRAMS

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**PHOTO:** Rohingya refugees on a fishing boat in the Bay of Bengal. REUTERS/Clodagh Kilcoyne

## SCOWCROFT CENTER FOR STRATEGY AND SECURITY

The Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security (SCSS) works to develop sustainable, nonpartisan strategies to address the most important security challenges facing the United States and the world.

The center honors General Brent Scowcroft's legacy of service and embodies his ethos of nonpartisan commitment to the cause of security, support for US leadership in cooperation with allies and partners, and dedication to the mentorship of the next generation of leaders. The Scowcroft Center currently houses five major practice areas: the Foresight, Strategy, and Risks Initiative; the Transatlantic Security Initiative; the Asia Security Initiative; the Middle East Security Initiative; and the Cyber Statecraft Initiative. It also houses the growing **Emergent** Futures Lab.

In 2018 and 2019, the Scowcroft Center further solidified its role as one of the most impactful nonpartisan centers working on national security and distinguished itself as a go-to forum for serious strategy work. Its effort to revitalize, adapt, and defend the rules-based international order was written up in the *Economist* and will be featured in the **Atlantic Council Strategy Paper** series. The center's Strategy Consortium continued to receive requests for advice and engagement from senior government officials responsible for strategy, while Scowcroft Center personnel contributed directly to a number of US national strategy efforts behind the scenes.

Good strategy requires strategic foresight, and in support of that objective, the Scowcroft Center developed two forward-looking publications. It will soon publish an updated report on Global Risks 2035 as part of the Atlantic Council Strategy Papers series. Another landmark publication, The Global Innovation Sweepstakes: A Quest to Win the Future, focused on how emerging technologies will remake the global order and strategies for how the United States can retain its innovative edge.

Turning to Europe, transatlantic security work remains the beating heart of the Atlantic Council. The Scowcroft Center planned and executed "NATO Engages" on the sidelines of the NATO Summit. The center also hosted US National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster and the Baltic Presidents for a major event and speech that made worldwide news.

The Asia program established itself at the forefront of analysis of and strategy toward Korea. The Scowcroft Center made it a priority to connect the Blue House and White House on issues surrounding the North Korea nuclear crisis, including direct engagement with senior officials in both countries.

The Middle East team continued to thrive, conducting highlevel delegation trips to the Middle East and launching the new IranSource blog.

The Scowcroft Center's cyber team expanded its work to make cyberspace more stable

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

"THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL IS A SPECIAL PLACE, AND THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL DOES SPECIAL WORK THAT IS INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO ALL OF OUR SECURITY."

LTG H.R. McMaster, USA (Ret.) in his valedictory speech at the Atlantic Council, hosted by the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security's Transatlantic Security Initiative on April 3, 2018.



### PETER HO, FORMER HEAD, SINGAPORE CIVIL SERVICE

"TOO FEW ORGANIZATIONS ARE PREPARED TO SET ASIDE THE RESOURCES TO FOCUS ON FORESIGHT. THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL STANDS APART, BECAUSE IT HAS A WELL-RUN AND WELL-DEVELOPED FUTURES THINKING PROGRAM UNDER THE SCOWCROFT CENTER."

and secure, hosting its first-ever Cyber 9/12 Strategy Challenge in London, its annual high-level dinner on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference, and featuring US Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen in a dinner leading up to the **2019 International Conference on Cyber Engagement**.

The Emergent Futures Labthe Scowcroft Center's policy skunkworks-ran high-level war-games on Baltic and Middle East crisis contingencies and supported a number of US and allied militaries in understanding emerging threats, the future operating environment, and developing an effective future force.

In 2019, the Scowcroft Center will respond to the new era of great power competition by leveraging foresight and strategy to strengthen alliances, accelerate US innovation and technology, and greatly bolster our defense posture.

The center hopes to continue its work as a leading center on US defense strategy and policy in its renewed great power competition with Russia and China.

### PROGRAMMATIC LINES OF EFFORT

Against a fundamentally changed global landscape, **THE FORESIGHT, STRATEGY, AND RISKS INITIATIVE (FSR)** will continue to advance the Atlantic Council's mission to support renewed, constructive, and resourceful US leadership. Its competencies in longrange assessments, strategy development, and global trends will prove especially useful during a time when world dynamics are increasingly complex and unpredictable.

THE TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY INITIATIVE (TSI) will continue to bring together senior officials and experts from Europe and North America to share insights, strengthen cooperation, and develop innovative approaches to the key challenges facing NATO and the transatlantic community. Through high-profile public convenings, off-the-record

US President Donald Trump takes part in a welcoming ceremony with China's President Xi Jinping in Beijing, China, November 9, 2017. REUTERS/Thomas Peter.





LEFT: Former US National Security Advisor LTG H.R. McMaster speaks at an Atlantic Council dinner to honor the three Baltic states and the 100th anniversary of their first independence. (ImageLinkPhoto.com).

**RIGHT:** US Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen (right) takes a question from the audience during her fireside chat with Brent Scowcroft Scholar Dr. Catherine Lotrionte (left) during the November dinner for the International Conference on Cyber Engagement. (Dennis Kan).

> strategy sessions, war-gaming, digital engagement, and contentrich publications, the initiative directly advances the Council's core mission of informing the transatlantic security debate.

> **THE ASIA SECURITY INITIATIVE** (ASI) is developing purposeful programming designed to create an Atlantic-Pacific

Community that can adapt, revitalize, and defend the rulesbased international order in Asia. This effort is grounded in a dual approach of providing fresh perspectives on traditional issues (regional security and politicaleconomic architecture) while assessing a new agenda of nontraditional topics (cybersecurity, artificial intelligence, and the Internet of Things) to develop new strategies and policies.

THE MIDDLE EAST SECURITY INITIATIVE (MSI) will bring together thought leaders and experts from the policy, business, and civil society communities to design innovative strategies to tackle present and future challenges in the region. See page 41 for more information.

### The focus of the CYBER STATECRAFT INITIATIVE (CSI)

will be to examine the nexus of geopolitics and national security in cyberspace, forge sustainable international collaboration on cybersecurity and safety, and build the next generation of cybersecurity professionals. (#)

### US SECRETARY OF HOMELAND SECURITY KIRSTJEN NIELSEN

"I WANT TO THANK THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CYBER ENGAGEMENT ... IT PLAYS AN EXTRAORDINARILY IMPORTANT ROLE IN RALLYING KEY STAKEHOLDERS."

## BRENT SCOWCROFT

One of our nation's most adept strategic thinkers, Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft's career in public service is hallmarked by his unique ability to offer balanced, nonpartisan analysis that could transcend the politics of Washington and inform top leaders from both sides of the aisle. A soldierscholar turned statesman, he remains the only man to have ever served two presidents as national security advisor.

Over the course of Scowcroft's career in public service, he developed a reputation as a source of balanced, bipartisan analysis that made him a soughtafter voice on national security for commanders-in-chief of both parties.

"He would not try to run over the head of cabinet members, or cut them off from contact with the president, yet I also knew he would give me his own experienced views on whatever problem might arise," President George H.W. Bush recalled of Scowcroft.

In the early days of the Cold War, Scowcroft was a leading advocate for strong transatlantic cooperation as a means to preserve peace and security. When the Cold War abruptly ended in 1989, he made it his life's work to preserve and advance that same system of international cooperation, democracy, and human dignity that unites the Atlantic community.

"The events were great. The hazards were deep," said Scowcroft. "But we navigated the complexities to advance freedom and security, at a time when many others deemed it impossible. When looking back at the events of 1989—what we commemorate is an attitude more than anything



### **BRENT SCOWCROFT**

"I'M SO PROUD OF THE WORK THE SCOWCROFT CENTER FOR STRATEGY AND SECURITY ACCOMPLISHES EACH DAY. THE COUNCIL CONVINCED ME TO LEND MY NAME TO THIS EFFORT, AND I'M GLAD I DID SO AS WE ARE ADVANCING OUR FOUNDING MISSION AT ANOTHER HISTORIC TURNING POINT."

specific. It was the values that won."

The Atlantic Council in 2012 honored Scowcroft's legacy by relaunching its flagship international security program as the Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, recently re-envisioned as the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security. The center is guided by Scowcroft's vision of blending analysis of today's challenges with long-term strategic thinking about how the United States' role in the world interacts with historical forces, technological change, geography, and culture.

"In 1961, the Council's founders those 'present at the creation'

#### BOVE:

### LT. GEN BRENT SCOWCROFT, USAF (RET.)

Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Chairman Emeritus of the Atlantic Council board of directors and international advisory board looks on during the annual Atlantic Council board dinner.

of our international rules-based system, joined forces across party lines and among disparate organizations to form the Atlantic Council," said Scowcroft. "They did so out of a need for sustained US engagement in the world and to develop an ambitious agenda for the Atlantic community. They succeeded. The Council convinced me to lend my own name to the effort by showing me how it would help carry forward that same mission at this similarly crucial moment in history. I'm so proud of the work it accomplishes each day." **(#**)

**GLOBAL ENERGY CENTER** 

## **GLOBAL ENERGY CENTER**

The Global Energy Center promotes energy security by working alongside government, industry, civil society, and public stakeholders to devise pragmatic solutions to the geopolitical, sustainability, and economic challenges of the changing global energy system.

H.E. Khalid Al-Falih, minister of energy, industry, and mineral resources for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, discusses Saudi Vision 2030 and the oil market with Frederick Kempe, president and CEO of the Atlantic Council, at the third annual Atlantic Council Global Energy Forum in Abu Dhabi, January 13, 2019. In its fourth year, the Global Energy Center (GEC) has become a go-to policy organization for governments, industry, and civil society to understand and navigate the energy transition, with the ultimate goal of helping to shape a world with secure and sustainable energy. The center focuses on four core, overlapping themes: geopolitics and energy security; understanding and managing the energy transition; new models for climate action; and energy markets and governance.

In January, the center held the third-annual **Atlantic Council Global Energy Forum in Abu Dhabi**. The forum, held under the patronage of His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, crown prince of Abu Dhabi and deputy supreme commander



of the United Arab Emirates Armed Forces, was convened in partnership with the Ministry of Energy of the United Arab Emirates, ADNOC, and Mubadala, and was part of Abu Dhabi Sustainability Week. This year's forum was a tremendous success and a major milestone, setting the energy agenda for the year and charting a course for a more secure, sustainable energy future. Building on the momentum of the previous two forums, the 2019 program focused on the future of oil, the digitalization of energy, diversification within energy companies and countries, and had a regional emphasis on East and Southeast Asia.

Over five hundred delegates, including Khalid Al-Falih, minister of energy, industry, and mineral resources for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; Claudio Descalzi, chief executive officer of Eni; Lisa Davis, chief executive officer, Energy and member of the Managing Board at Siemens AG; Yongsoo Huh, president and chief executive officer of GS Energy; and Brian Hook, US special representative for Iran and senior policy advisor to the secretary of state at the US Department of State; nearly sixty C-Suite executives; and dozens of



diplomats, civil society leaders, and members of the media attended the forum, representing over thirty countries.

The center launched its **CLIMATE AND ADVANCED ENERGY PROGRAM**, led by new Deputy Director for Climate and Advanced Energy David Livingston. The program has set the tone for the Global Energy Center's critical work in the climate action and renewables space, with David An Atlantic Council Global Energy Center delegation, including General James Jones (Ret), Vice Admiral Lee Gunn (Ret), Amb. Richard Morningstar (Ret), former mayor of Cleveland Jane Campbell, and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Energy Joe Bryan, tour Talan Products, a local manufacturing business in Cleveland, Ohio, with Talan Products CEO Steve Peplin and his team, to better understand the city's clean energy economy and innovation ecosystem.

testifying in front of the House Committee on Natural Resources and taking the center 'outside the beltway' through a series of events on the importance of climate leadership in Cleveland, Ohio, with Atlantic Council Executive

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

"THIS FORUM ... PROVIDES A VERY IMPORTANT PLATFORM FOR INDUSTRY, POLICY, AND ACADEMIC LEADERS TO ENGAGE ON KEY ENERGY ISSUES IN A VERY COMPLEX WORLD. THIS PLATFORM ALSO HELPS SHAPE THE GLOBAL ENERGY AGENDA FOR THE YEAR AHEAD."

Dr. Sultan Al Jaber, Group CEO of the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, during his opening remarks at the 2019 Atlantic Council Global Energy Forum in Abu Dhabi, January 13, 2019.

**GLOBAL ENERGY CENTER** 

## COP24 · KATOWICE UNITED NATIONS CLIMATE CHOICE CONFERENCE POLAMA



COP24 President Michal Kurtyka reacts during a final session of the COP24 U.N. Climate Change Conference 2018 in Katowice, Poland, December 15, 2018. REUTERS/Kacper Pempel.

COP24 KATOWICE UNITED NATIONS CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE POLAND 2018

PRESIDENT

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

"THERE IS BROAD AGREEMENT THAT CARBON-FREE ENERGY HERE AT HOME IS GOOD FOR OUR ECONOMY, THE CLIMATE, AND NATIONAL SECURITY. IN THE SENATE, DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO ADVANCE NUCLEAR ENERGY TECHNOLOGIES THAT I DREAM CAN ONE DAY PROVIDE A CLEAN ENERGY SOLUTION TO OUR NUCLEAR WASTE STOCKPILES. I'M PROUD TO JOIN SENATOR CRAPO IN THIS IMPORTANT NEW INITIATIVE, [THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL GLOBAL ENERGY CENTER'S TASK FORCE ON US NUCLEAR ENERGY LEADERSHIP.]"

Senator Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI) on the launch of the Atlantic Council Global Energy Center's Task Force on US Nuclear Energy Leadership, press release, May 16, 2018.

Chairman Emeritus General James L. Jones, Jr. USMC (Ret.).

The center built out an extensive body of work on the role of nuclear energy in the energy transition and its importance to the United States. In April, it launched the Task Force on US Nuclear Energy Leadership cochaired by Senators Mike Crapo (R-ID) and Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI). The Task Force explored nuclear energy as a key pillar within the energy security, foreign policy, and economic priorities of the United States, and identified challenges and solutions to continued US nuclear power leadership, culminating in a report to be released in early 2019. The center also led a congressional staff delegation to the United Arab Emirates in partnership with ClearPath Foundation to learn more about the UAE's burgeoning nuclear energy program.

The center strengthened its traditional areas of expertise in European Energy Security. In June, it held its annual Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) Conference, **Towards 21st Century Energy Systems in Central & Eastern Europe**. The conference brought together government officials, business leaders, and experts to discuss the Trump Administration's energy agenda and its impact on the transatlantic relationship and particularly energy security in Central and Eastern Europe.

Throughout the year, the center continued its work on the geopolitics of possible shifts in oil demand resulting from the electrification of the transportation sector through the project, **Shifting Gears: Transportation Innovation and the Geopolitics of Peak Oil Demand.** 

The center continued its authoritative project on illicit downstream oil theft with a report on oil theft in the maritime sector which was launched at the first annual **Oil Theft Conference** in Geneva, Switzerland. The center's presence at the conference made it clear that the GEC is producing the most in-depth research on the subject.

In partnership with RBC, the center organized a semi-annual **Oil Investors Roundtable** aimed at bringing together key players from the oil industry to discuss the dynamism that characterized the oil market in 2018.

In September, the center held a half-day conference: **New Energy Opportunities in Africa** on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in partnership with the Africa Center. The conference featured experts discussing the transformative potential of new oil, gas, and renewables opportunities for Africa's energy and economic development.

The center continued its close work with the US Administration, identifying and seizing new opportunities to support and engage key stakeholders. It hosted Deputy Secretary of Energy Dan Brouillette at the center's Energy Advisory Group dinner. In advance of the implementation of sanctions against Iran, the center hosted Assistant Secretary of State for Energy Resources Frank Fannon to discuss strategies for replacing lost Iranian barrels. The center also hosted NSC Director for Energy Landon Derentz for a strategy session as he joined the administration.

In 2019, the center will maintain its growth trajectory, doubling down on its work on European energy security and expanding research on oil markets, while also increasing its clean energy focus to encompass new technologies like advanced nuclear and carbon capture, utilization, and storage (CCUS).

The Atlantic Council Global Energy Center and ClearPath, Inc., along with the US Congressional Staffers Delegation they led to the United Arab Emirates, at the Barakah Nuclear Power Plant.



## MILLENNIUM LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

The Millennium Leadership Program identifies, connects, and empowers rising leaders (ages twenty-five to thirty-five) from around the world and across all sectors to advance the Council's mission of securing the future together.

2018 Fellow Alvin Salehi takes the stage at the NATO Engages event in Brussels to speak on the blessing and curses of technology. 2018 was a year of growth for the Millennium Leadership Program (MLP), highlighting the importance of its mission and the Council's dedication to leadership development and next-generation

2010 Fallow Alvia Calabi talea Aka ataza at tha NATO Facaraa

engagement. The team expanded available programming, partnered with other Council centers for a world-class event, and provided a once-in-a-lifetime experience for its Millennium Fellows.

The team created and delivered a world-class study tour for its Millennium Fellowship, the most ambitious and high-value to date for the program. Over the course of eight days, Millennium Fellows traveled more than 2,500 miles from the Syrian-Turkish border to Athens, Greece, tracing the path of a Syrian refugee. Throughout their journey, they met with refugees and migrants in camps; boarded a Turkish Coast Guard ship for an expeditionary trip; and met with high-level experts and officials, including the Greek Minister for Migration. Fellows gained a unique understanding of the migration crisis through this first-hand experience, which allowed them to gain in-depth insights from experts and in turn, to consider what they can do in their own communities to assist those in need.

MLP delivered, in partnership with other Council centers, a world-class annual conference— **NATO Engages: The Brussels Summit Dialogue**. The most impressive and high-impact event around the NATO Summit ever, this event generated over 156 million impressions on Twitter. Additionally, nearly fifty Millennium Fellows were in attendance, making up nearly half of all next-generation delegates at the event. They raised thoughtful



2018 Fellow Rebecca Jones, Head of Strategy Implementation, Defence & Space at Airbus, analyzes the future of European defense at the NATO Engages event in Brussels.

**PETE SEAT,** 2018 MILLENNIUM FELLOW AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS & TALENT STRATEGY, INDIANA REPUBLICAN PARTY

"THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL MILLENNIUM FELLOWSHIP, WHICH IS ENRICHING OUR LIVES, BROADENING OUR PERSPECTIVES, AND INCREASING OUR POTENTIAL TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE, IS NOTHING SHORT OF LIFE-CHANGING; THIS FELLOWSHIP IS UNPARALLELED IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPACE."



Migrants wash their clothes and fill bottles with water at a makeshift camp next to the Moria camp for refugees and migrants on the island of Lesbos, Greece. Picture taken September 18, 2018. REUTERS/Giorgos Moutafis.



and hard-hitting questions of world leaders and experts, and a handful of Fellows spoke on stage alongside CEOs and executives, proving yet again the high level of talent that MLP attracts.

MLP secured and delivered its first official executive education program, in conjunction with The Center for the Governance of Change (CGC) at IE University in Madrid. Over the course of four days, the program planned site visits, expert panels, and meetings with upper-level management from Santander Bank to explore emerging trends in technology, cybersecurity risks around banking, and the use of sanctions as a geopolitical tool. Attendees also participated in a Design Thinking exercise, led by MLP Director Daniel Bennett, connecting the abstract information they had accumulated with actionable items to bring back to their teams.

Looking ahead, the Millennium Leadership Program will continue its growth trajectory. The executive education course will run in June 2019, again with IE, though talks are underway with several universities around the world to offer similar programming. The program doubled its application numbers for the Millennium Fellowship: with nearly 1,200 applications, 2019 was the most competitive selection process yet. MLP will also continue to work with other Council centers to building thoughtful and crosscutting programming.

The program also plans to develop a substantive "center of excellence" around the study of the future of leadership, working 2018 Millennium Fellows explore the Acropolis in Athens, Greece, learning about the birth of democracy and the lasting impact of Ancient Greece on modern statehood.

actively to develop a best-in-class thought leadership product to complement its already unrivalled programmatic experience. In 2019, MLP will aim to build a new Advisory Council comprised of top thought leaders on this subject, drawing from the executive search industry, academia, and practitioners in top institutions around the world. This council will inform and help guide a research product that will begin to capture key insights about the future of leadership. **(#**)

## GLOBAL BUSINESS & ECONOMICS PROGRAM

The Atlantic Council's Global Business & Economics Program (GBE) promotes transatlantic leadership as defenders of open market democracies in a new era of great-power competition and works to find multilateral solutions to today's most pressing global economic opportunities and risks.



From left to right, Laura Lane, The Hon. Siv Jensen, The Hon. Dana Reizniece-Ozola, and Yannick Glenmarec, all pose for a photo after the Atlantic Council's Global Business & Economics Program hosted the inaugural event of its Inclusive Growth Initiative titled "Financial Inclusion: A Powerful Tool for Powerful Women." Key challenges the program will address in 2019 include fostering broad-based economic growth, advancing understanding of the impact of economic sanctions, and defining the future shape of the rule-based trade order.

2018 was a year of growth, consolidation, and re-definition in terms of GBE's media presence, content, and impact.

More than tripled media presence on international economics: Across internal and external publications, broadcast interviews, and media backgrounders, the program grew its media presence by more than 350 percent compared to 2017. In addition to quantitative growth, GBE staff and senior fellows are increasingly featured in top tier global outlets including the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Guardian, the Financial Times, and the Washington Post. The re-launched Trade in Action newsletter and **EconoGraphics** series continue to support the program's media presence.

Leading voice on economic sanctions: **THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS INITIATIVE (ESI)** is now firmly established as the



A Guinness truck passes a sign for Customs and Excise on a road near the border with Ireland near Kileen, Northern Ireland, October 17, 2018. REUTERS/Clodagh Kilcoyne.

**AMBASSADOR DAVID O'SULLIVAN,** FORMER AMBASSADOR OF THE EUROPEAN UNION TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION TO THE UNITED STATES

"I AM, AS EVER, VERY GRATEFUL TO THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL FOR THEIR CONTINUED INTEREST IN TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS AND FOR CONTINUING TO PUT EUROPEAN ISSUES ON THE AGENDA IN WASHINGTON."



Ambassador Daniel Fried and David Mortlock discuss the impact of the United States withdrawing from the Iran nuclear deal at a private roundtable as part of the Atlantic Council's Economic Sanctions Initiative.

### AMBASSADOR DANIEL FRIED, DISTINGUISHED FELLOW, ATLANTIC COUNCIL

"THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS INITIATIVE SERVES AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION, CONGRESS, AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES, AS WE ARE TRUSTED BY ALL PARTIES. MUCH OF OUR WORK IS DIRECTED TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR, OF COURSE, ALSO IN NEED OF CREDIBLE GUIDANCE AND ANALYSIS ON SANCTIONS, WHICH WE PROVIDE."

### FORMER US TREASURY SECRETARY JACOB J. LEW

"I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL FOR BRINGING TOGETHER THIS DEEP POOL OF INTELLECTUAL TALENT ON THE TOPIC OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. THANK YOU FOR THE GREAT WORK YOU DO."

Washington forum of choice on economic sanctions. GBE hosted Sigal Mandelker, Treasury Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, for her first public speech and continued an impactful publication series and accompanying roundtables that provide commentary and actionable policy options. Under Ambassador Daniel Fried's leadership, the ESI's deep bench of sanctions experts has direct impact on sanctions policy through regular exchanges with the US administration, Congress, European governments, and the private sector.

Convening power and thought leadership on European economic governance: GBE consolidated the **EUROGROWTH INITIATIVE'S** (EGI) leading position by hosting Mario Centeno for his first speech in the United States as President of the Eurogroup. With the support of the EGI Taskforce, the program is conducting a programmatic pivot to redefining transatlantic trade and constructively guiding the budding transatlantic trade dialogue.

Introduction of new strand of work: During this year's IMF/WB Spring Meetings, GBE planted the seeds of its new body of work on inclusive growth by hosting a panel on financial inclusion of women and girls featuring the female finance ministers of Latvia and Norway as well as a high-level representative from the United Nations. The program is actively recruiting supporters to fully launch this initiative in 2019. GBE's core strategy for 2019 builds on its successful sanctions work, presence in the policy discussion on trade, and new focus on broadbased growth.

Globalization, technological advancement, and migration contribute to uneven growth and income inequality, but they also form the engine of global growth. These trends are in turn drivers of increasing nationalism, trade protectionism, and uncoordinated use of sanctions that threaten to undermine transatlantic trade relations and global rule-based trade. Against the backdrop of profound disruptions to the global system, GBE is sharpening its focus.

### GBE's new **INCLUSIVE GROWTH**

**INITIATIVE** will address these challenges by pushing policy best practices in advanced and developing markets around topics like the demographic and economic promise of migration patterns, economic participation of women and girls, and guiding workforce transitions. Sustainable and broad-based economic growth, which is anchored by targeted investment to harness the promise of the fourth industrial revolution, is critical to the functioning of open market democracies. The EuroGrowth Initiative will focus on shaping and supporting the transatlantic trade dialogue and revitalizing global trade institutions. GBE will build on the Economic Sanctions Initiative's momentum to develop adjacent areas, including illicit financial flows. Informing policies

to rein in illicit flows is critical to preserving citizens' trust in open market democracies. (#)

# DEFENDING OPEN MARKET DEMOCRACIES

### THE CHALLENGE

At the end of the Cold War analysts proclaimed an "end of history" as capitalism and democracy demonstrated themselves to be the superior systems for organizing domestic markets and politics, respectively. Open market democracies proved to be better than any other system at delivering prosperity and individual liberty. But in recent years, a series of developments have called into question the value and future durability of open market democracies.

The 2008 economic crisis generated skepticism about the ability of open markets to provide stability and prosperity. An uneven recovery has led to increasing levels of inequality and dissatisfaction with open markets and globalization in many countries. Furthermore, China's gaming of the system and unfair trading practices have deprived the West of the full benefits of free and fair trade. In fact, in view of China's meteoric rise, an increasing number of states (even in the West) now believe state-led capitalism may be the better option for ensuring economic growth and effective governance.

Democracy is also under siege. According to Freedom House, the number of democracies in the world has declined in each of the past eight years. In recent years. votes for populists have soared in most major Western democracies. The rise of populist, nationalist, and extremist Far Right and Far Left parties and groups uncannily recalls the 1920s and 1930s, when many were attracted to totalitarianism and fascism in the wake of the post-World War I political revolutions and accompanying economic crisis. Moreover, China and Russia are

increasingly meddling in Western democracies and their growing influence is providing a model that others are emulating.

Developments just over the horizon could exacerbate these trends. The disruption of labor markets worldwide-fueled by the emergence of robotics, artificial intelligence (AI), and automation-will further boost economic uncertainty. which in turn will lower trust in democratic governance so long as governments have no near-time solutions for job displacement and growing inequality. Equally, the waves of immigration that have been instrumental in boosting populism and extremism are unlikely to abate.

In sum, the West has lost its way. The future looks bleak for the model of open markets and politics that has proven so effective throughout history.

### THE SOLUTION

Global confidence in the merits of open market democracies needs to be restored, and a compelling case must be made that no other system is better able to deliver individual freedom and prosperity.

This work begins by defending democracy and working with allies to remind them of shared values and the dangers of creeping authoritarianism. Leaders must protect against election interference, disinformation, "sharp power," and other attempts by autocratic great powers to meddle in and undermine confidence in democratic systems.

There must also be an effort to revitalize the global economic system. Together with friends and allies, the United States should adapt the global trading system to push back against the unfair trading practices of China and others with the goal of expanding free and fair trade globally. America must also get its house in order at home and put in place policies that promise equitable growth.

### **OUR WORK**

Defending the Open Market Democratic Order is not new for the Atlantic Council. With its informal roots in the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, the Atlantic Council was founded in 1961 to promote policies and institutions that build collective security and peace. In the fifty-five years since, the Atlantic Council has steadfastly advocated for strong transatlantic ties between democracies to strengthen the international system.

The Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab 360/ OS works to help Facebook and other platforms detect and counteract unwanted intrusions to Western democracies. The Eurasia Center's work on "disinformation" counters false Russian narratives meant to undermine faith in democratic systems. The Digital Forensic Research Lab, Eurasia Center, and Scowcroft Center's Foresight, Strategy, and Risks Initiative (FSR) have mapped out the ways in which new AI tools could undermine the integrity of the democratic process. The Eurasia Center also has been at the forefront of advocating for coordinated US and EU sanctions to dissuade hacking of democratic elections by Russia, China, Iran, and others.

The Council has highlighted the multiple ways in which heightened US partisanship undermines US democracy, and has called on leaders on both sides of the aisle to introduce reforms to ensure the survival of an inclusive democracy. In recent reports on tech hubs, FSR has called on the tech community to correct the sector's low representation of women and people of color, sponsoring a Science and Policy fellowship for an African American scholar interested in having a policy role in the shaping of US technological development.

The Atlantic Council plans to expand its work on the global economy and develop a strategy for updating and reforming the global trading system. Inclusive economic growth is important in bolstering support for democracy. The Global Business & Economic Program and Future Europe Initiative have spearheaded the Council's efforts to help Europeans improve their growth potential, fight populism, and prevent another economic crisis.

Given the stream of disruptive technologies unfolding at warplike speed and yet-to-be-known challenges associated with climate change, building societal resilience should be a major focus in ensuring stability. The Atlantic Council's Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience is unique in the think tank landscape and its mission is helping societies achieve more resilience against increasing threats. @

"GLOBAL CONFIDENCE IN THE MERITS OF OPEN MARKET DEMOCRACIES NEEDS TO BE RESTORED AND A COMPELLING CASE MUST BE MADE THAT NO OTHER SYSTEM IS BETTER ABLE TO DELIVER INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY."

## ADRIENNE ARSHT CENTER FOR RESILIENCE

In 2018, the Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience focused on translating the concept of resilience into impact and action. The Arsht Center's programming sought to build the resilience of individuals, communities, and institutions to a range of disruptions and challenges. The center's work in 2019 will enter an exciting new phase, launching a major partnership with the Rockefeller Foundation aimed at helping build and scale solutions to better prepare for, navigate, and recover from global and local shocks and stresses.

(Center) Eric Ridge, then-acting director of the Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience, moderates SURGING SHORES, a private, senior-level tabletop exercise in Newport, Rhode Island in September 2018. Participants included (left) Vice Admiral Mary Jackson, Commander, Naval Installations Command, United States Navy and (right) Major General Christopher Callahan, The Adjutant General, Rhode Island National Guard. The Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience in 2018 emphasized building resilience to hurricanes, floods, and wildfires. In July, the Arsht Center welcomed



FEMA Deputy Administrator for Resilience Dr. Daniel J. Kaniewski for a wide-ranging discussion about the 2017 Hurricane Season FEMA After-Action Report, its fouryear strategic plan for 2018-2022, and its newly-created Resilience organization. Dr. Kaniewski's comments on FEMA's response to Hurricane Maria's impact on Puerto Rico-and the Agency's lessons learned-complemented other Arsht Center programming, including a 2017 event with José Andrés in which Chef Andrés shared insights from his efforts to provide meals in Puerto Rico after Maria devastated the island.

In 2018, the Arsht Center for Resilience also held a number of private roundtables to enable frank and forthright discussions among government officials and influential members of civil society on practical ways of mitigating disaster risks. In May, the center held a facilitated discussion with US federal government officials to explore policy and operational questions associated with a hypothetical catastrophe scenario. Four months later, it convened a follow-on, senior-level tabletop exercise with city and state officials in Newport, Rhode Island to explore better options for building resilience into our systems before the next crisis. The latter discussion, entitled **"SURGING SHORES"** and enabled by a simulation tool developed by Dutch digital infrastructure modeling company SIM-CI, specifically explored critical infrastructure resilience to both natural and manmade challenges.

Insights from these and other public and private discussions significantly informed the Arsht Center's ongoing work to catalogue and disseminate policy and operational approaches aimed at improving resilience to natural hazards. Leveraging these lessons, the center used a range of new tools to share these insights and engage new constituencies. The Arsht Center's **#OnThisDay** social media campaign highlighted lessons learned from major storms on the anniversary of their landfall to show how incorporating lessons from past emergency response operations into policy making has helped build resilience today. The



center's infographics and blog posts on current hurricane threats and trendlines helped capture what the changing environment means for practitioners.

The work of the Arsht Center for Resilience extended beyond natural disasters. In November 2018, it launched its **Resilience Bookshelf**, which provides knowledge across the Atlantic Council Nonresident Senior Fellow John Watts tries out a digital infrastructure modeling tool developed by Dutch company SIM-CI at a senior-level tabletop exercise hosted by the Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience in May 2018.

issues in which the Arsht Center works. Individual resilience lies at the heart of all of the Bookshelf's content, highlighting prescient and thought-provoking stories that capture lessons for confronting the major, system-wide challenges that societies face.

**PETER NEFFENGER,** FORMER ADMINISTRATOR, TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, INTERVIEWED ON RESILIENT WORLD, THE ADRIENNE ARSHT CENTER FOR RESILIENCE'S PODCAST

"RESILIENCE AS A SYSTEM IS A GREAT WAY OF THINKING— AND THERE'S PROBABLY NO BETTER ILLUSTRATION OF WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU DON'T THINK ABOUT RESILIENCE AS A SYSTEM THAN TO LOOK AT SOME OF THE DISASTERS THAT WE'VE DEALT WITH."



(Left) Admiral James Stavridis, operating executive at The Carlyle Group and former NATO supreme allied commander Europe, in conversation with author Elliot Ackerman in November 2018 at the Atlantic Council, to commemorate the launch of the Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience Bookshelf and celebrate the publication of Ackerman's new novel, Waiting for Eden.

> The Resilience Bookshelf was unveiled at an event featuring a discussion on the first book added to the Bookshelf–*Waiting for Eden*, by Elliot Ackerman. Ackerman and Admiral James Stavridis, former NATO supreme

allied commander Europe, discussed the novel, which tells the story of a soldier trapped inside his own body and mind as a result of injuries that he suffered after an IED explosion in Iraq.

Looking forward to 2019, the Council's resilience work will bring scaled capabilities, innovation, partnerships, and the promise of progress to people and communities facing a convergence of vulnerabilities. Together with the Rockefeller Foundation, our efforts will help people and communities prosper in a more resilient world. (#

DANIEL KANIEWSKI, DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR FOR RESILIENCE, FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY, AT THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL IN JULY 2018

"I THINK THE COUNCIL'S NEWEST CENTER HERE HAS REALLY DEMONSTRATED ITS VALUE BY BRINGING FOCUS TO THIS ISSUE OF RESILIENCE."

## ADRIENNE ARSHT

Adrienne Arsht is a renowned business leader and philanthropist. In her role as Atlantic Council Executive Vice Chair, her leadership and support have propelled the Council into some of its most cutting-edge areas of work.

Adrienne's life as a trailblazer began with her parents, both of whom were children of poor Russian Jewish immigrants but who made names for themselves as lawyers. Arsht's mother became Delaware's first female judge at a time when anti-Semitism presented considerable professional and social obstacles.

Arsht took after her mother, becoming the eleventh woman admitted to the Delaware bar before eventually moving to Miami where she served as chairman of the board of TotalBank. Under her decade of leadership, the bank grew from four locations to fourteen, with more than \$1.4 billion in assets. In 2007, she sold TotalBank to Banco Popular Español for \$300 million and was named Chairman Emerita.

Inspired by her experience engaging the Hispanic community in Miami, Arsht returned to Washington, DC in part to expand awareness of the new Latin America on the global stage. Reminding audiences that "the Atlantic also washes up on the shores of South America," she took the first steps to expanding the Council's work to include Latin America, eventually founding the Adrienne Arsht Latin America



"What am I aspiring to? Just to make a difference, just to matter," Arsht told the *Washington Post* in 2011.

It was that perspective—along with the lingering grief of her younger sister's suicide—which guided her to her latest effort: the launch of the Atlantic Council's Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience, aimed at promoting the ability of nations, cities, and communities to manage disruption and unpredictability.

Said Arsht, "We are at a critical moment of increasing global disruption. We must cultivate the strength of communities and individuals to thrive in today's unpredictable world."

In addition to her contributions in shaping the global landscape,

### ADRIENNE ARSHT

Adrienne Arsht and Colombia's President Ivan Duque. Photo credit: Chris Cruz/Wilson Center.

Arsht's efforts to increase women's representation in business and philanthropy, as well as her leading role in promoting artistic, business, and civic growth in the three cities she calls home (Miami, Washington, DC, and New York), her impact has touched diverse people across sectors and geographies. @

## DIGITAL FORENSIC RESEARCH LAB

The Digital Forensic Research Lab (DFRLab) is a start-up housed at the Atlantic Council that aims to create a world where disinformation is analyzed and repudiated rapidly and effectively by accurate, publicly sourced reports, thereby enabling citizens and policy makers to make informed decisions.

Since its launch in 2016, the Digital Forensic Research Lab (DFRLab) has operationalized the study of disinformation to expose false narratives and fake news, document human rights abuses, and build digital resilience worldwide. DFRLab continually tracks global disinformation campaigns, fake news stories, covert military developments, and subversive attempts against democracy while teaching the public skills to identify and expose attempts to pollute the information space.

Overall, DFRLab's core mission is to defend democracy based on the following pillars:

 To identify, expose, and explain disinformation where and when it occurs; to promote objective truth as a foundation of government for and by people; to protect democratic institutions and norms from those who would seek to undermine them in the digital engagement space;

- To create a new model of expertise adapted for impact and real-world results; and
- To forge digital resilience at a time when humans are more interconnected than at any point in history.

Developing resilience in local media, civil society, and among the general public creates a bulwark against disinformation and undercuts the reach and impact of other adverse actors. By fostering a critical approach and teaching best practices, individual consumers gain the resilience to best synthesize and absorb the information, hostile or not, to which we are all exposed.

DFRLab deploys open-source investigation and digital technologies not only to counter disinformation but also to bolster a core set of values. In an era when truth is rarely selfevident, we cannot assume our own credibility.

Every day, DFRLab's actions help defend democracies around the world against nefarious actors and actions.

Last year, DFRLab's research and reporting spread over five continents. The community of **#DigitalSherlocks**—both at the Atlantic Council and across the world—grew stronger and better equipped to keep up the fight for facts.

### **RESEARCH AND REPORTING**

The foundation of DFRLab's work is rigorous open-source research published in an effort to shape the evolving information environment rather than to observe it. Its global network of researchers has published over 600 reports to date with an emphasis on upgrading objective facts, downgrading falsifications,

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

"THE COMBINATION OF URGENCY AND ANALYSIS HAS PUSHED THE YOUNG LAB TO THE FRONT LINE OF DECIPHERING STATE-SPONSORED AND DOMESTICALLY GENERATED MISINFORMATION."

*Reuters* in article "U.S. think tank's tiny lab helps Facebook battle fake social media" on August 7, 2018.







TOP: Participants working on a Table Game during 360/OS Berlin 2018; BOTTOM: DFRLab team presents on the final day of 360/OS Berlin 2018.



Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA) asks questions, as executives appear before the House Intelligence Committee to answer questions related to Russian use of social media to influence US elections, on Capitol Hill in Washington, US, November 1, 2017. REUTERS/ Aaron P. Bernstein.

and explaining disinformation and other online vulnerabilities.

DFRLab's #ElectionWatch series continued to drive the main growth in overall research. Rather than a pure fact-checking activity. the emphasis of #ElectionWatch is to monitor the information ecosystem around a given country's elections, to include explaining disinformation and other online vulnerabilities, demonstrating open-source methodologies to the audience of our articles, and shaping the public discourse proactively. In 2018, DFRLab established #ElectionWatch monitoring missions in Italy, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, North Macedonia, and Sweden, among others.

As part of a broader initiative to provide independent and credible research about the role of social media in elections, as well as democracy more generally, DFRLab announced an official partnership with Facebook in May 2018. DFRLab is committed to the mission of making sure that tools designed to bring us closer together are not used instead to drive us apart. Since its establishment, the partnership has allowed DFRLab to conduct and publish in-depth analysis of six different networks of pages and accounts taken down by Facebook for "coordinated inauthentic behavior."

Lastly, building on the success of **"Breaking Aleppo"** in 2017, in September 2018 DFRLab released **"Breaking Ghouta,"** a long-form report written using the same groundbreaking open-source and investigative methodology to chronicle the systematic destruction of the rural Damascene neighborhood and its nearly 400,000 residents. Using all the resources available to open-source researchers, and relying on investigative journalists, the report detailed the weapons, the targets, and the tactics used in the destruction of Ghouta.

### CAPACITY BUILDING & HIGH IMPACT POLICY CONVENING

With the goal of building digital resilience across the world, DFRLab hosted its annual 360/ OS flagship open source summit that convenes the global network of #DigitalSherlocks for two days of learning, collaboration, and networking. In June 2018, around 200 journalists, activists, government, and tech innovators from around the world gathered



in Berlin to learn the latest skills and methodologies of opensource research from DFRLab and industry leaders.

On the sidelines of 360/OS, DFRLab convened the Vanguard 360 (V360), a high-level group of thought leaders and decisionmakers from the tech, media, and policy communities. The delegation took the first steps in defining the collective problems we face as allies and public and private sector partners in the digital domain and outlined the path forward.

### **VISION FOR 2019**

DFRLab's strategic focus will continue to be to upgrade objective information, downgrade falsehoods, and expand across time zones, regions, and issue areas-specifically election integrity. DFRLab is breaking ground in its analysis around the world and contributes to lessons for democracies in other areas of the globe. DFRLab's front-line reporting thus feeds into its longer-term policy recommendations, where the goal is to inform policy makers and a wider policy audience with the

DFRLab research geolocating the location of an Israeli airstrike on an alleged Syrian Chemical weapons depot based on ridge lines.

most up-to-date insight, sharing information and lessons learned more rapidly, for maximum impact.

While those who would seek to undermine democratic institutions will continue to adapt and evolve, so will we. The facts are on our side. #

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

"PREVENTING ELECTION INTERFERENCE IS BIGGER THAN ANY SINGLE ORGANIZATION. IT'S NOW CLEAR THAT EVERYONE—GOVERNMENTS, TECH COMPANIES, AND INDEPENDENT EXPERTS SUCH AS THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL—NEED TO DO A BETTER JOB SHARING THE SIGNALS AND INFORMATION THEY HAVE TO PREVENT ABUSE."

Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg, Preparing for Elections, September 2018

## ATLANTIC COUNCIL IN TURKEY

The Atlantic Council IN TURKEY program, which was launched in 2018, aims at strengthening transatlantic ties with Turkey and the surrounding region by promoting a positive agenda focused on the economy, business, energy, and migration.

Founded on eight years of robust Atlantic Council presence in Turkey and a strong network of business, government, and civil society leaders, the Council's new Atlantic Council IN TURKEY program presents a high-level platform to shape dialogue on transatlantic political and economic ties with Turkey and the surrounding region.

The outflow of refugees as a result of the war in Syria remains one of the most pressing issues Turkey, the European Union, and the wider region continue to face. Turkey's population growth as a result of incoming refugees, numbering more than 3.6 million,

has increased its domestic market and labor force. The presence of such a large number of refugees has both contributed to and burdened the economy. Turkey's efforts to alleviate the Syrian refugee crisis, including providing shelter and access to health and education services, have cost a reported \$37 billion. In an effort to explore Turkey's response to the crisis, the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY launched the report, Toward Long-Term Solidarity with Syrian Refugees? Turkey's Policy Response and Challenges at the Concordia Summit in New York during the United Nations General Assembly week. In 2019,

the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY will continue its work on Syrian refugees, focusing on refugee women's entrepreneurship and children's education.

The program's strong focus on economic issues and fostering regional relations was showcased in its work on investment opportunities in Africa. In recent years, Turkey has significantly stepped up efforts to engage economically with Africa, with Turkish investment in Africa growing to \$7 billion in 2017 and trade with the continent increasing six-fold since 2003 to over \$18.5 billion. At the same time, Africa presents opportunities for third party economic partnerships between US and Turkish companies to help develop the continent. In 2018, the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY hosted two events on Africa, one focused on broad challenges and opportunities in the region, "Turkey's Growing Presence in Africa, and Opportunities and

FATMA ŞAHIN, MAYOR, GAZIANTEP\* METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY, FORMER MINISTER OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL POLICIES, REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

"I BELIEVE THAT MIGRATION IS A CONSEQUENCE. THEREFORE, THE BIGGEST ISSUE WHICH NEEDS TO BE ADDRESSED GLOBALLY IS THE TAKING OF NECESSARY PREVENTIVE MEASURES SO THAT PEOPLE ARE NOT FORCED TO MIGRATE AND SO THAT THEY CAN LIVE IN THEIR HOMELAND AND ON THEIR SOIL."

\*The city of Gaziantep is located 45km from the Syrian border, and hosts 424,632 registered refugees



ANA PALACIO, FORMER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SPAIN AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER, ATLANTIC COUNCIL

"TURKEY IS AT THE TIP OF WHAT WILL PROBABLY BE THE FUTURE OF THE RULES-BASED WORLD ORDER AS IT WAS THE TIPPING POINT DURING THE COLD WAR. THEREFORE, I STRONGLY BELIEVE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF ATLANTIC COUNCIL IN TURKEY'S MISSION AND PROGRAMMING."



The July 15 Martyrs' Bridge, known as the Bosphorus Bridge. REUTERS/Umit Bektas.



From L-R, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Britain's Prime Minister Theresa May, US President Donald Trump and NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg attend a working dinner meeting at the NATO headquarters during a NATO summit of heads of state and government in Brussels, Belgium, May 25, 2017. REUTERS/Matt Dunham/Pool.

Challenges To Watch in 2018," and another in cooperation with the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEIK) on "Turkey's investment Opportunities in Africa." The Atlantic Council will continue to work on investment opportunities in Africa in the energy sector in 2019.

A lesser known but promising dimension of Turkey's energy

sector was the main spotlight of the program in 2018. With an immense and diverse portfolio of renewable energy resources, Turkey has an opportunity to develop a balanced platform of complementary renewable resources to help meet its energy demand growth for years to come, while simultaneously contributing to the country's energy security, decarbonization, and economic development. At the conference **Turkey's Renewable Investment Outlook: Renewable Energy and New Technologies**, organized in cooperation with the World Energy Council Turkey, the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY explored Turkey's renewable investment outlook, focusing on new technologies and policy
recommendations aimed at taking advantage of Turkey's opportunity amid the global push toward clean energy.

The Atlantic Council IN TURKEY, together with Turkish Policy Quarterly, jointly published a special issue on Turkey's energy sector dynamics entitled **"Turkey's Energy Nexus: Discoveries & Developments"** and held a launch event in Washington, DC in cooperation with the Council's Global Energy Center. Programming on renewable energy will continue in 2019 with a conference focused on Turkey's onshore and offshore wind power sector.

In 2019, the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY will continue its work across four key pillars:

- The geopolitics of energy and energy investments with a focus on gas, LNG, and renewable sectors;
- Migration with a special interest on Syrian women entrepreneurs and children's education;

- Improving US-Turkey economic relations, focusing on US-Turkey infrastructure partnership opportunities;
- Fostering regional relations through an emphasis on investment opportunities in Africa. (#)

From the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY's conference Turkey's Renewable Investment Outlook, organized in cooperation with the World Energy Council Turkey, in Istanbul on December 19, 2018. Credit: Atlantic Council and World Energy Council Turkey.



# ADVOCATING FOR ADAPTED GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

#### THE CHALLENGE

After 1945, the United States and its allies built a rules-based international order that has delivered unprecedented levels of peace, prosperity, and freedom. For decades, the American public supported US leadership in building and maintaining this world order. In recent years, however, there has been increasing skepticism about the value of American engagement in world affairs. Indeed, public opinion polling shows that large portions of the American public would prefer that the United States play a less active role on the global stage.

These sentiments are perhaps understandable. After fighting inconclusive wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, many question the wisdom of American military engagement overseas. The global financial crisis and uneven economic recovery have contributed to doubts about the benefits of globalization for the average American. The problem is worse among the general public than with elites. Pew survey data from 2016 showed that only 44 percent of Americans view globalization in a positive light, compared to 86 percent of international affairs experts.

Moreover, US politicians have exploited these doubts for electoral gain, railing against the failures of American global leadership and further reinforcing the view that America would be better off if it just came home.

These developments are deeply disturbing for the future of the global order. Without widespread public support, it will be difficult for the United States to sustain its traditional leadership role in world affairs. If the United States retreats from the international stage, the gains of the past seventy years could be lost. It is not an exaggeration to fear that US isolationism could result in increasing global disorder, rising authoritarianism, declining living standards, and even major power conflict.

### THE SOLUTION

We must combat these trends and strengthen American public support for continued US global leadership.

The first step to addressing any problem is to accurately understand it. Decision makers must begin by listening to the American people to better understand the sources of discontent with US foreign policy.

Next, US leaders must devise a narrative for US global leadership in language that will resonate with the average citizen. The narrative should place contemporary events in a broader historical arc. making clear the unprecedented achievements of the past seventy years. In addition, it must articulate US global leadership's concrete benefits to the average American's pocketbook, way of life, and personal safety, while also outlining the negative consequences for Americans and their families if the United States retreats from the global stage.

Finally, leaders and policymakers need to create viable platforms to disseminate this narrative and to consistently engage the American public in dialogue about America's role in the world.

### **OUR WORK**

Since its founding in 1961, the Atlantic Council has been a consistent advocate for US leadership in world affairs. During the Cold War, the Council employed well-known spokespeople, including comedian Bob Hope and football star Roger Staubach to advocate on behalf of transatlantic relations. "WITH A STRONG BASIS OF PUBLIC SUPPORT, THE UNITED STATES CAN CONTINUE TO PLAY ITS INDISPENSABLE LEADERSHIP ROLE."

The Council's purpose, then and now, has been to engage diverse audiences and enlist them in support of American engagement with its allies and partners to secure the future.

To this day, the Atlantic Council's work reflects a deeplyingrained commitment to public engagement, one that takes promoting a narrative about America's role in the world seriously. Public outreach was a core feature of the Council's recently completed Middle East Strategy Task Force (MEST), a body of work designed to revisit standing assumptions about the region. MEST's staff and co-chairs, Madeleine Albright and Stephen Hadley, fanned out across the United States to spread the task force's central messages to the American public. The Global Energy Center is beginning a multi-year public outreach campaign about the threats from climate change and has already held public events in the US heartland, including in Cleveland, Ohio. The Digital Forensic Lab 360/OS is focused on helping Facebook and other digital platforms detect and counteract unwanted intrusions to Western democracies.

Looking ahead, the Council intends to integrate the American public more deeply into this conversation. It will explore the factors shaping public opinion in the United States, working with leading polling organizations to assess the public's values, goals, and interests in foreign affairs. This research will feed into an ambitious communications strategy that will create vivid, shareable content for consumption by broad audiences. The Council aims to create a major public event on American leadership in 2019, ahead of the seventieth NATO Summit, and a sustained campaign of programming in the years following, all designed to reinvigorate public memory of America's role in foreign affairs.

### **ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES**

The world that the United States helped create after 1945 is worth preserving. While never perfect, that world has brought humankind more benefits than any other system in history. Unfortunately, the American public is having its doubts about whether it wants to continue its support.

Organizations like the Atlantic Council must take the lead in articulating a spirited defense of American leadership. A firmer grasp of public sentiment will lead to stronger messaging to the average American which will in turn provide input for new thinking about America's role in the world. In addition, the Council's recommendations will carry greater weight with policy makers if it can point to its work in engaging the American public. The ultimate desired outcome, however, is to ensure that US global leadership rests on a firm foundation of domestic support, so the United States and its allies can continue to work together to secure the future. #

# REGIONAL CENTERS

**40** Middle East Programs

**44** Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center

**50** Eurasia Center

**54** Future Europe Initiative

60 South Asia Center

64 Africa Center

PHOTO: A soldier eats ice cream as she visits a zoo in Pyongyang, North Korea, September 12, 2018. REUTERS/Danish Siddiqui

### MIDDLE EAST PROGRAMS

The Council's Middle East programming provides a forum for informing and galvanizing the transatlantic community to work together to address the range of challenges and support opportunities for growth in the region.

As the Middle East undergoes significant political and socioeconomic change, the Council's Middle East programming provides a forum for informing and galvanizing the transatlantic community to work together to address the range of challenges and support opportunities for growth in the region. The Atlantic Council examines key trends and current events in the Middle East through the lens of a cadre of DC-based and regional experts, providing timely analysis and policy recommendations for the United States, its allied governments, and the broader policy community.

Working under one umbrella in 2019, the Council's work on the Middle East will focus on two broad themes: building peace and security and unlocking the region's largely untapped human potential. The breadth of our work on this critical region spans several initiatives and centers at the Council, from the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East to the Scowcroft Center's Middle East Security Initiative to the Iraq Initiative and the Future of Iran Initiative.

### RAFIK HARIRI CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

The Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East honors the life and legacy of the late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri by framing policy options for the transatlantic community aimed at encouraging and facilitating political legitimacy and unlocking the economic and human potential of the Arab world. This includes programming on economic reform, youth entrepreneurship and innovation, and governance challenges in post-conflict states.

We continued our focus on Syria in 2018 with two highlevel workshops on stabilizing Eastern Syria which provided an opportunity for an important conversation and healthy debate to take place on the role and future of the United States in Syria. Between the first workshop in March and the second in May, the administration's evolving position on the subject made the discussion all the more necessary.

The Arc of Crisis in the MENA Region report and conference gathered scholars on the region to explore emerging trends in the post-Arab Spring era. The

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

"[ARC OF CRISIS IN THE MENA REGION AUTHORS DR. KARIM MEZRAN AND DR. ARTURO VARVELLI] ARE WELL AWARE THAT ALMOST ALL CHANGE IN THE MENA REGION WILL COME FROM WITHIN AND SOMETIMES EMERGE FROM VERY LOCAL CONTEXTS. THEIR PROJECT ON THE "ARC OF CRISIS" BRINGS US A BIT CLOSER TO UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS IN THEIR FULL CONTEXT, THUS PUTTING THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE IN A BETTER POSITION TO MAKE INFORMED POLICY CHOICES IN BOTH THE SHORT AND LONG-TERM"

The National Interest review of the Arc of Crisis Report

conference addressed the root causes of instability in the MENA region, exploring the role of regional and international powers in fueling the "arc of crisis" and featured discussants that debated the argument that unstable sociopolitical and economic conditions favor the resilience of jihadism in the region.

### MIDDLE EAST SECURITY INITIATIVE

In January, the Scowcroft Center's Middle East Security Initiative led an Atlantic Council leadership delegation to the UAE, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Israel over a twoweek period. Led by Executive Chairman Emeritus General James L. Jones, Jr. USMC (Ret.), the delegation met with stakeholders from Riyadh to Tel Aviv to discuss issues of regional importance, including socioeconomic conditions in the region; US posture and strategy; and security challenges. In December, a similar delegation visited Oman and Israel.

In the first week of June, we partnered with USIP to host a Gaza crisis simulation. The simulation exercise involved approximately thirty participants, from former ministers and a former head of state, to former Ambassadors. In October, we hosted another simulation on possible conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia. The exercises elicited new ideas and approaches to ongoing conflicts in the region.

### FUTURE OF IRAN INITIATIVE

The Future of Iran Initiative convenes experts and policy makers to analyze the complex American-Iranian relationship. In recent years, this work has focused on the primary tool guiding this relationship: the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)—its implementation,



implications, and its future in light of administration changes in Washington.

In January 2018, we hosted a major conference on Iran's evolving economic and strategic relationships with Russia, China, India, and other Asian partners. In February, we hosted a discussion on Iran's missile program, its role in Iranian defense strategy, and as a source of tension in the region and beyond. By November, as a second wave of US sanctions was imposed on the Islamic Republic, we released an issue brief by nonresident fellows Holly Dagres and Barbara Slavin on how Iran will cope with these economic challenges.

### **IRAQ INITIATIVE**

The Council's reinvigorated effort on Iraq was front and center in 2018 with the launch of the Iraq Initiative, which seeks to address the current security challenges Iraq faces as well as examine Iraq's potential to develop the Former Iraqi Ambassador to the United States and Iraq Initiative Advisory Committee Member Rend Al-Rahim shares insights on the US-Iraqi relationship for an Atlantic Council explainer video in April 2018.

drivers of any successful society: inclusive politics, economic development, and a vibrant civil society. In partnership with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the Council hosted two workshops, in Beirut and Baghdad, convening the foremost experts and stakeholders working on issues of critical importance to Iraq's future. Drawing on the insights gained from the workshops earlier in the year, the Council released a timely issue brief, "Stabilization, Governance, and Socioeconomic Challenges in Iraq," as protests in Iraq over water and electricity cuts were making international headlines. In 2019 under the leadership of Dr. Abbas Kadhim, the Iraq Initiative will continue to organize events that promote US-Iraq dialogue at official and unofficial levels and provide impartial, practical policy recommendations.



Ambassador Joan Polaschik, Acting Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Near East Affairs at the US Department of State, speaks at the "Arc of Crisis in the MENA Region" conference on October 9, 2018.

> Our quick response analysis on the Middle East is featured on our three blogs: MENASource, SyriaSource, and IranSource. In addition to featuring our own analyses, the blogs provide an opportunity for us to amplify voices from the region in Washington policy circles.

> Following our two-pronged approach, the Council's Middle

East programs will focus on peace and security issues as well as human development indicators. Progress in both areas is critical for regional stability and prosperity, and to achieve US and key international partner interests.

Within the first line of effort, the Council will sustain and expand projects focused on economic development; the human and

AMBASSADOR FREDERIC C. HOF, FORMER DIRECTOR, RAFIK HARIRI CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

"HERE THERE IS A STRONG, NON-PARTISAN AND NON-IDEOLOGICAL ETHIC CENTERING ON IMPACT: TRYING TO GIVE BUSY OFFICIALS IMPLEMENTABLE IDEAS AND OPTIONS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS AND ADVANCE THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS TRANSATLANTIC ALLIES." economic cost of conflict; building inclusive governance and institutions; economic opportunities and challenges post-transition, and post-conflict stabilization, reconstruction and humanitarian assistance.

Within the second line of effort. the Council will prioritize work focused on: understanding the challenges and opportunities posed by Iran; addressing Gulf geopolitical and security priorities, including Saudi Arabia's evolving role in the region; examining Israel's security environment; and identifying emerging trends likely to have implications for regional security broadly-such as resource scarcity, offensive cyber capabilities, and external powers'-including Russia and China-growing interest and involvement in the Middle East. 🏶

### RAFIK HARIRI

Rafik Hariri was a dedicated statesman, businessman, philanthropist, and a two-time Prime Minister of Lebanon whose vision for a secure and prosperous Middle East based on human dignity for all its people was cut short when he was assassinated in 2005.

Known affectionately as "Mister Lebanon," Hariri was renowned for his leadership in solving problems through political dialogue and compromise, a gift that called him to become an influential changemaker in Lebanon and throughout the Middle East.

After launching a successful construction business in Saudi Arabia, Hariri returned home to Lebanon to play an integral role in brokering the 1989 Taif Agreement that ended that country's sixteenyear civil war.

In the years that followed, fueled by his fundamental belief in the untapped potential of ordinary people, Hariri became an instrumental leader in rebuilding his homeland. In 1992, he became Lebanon's first post-civil war prime minister, serving until 1998 and again from 2000-2004, during which time he worked tirelessly to revive Lebanon's warweary economy and promote the country's independence from Syria, which had occupied his country since 1976. He remained



devoted to the country's rebirth until his assassination, along with twenty-one others, in a suicide bomb attack in Beirut in February 2005.

When the Arab Spring changed the political landscape, Rafik Hairi's eldest son, Bahaa, was moved to help. He recognized in the revolutions that the Arab world needed global citizens like his father more than ever to help the people find the strength and wisdom to secure a more vibrant and just future.

"With the Council's unique platform for debate and dialogue among global voices—combined

### RAFIK HARIRI

Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri speaks during an interview with Reuters at his house in Beirut November 30, shortly after he announced that he would not remain as prime minister under newly-appointed President Emile Lahoud. Reuters.

with the Council's capacity for strategy analysis—we are helping the people of the Middle East discover their talent, initiative, and capability," said Bahaa Hariri. "Together we are helping bend the forces of change to guide a convergence of the Middle East and the international community—promoting robust civil society, democracy, and free markets." (#)

### ADRIENNE ARSHT LATIN AMERICA CENTER

The Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center broadens understanding of regional transformations and delivers constructive, results-oriented solutions that inform how the public and private sectors can work together to advance hemispheric prosperity.

Senator Roy Blunt of Missouri (left) and Senator Tom Udall of New Mexico (right) present Adrienne Arsht, executive vice chair of the Atlantic Council and founder of the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center, with the Congressional Flag at the Five-Year Anniversary celebration for the center. The event recognized the center's achievements and was attended by regional ambassadors and other distinguished auests. In 2018, as Venezuela faced a worsening economic, humanitarian, and political crisis under Nicolás Maduro, the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center positioned itself as a leader on Venezuela, providing analysis and strategic thinking on efforts to achieve a democratic transition. The center



organized high-impact public events and private meetings to raise awareness on issues ranging from the electoral conditions, to the state of the oil industry, to the deteriorating humanitarian crisis. Throughout the year, it also released four in-country polls that revealed deep polarization in the country, as well as deteriorating living conditions.

The center hosted a **Conversation** with then-Venezuelan National Assembly President Juan Guaidó (current interim president) and Second Vice President Stalin Gonzalez within five days of their being sworn in and just one day prior to Maduro assuming a second, fradulent term. The discussion provided a critical platform to elevate the profile of the new leadership of the National Assembly, the only legitimate democratic institution recognized by the international community, and to lay out its vision for the future of Venezuela. The center established itself as the leading source for timely insights during a critical week in Venezuela in January 2019. On January 23, 2019 Juan Guaidó assumed the role of interim president of Venezuela, based on the authority vested in him in Article 233 of the Constitution. The Arsht Center mobilized quickly and within one

week hosted a private breakfast and a public event, Guaidó Takes the Helm: Supporting the New Venezuelan Interim Government, to discuss the interim government's vision for the future and steps the international community should take to support this democratic movement. This was the first large-scale event with representatives of the new interim government and included the participation of the new Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States, Carlos Vecchio; the newly named Ambassador to the Lima Group, Julio Borges; and the Coordinator for the Organization of American States Working Group on the Regional Crisis Caused by the Venezuelan Migrants and Refugees, David Smolansky. The event also featured a conversation with the former Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA), and the European Union, Chilean, and Paraguayan Ambassadors, about the role of the international community in helping to resolve the ongoing crisis in Venezuela.

With major regional elections in Colombia, Mexico, and Brazil, 2018 marked a year of change in Latin America. The Arsht Latin America Center provided a nonpartisan analysis of these elections through its **First 100 Days Spotlight Series** and accompanying public events.



The center hosted senior officials from the new governments while highlighting the priorities of each incoming administration and quickly became a resource for new governments in the region with regard to bilateral relations with the United States.

These three critical elections in the region saw a wave of disinformation and misinformation that spread like wildfire through popular social media platforms, putting healthy democratic debate at risk. The Arsht Latin America Center worked with the Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab (in partnership with regional think tanks, media, and factchecking organizations) to build an innovative elections portfolio, analyzing each election through The Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center, in collaboration with the Digital Forensics Research Lab, held trainings in Mexico (pictured), and Brazil to detect, expose, and explain false narratives online as part of a broader effort to combat the spread of disinformation in the region.

its #ElectionWatch Latin America project. With the use of opensource data, the center was able to identify, expose, and explain disinformation to strengthen digital resilience and help protect democratic institutions. The center also provided in-country trainings and capacity-building exercises for journalists, civil society leaders, and government officials to increase their knowledge of the tools available to combat disinformation and misinformation.

As trade tensions between China and the United States escalated,

### SENATOR ROY BLUNT (R-MO)- CONGRESSIONAL RECORD VOLUME 164, NUMBER 157

"[THE AALAC'S] WORK PROVIDES AN ESSENTIAL FORUM FOR NAVIGATING THE DRAMATIC ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES DEFINING THE 21ST CENTURY BY INFORMING AND GALVANIZING ITS UNIQUELY INFLUENTIAL NETWORK OF GLOBAL LEADERS."



Juan Guaido, President of Venezuela's National Assembly and interim President of Venezuela, gestures during a rally against Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro's government and to commemorate the 61st anniversary of the end of the dictatorship of Marcos Perez Jimenez in Caracas, Venezuela January 23, 2019. REUTERS/Carlos Garcia Rawlins.

### MARCELO EBRARD, SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS, GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO

### "A STRONG US-MEXICO RELATIONSHIP IS THE BACKBONE FOR A PROSPEROUS NORTH AMERICA. THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL IS CRITICAL TO ELEVATING THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE TIES."

the Arsht Latin America Center. in partnership with HSBC, hosted an event to explore the impact of US-China trade tensions in Latin America, where trade with China has multiplied eighteen times over the past two decades. Featuring a conversation with former US Secretary of Defense William Cohen and moderated by Gerardo Mato, HSBC chairman of global banking and markets, Americas, the dialogue centered on the geopolitical shift toward the East. With China's expanding energy interests in Latin America, the center also provided a nuanced understanding of China's attraction to the region's oil and gas sector in the highly cited

### report, China, Oil, and Latin America: Myth vs. Reality.

When the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) was signed, the Arsht Latin America Center underscored the critical importance of trilateral North American trade and its impact on millions of jobs and investments. The center remained on top of the latest developments by hosting multiple rapid-reaction conference calls with regional experts and launching a social media blitz to analyze updates as they surfaced. In partnership with Politico, and three days before the November 30 signing, the center hosted the event, USMCA at Signing: Implications for Consumers and

the Road Ahead for Congress, to highlight the effects of the agreement for consumers and key industries, emphasizing the strategic importance of the deal for North American global economic competitiveness. The center also focused on strengthening commerce at the subnational level and navigating the uncertainties of shifts in national policy at the National Governor Association's North American Governor's Summit.

US Political Director and Anchor at CNN en Español Juan Carlos López (center right), addresses the audience at a discussion panel moderated by Jason Marczak (left), director of the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center, on the significance of Colombia's presidential elections.



## HARNESSING TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

#### THE CHALLENGE

A cluster of new technologies namely artificial intelligence, robotics, green energy, clean tech, and biotech, among others will do more than just transform science. They will determine how we all live and function and have the potential to influence the course of international politics. Depending on which countries take the lead, they could remake the global order. Today's technological race is what geopolitics were to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Throughout its history, progress has been built on technological innovation and leadership, ranging from Thomas Edison's light bulb to Henry Ford's assembly line to the silicon chip, the personal computer, and the Internet. However, America's leadership role is in jeopardy as China and other countries aim for "first mover" advantage in the next round of technological breakthroughs. How the United States and its partners navigate this period in history will determine the future of transatlantic leadership.

### THE SOLUTION

The United States and its partners need to develop a new roadmap to ensure they harness emerging technologies for the greater good. In the face of the incoming technological tsunami, the divide between the technology and policy communities must be bridged in order to minimize the risks and maximize opportunities. Through dynamic outreach to and engagement with government, industry, technology, and academic leaders, the Atlantic Council:

- **Tracks** innovation trends systematically in order to help government and business leaders anticipate change and remain competitive in the global innovation sweepstakes.
- **Delves** into the political, economic, and social

### "WORKING ON SOLUTIONS THAT MAXIMIZE THE BENEFITS OF A GLOBALIZED WORLD, THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL IS IDEALLY PLACED TO ENLIGHTEN DECISION-MAKERS AND GLOBAL AUDIENCES ON THE CHALLENGES NEW TECHNOLOGY PRESENTS FOR WESTERN LEADERSHIP."

implications of the emerging technologies.

- Designs strategies for global partnerships on technology solutions for all the big challenges facing the world: climate change, security, inequality, development, and good governance.
- Trains the next generation of leaders in government and business so they can effectively navigate disruptive change that is critical to future global security and prosperity.
- Leverages tech-enabled methodologies, such as data analytics, to inform its work.

The Atlantic Council already enjoys rich and well-established partnerships in allied and partner countries on science, technology, and innovation-related issues. However, these partnerships need to be updated given the emerging technologies of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The Atlantic Council has designed a strategy for such a partnership between the United States and the Republic of Korea, providing each government with a roadmap to improve collaboration around artificial intelligence, biotechnology, and the Internet of Things. This work can be expanded to include other technologies and can also be adapted for other allies and partners.

To remain at the forefront of the innovation wave, the United States must work with its likeminded allies and partners. The aim is not to pick winners in the technological race but rather to advocate for structural measures that ensure success for the global economy, individual countries, global firms, investors, universities, and ultimately citizens. Societies must also engage in a global discussion on how to approach the legal, ethical, and trust aspects connected with technological advances. Without more collective acceptance and better management of new technological capabilities, technological advances are unlikely to be fully integrated and utilized throughout societies.

#### **OUR WORK**

To what degree will the future world be Western in values if the non-Western developing world is increasingly the engine of the global economy? Working on solutions that maximize the benefits of a globalized world, the Atlantic Council is ideally placed to enlighten decisionmakers and global audiences on the challenges new technology presents for Western leadership.

To add momentum to its ongoing strategy, energy security, and strategic foresight work focused on emerging technologies, the Council proposes to establish a major Geotech Center the world's "go-to" authority on technological innovation, including its political, economic, social, and international impacts. The center would deploy a suite of capabilities, including strategic foresight; strategy development; methods for assessing innovation capacity at national and global scales; and executive training seminars and fellowships.

### **ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES**

We face two drastically different futures: one where global leaders harness emerging technologies to reduce carbon emissions, expand renewable energies and enable lower-carbon energy systems; ensure secure communications; make cities livable and resource efficient; and increase the quality of life through better medicines and cures for genetic diseases, among other positive advances. But an alternative path could result in a future where emerging technologies could destroy many more jobs, increase the already large income and wealth inequalities, and exacerbate and transform conflicts with destructive cyberattacks and the use of deadly biotech instruments. In order to avoid the second set of outcomes, the Atlantic Council will strive for progress on global governance around emerging technologies, improved STEM education at the primary and secondary levels, and increased investment in skills training and workforce development, with the goal to help inform and prepare world leaders and citizens for the societal disruptions unleashed by emerging technologies. #

**EURASIA CENTER** 

### **EURASIA CENTER**

The Eurasia Center's mission is to work toward policies that promote stability, democratic values, and prosperity in Eurasia, from Eastern Europe and Turkey in the West to the Caucasus, Russia, and Central Asia in the East.

Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen speaks about cybersecurity during the Eurasia Center's Global Forum on Strategic Communications and Digital Disinformation (StratCom 2018). As a revanchist Kremlin works to destabilize democracies and weaken NATO, the transatlantic relationship, and the European Union, the center seeks to help



European allies understand the danger of this threat and, together with Washington, develop the right policies to counteract it. Additionally, the center aims to promote democracy and an open society and market economy in Eurasia in order to strengthen the region's capacity to manage the Kremlin challenge. Within both of these objectives, Ukraine is one of the center's top priorities, but the center also actively engages with Georgia and Moldova and encourages closer cooperation among all parties in the region seeking a democratic future.

In 2018, the Eurasia Center focused on key goals in support of its mission. First, the Eurasia Center worked to raise the cost of Kremlin aggression in Ukraine and around the globe. In early 2018, the center's long-term advocacy of lethal defensive arms for Ukraine came to fruition with the US administration's delivery of Javelin missiles to Kyiv. Later in the year, in conjunction with the Global Business & Economic Program, the Eurasia Center's work on sanctions influenced the punishing sanctions list issued by the US administration in April.

Additionally, the center helped strengthen cooperation among the nations of Eurasia and



Eastern Europe by assisting Moldova, Georgia, and Ukraine in developing their THREE **SPEAKERS INITIATIVE.** This has prompted greater cooperation among the parliaments of these three nations, and included a meeting on the Hill with Speaker Paul Ryan. The center also assisted with a Congressional resolution advocating for the freedom of Eurasian and Eastern European countries to choose their own path. This twenty-first century version of the Captive Nations resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives in the 115th Congress, and the center will continue to advocate for it in the new Congress.

The Eurasia Center also launched several initiatives throughout 2018 with the aim of strengthening the West's defense against Kremlin disinformation and election interference. In June, it launched **DisinfoPortal.org**, a one-stop hub for policy makers and journalists to get the latest on the Kremlin's disinformation campaigns, featuring work from over 125 experts and thirty partner organizations. This was followed in July with an event on The Eurasia Center's 2018 congressional fellows visit the Verkhovna Rada during their August 2018 trip to Kyiv and Ukraine's East.

the Kremlin's election interference led by Senators Mark Warner (D-VA) and Marco Rubio (R-FL), with participation from members of parliament from across Europe. In October, the center held its second annual **Global Forum on Strategic Communications**, which brought together over 200 participants covering academia, tech, government, civil society, and the private sector. Finally, in December, the center launched a

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

"UNDERLYING THE WHOLE PROJECT OF DEMOCRACY IS A BELIEF IN A NARRATIVE AND A SET OF FACTS THAT WE CAN ALL SHARE."

Senator Chris Murphy, US Senator for Connecticut, speaks about the global challenge of disinformation during the Eurasia Center's Global Forum on Strategic Communications and Digital Disinformation on October 3, 2018



Senator Mark Warner and Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL) speak to the press following their public remarks at a July 16 event on the Kremlin's interference in elections.

# BUILDING A RESPONSE TO DISINFORMATION

Disinformation campaigns are not new. However, recent efforts by the Kremlin have moved beyond Europe's East, targeting the US, NATO, EU, and other democratic institutions. By employing old tactics, Moscow aims to destabilize, and sow distrust in these institutions. This panel will address current challenge posed by disinformation in the region and how to address it.

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GEORGIA, MOLDOVA AND U EASTERN PARTNERSHIP AN CURRENT SECURITY CHALL

Ukrainian Election Task Force that will monitor and expose Kremlin interference in the 2019 Ukrainian presidential election.

Finally, throughout 2018, the center worked to grow and enhance its external network by launching a Congressional Fellowship Program. The inaugural class of fellows was a bipartisan group of fourteen Senate and House staffers, and the program included a series of policy briefings on Russia, Ukraine, and Eastern Europe and Eurasia as well as a weeklong trip to Kyiv and the frontlines in Donbas.

2019 will be a pivotal year in Eurasia. Over the past year, Moscow has escalated its war in Ukraine by openly attacking and seizing three Ukrainian ships; attacking American soldiers in Syria via mercenaries; poisoning people in the United Kingdom; continuing to violate the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty; interfering in Spain's Catalonia referendum; and routinely conducting dangerous maneuvers with NATO ships and planes in and over international waters. The Kremlin has shown no signs of backing off its revanchist policies. Moscow is waiting for the outcome of Ukraine's presidential elections in the spring and parliamentary elections in the fall to see if there will be a new

Panelists, including Geysha Gonzalez, MP Toma Bikov, Michael Carpenter, Speaker Ināra Mūrniece, Deputy Marshal Maria Koc, and MP Vojtěch Pikal, discuss solutions to disinformation at a security forum in Chisinau, Moldova in March 2018.

political leadership ready to make a deal on Donbas more favorable to Russia. While the Kremlin is likely to be disappointed, this means that the war in Donbas will continue for at least two more years and Moscow will likely interfere in Ukraine's upcoming elections. In response, the Eurasia Center will continue working to counteract malicious actors and promote stability, democratic values, and prosperity in the region. 🏶

FUTURE EUROPE INITIATIVE

### **FUTURE EUROPE INITIATIVE**

In another challenging year for the transatlantic relationship, the Future Europe Initiative (FEI) doubled down on its efforts in 2018 to promote the leadership and strategies required to bolster the vision of a strong Europe advancing a better global future in partnership with the United States.

The opening of the third Baltic Sea Security Conference with Ms. Anna Wieslander, Director for Northern Europe, Atlantic Council; Rear Admiral Jonas Haggren, Director of Joint Staff, Swedish Armed Forces; and General Micael Bydén, Supreme Commander, Swedish Armed Forces. The initiative seeks to understand change in Europe and galvanize transatlantic leadership to solve global challenges. The program is premised on the belief that the United States has an enormous strategic stake in Europe's future,



and in a coherent and cohesive Atlantic community. Vision, leadership, and sustainable strategies are needed to protect and reinforce this unique partnership as a force for good in the world.

In 2018, the Future Europe Initiative continued its efforts as a bridge-builder between both sides of the Atlantic as highprofile disputes over foreign policy, trade, and data privacy left the United States and Europe at odds. The initiative fortified its position as a "Home for Europe in Washington," hosting more than forty-five public and private events featuring heads of state, European Commissioners, ministers, and members of the European Parliament and national parliaments on a wide range of transatlantic issues.

As part of its long-term objective to build a Europe, whole, free, and at peace by reforming and restoring trust in an adapted European project, confronting backsliding, and integrating the peripheries, FEI expanded its programming and presence on the ground in Europe. In 2018, the team executed high-profile programming in Berlin, London,



Normandy, Stockholm, Warsaw, Tbilisi, Kyiv, Bucharest, Skopje, and other key European capitals. The program partnered with the Digital Forensic Research Lab to convene global strategists with executives from technology and media companies from Berlin to Silicon Valley. FEI continued to translate the Three Seas Initiative from ideas to action by convening a major business forum in Bucharest connecting leaders from the Adriatic, Baltic, and Black Seas to develop specific projects to promote cross-border integration. In Warsaw, the Council built on its high-profile work in the country by adding a major new CEO Summit to its portfolio of work.

Throughout the year, FEI expanded its role as a leading voice on both Central Europe

and the Balkans. It launched the Atlanticist Fellowship with the goal of bolstering US-Central European ties through people-topeople connections. The initiative continued its "Balkans Forward" effort, helping to advance North Macedonia's Euro-Atlantic integration as the country faced political crises and a historic referendum. This effort produced one of the most-viewed videos The 2018 Freedom Award honorees—Secretary Madeleine Albright, Ms. Aryana Sayeed, Ms. Bana Alabed, and a representative from the International Women's Media Foundation—with their introducers and the chairs of the year's Freedom Awards.

ever posted on Council networks (approximately a quarter million views in North Macedonia in the span of two weeks, with exposure to nearly a half million citizens of North Macedonia or one quarter of the country's entire population), as well as a

### 2018 IMPACT ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG

"THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL HAS BEEN A STEADFAST FRIEND OF AND PRESENCE IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE, HELPING TO ENSURE MY NATION'S DEMOCRACY IS STRONG AND PATH TO NATO SECURE."

H.E. Zoran Zaev, Prime Minister, Republic of North Macedonia



French President Emmanuel Macron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel look at a guest book inside a replica of the wagon where the Armistice was signed in 1918, 100 years after the end of the First World War, in Compiegne, France, November 10, 2018. REUTERS/Philippe Wojazer/Pool. public statement by President George W. Bush facilitated by the Atlantic Council.

FEI's Transatlantic Media Network continued to bring journalists from Europe to experience the United States through travel beyond the beltway and interaction with communities across the United States. In October, under the lead of FEI's Northern Europe Office in Stockholm, the Network also brought together former fellows from across Europe to discuss the impact of populism on the international media landscape. The occasion also served as one of several deliberate FEI efforts across the continent to expand its European-based network of influencers and nextgeneration leaders.

The initiative also advanced its goal of restoring transatlantic leadership in the global economy by advancing growth, innovation, and competition policies. In its report *Making America First in the Digital Economy: The Case for Engaging Europe*, FEI's transatlantic digital agenda work analyzed the prospects for US-EU collaboration in the digital economy and identified potential crisis points and next best steps forward.

FEI's 2018 Freedom Awards returned to Berlin, Germany, for its 10th anniversary for a powerful celebration of an allfemale cast of honorees, cutting across generations, regions, and experiences but united in their commitment to the cause of freedom. In an emotional awards ceremony, the Council recognized the following individuals and organizations for their achievements: Former US Secretary of State Dr. Madeleine Albright; Afghan singer, songwriter, and human rights activist Aryana Sayeed; nine-year-old Syrian activist and author of the Dear World blog Bana Alabed; and the International Women's Media Foundation. #

2018 Atlantic Council Freedom Award Recipient and former US Secretary of State Dr. Madeleine K. Albright participates in the Atlantic Council's 360/OS Berlin 2018.



NAVIGATING MAJOR POWER CONFLICT

# NAVIGATING MAJOR POWER CONFLICT

### THE CHALLENGE

The 2018 US National Defense Strategy declares that the return of great power competition with Russia and China is the greatest threat to the security and economic well-being of the United States. At the end of the Cold War, the United States and its allies were blessed with a quarter-century respite from great power competition, but in recent years, autocratic great powers actively seeking to revise the international order to their benefit have re-emerged.

With increasing uncertainty about America's willingness to lead and a tarnishing of traditional Western models of liberal democratic capitalism, Russia and China are moving to fill the global leadership vacuum. Russia has invaded Ukraine, intervened in Syria, and issued military threats against the rest of NATO. Under Vladimir Putin, Moscow is meddling in Western democracies, seeking to divide the NATO alliance, and using covert measures to pit factions within open societies against one other. The threat from China is even more daunting. China could surpass the United States as the world's largest economy within the decade and is converting its economic power into military might, calling

into question the ability of the United States to defend its allies in Asia. Chinese President Xi Jinping is cracking down on domestic opposition at home. Abroad, he is preying on Western institutions, building alternatives to the existing rules-based order, using military coercion to seize disputed territory, and exporting a new model of autocratic, state-led capitalism.

In short, Russia seeks to disrupt the rules-based international order and China seeks to replace it. If continued unchecked, these great powers could threaten and co-opt US allies and engage in continued territorial aggrandizement. More broadly, they could seek to rewrite the global system to the detriment of the security, prosperity, and values that the United States and its allies hold dear.

Despite these challenges, many hope these major powers may still be integrated into a rulesbased order. In addition, on some issues—including arms control, nonproliferation, climate change, and cybersecurity—there remains a desire for great power coordination and cooperation to address common challenges.

### THE SOLUTION

The United States and its allies must renew their ability to compete with great powers from a position of advantage to deter aggression, cooperate on areas of mutual interest, and ensure the protection of free and independent states.

The United States should strengthen its military capabilities and alliances to ensure a favorable balance of military power in Europe and Asia. The United States must revitalize its economy to maintain its traditional edge in innovation. It should defend democratic institutions from external interference and proudly contrast its freedoms to Russian and Chinese autocracy as a central feature of the competition. At the same time, where interests align, Washington must work with Moscow and Beijing to address shared challenges. In short, it must make clear to Russia and China that there are real costs to challenging the rules-based order and tangible benefits to joining it.

#### **OUR WORK**

The Atlantic Council has made renewed great power competition a core priority within the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security, with many of the Council's regional centers and initiatives tackling the challenges associated with each specific power in parallel.

While the gears are already turning on this research agenda, the Council plans to greatly expand and scale-up its great power programming with an ambitious body of work. Although the US government has recognized the return of great power competition as a problem, it has not yet clearly articulated its desired goal or strategy for managing it. The Atlantic Council plans to employ its unique capabilities in strategic foresight and strategy to help the United States and its allies develop sustainable nonpartisan strategies to address key emerging questions. What is the goal in this new era of competition and what strategies can the United States employ to achieve it? What defense policies, capabilities, and alliances are needed to deter conflict in Europe and Asia? What are the areas of mutual interest on which the great powers can forge partnerships for cooperation? A particular area of interest will be growing Russian and Chinese malign influence in Europe and Asia.

### **ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES**

Via its constructive relationships with US and allied governments, the Council anticipates that its work and recommendations related to great power competition will have real policy impact. Ultimately, the Council seeks to translate that policy influence into an effective strategy to ensure that the United States and its democratic allies will once again enjoy another long-term respite from major power competition. #

"THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES MUST RENEW THEIR ABILITY TO COMPETE WITH GREAT POWERS FROM A POSITION OF ADVANTAGE TO DETER AGGRESSION, COOPERATE ON AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST, AND ENSURE THE PROTECTION OF FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES."

### SOUTH ASIA CENTER

The South Asia Center manages divisions and explores economic opportunity in a dynamic but volatile region of nearly two billion people.



Afghan President Ashraf Ghani and Atlantic Council Executive Vice President Damon Wilson field questions during a town hall at the Munich Security Conference.

As the Atlantic Council's focal point for work on Greater South Asia and its relations with its neighbors, the United States, and Europe, the South Asia Center seeks to foster partnerships with key regional institutions to establish itself as a forum for dialogue and partnership. The center remains committed to working with stakeholders, partners, and experts from the region and the United States to provide comprehensive analysis and practicable recommendations for policy makers.

In 2018, the South Asia Center continued its work in the areas of traditional and non-traditional security, engaging in projects pertaining to international nuclear stability, security in Afghanistan, and regional media diplomacy, while developing a portfolio in US-India trade and exploring the growing role of India in the United States' Indo-Pacific strategy.

The center continued its research on nuclear modernization and the future of the nonproliferation regime, technological changes and deterrence stability, the dueling significance of terrorism and internal threats to the safety of nuclear arsenals, and the future of the nuclear competition in Asia. In March, it hosted a private workshop with experts on understanding US nuclear policy and its impact across the globe. In November, the South Asia Center and the Scowcroft Center jointly hosted a workshop in Singapore to better understand the regional perspectives on global nuclear stability.

Meanwhile, the announcement of the Trump administration's South Asia policy in 2017 opened the doors for the center to dig deeper into understanding what the United States plans to implement in the region and how it views relations among the South Asian countries.

Afghanistan faces a critical juncture and continues to undergo domestic political change. In response, the South Asia Center developed an Afghanistan Working Group, convening experts from Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and the US National Security Council to examine the administration's new policy and how it evolved over its first year. The group's report included key policy recommendations on the way forward for US involvement in the country. The center also explored non-traditional elements of Afghan security, co-hosting a conference with USAID in Mumbai, highlighting private sector investment in Afghanistan and the role India is currently playing in its development.

In November, the South Asia Center hosted its annual media diplomacy workshop in London, gathering journalists, media owners, and government officials from India and Pakistan. The workshop provided a platform for media professionals from both India and Pakistan to discuss their role in the bilateral relationship during a fraught election year for both countries. As part of the center's non-traditional security initiative, the project on media diplomacy continued to focus on challenging national narratives in India and Pakistan that harm international engagement and efforts for peace.

2018 was a year of change for the South Asia Center, which

Indian police officers attend the wreath laying ceremony of their fallen colleague, who according to police was killed in an attack by suspected militants in South Kashmir's Pulwama district on Sunday evening, in Humhama, on the outskirts of Srinagar November 19, 2018. REUTERS/Danish Ismail TPX IMAGES OF THE DAY.

established growing initiatives in US-India commerce and US strategy in the Indo-Pacific region.

In late December 2018, the South Asia Center launched a task force on US-India trade issues and welcomed Mark Linscott, former assistant United States trade representative for South and Central Asian affairs, as a senior nonresident fellow. The center will continue to build its portfolio on the trade relationship between the two countries, the impact it will have on other regional trade issues, and how it will influence India's economic and political development.

Finally, the South Asia Center

### AMBASSADOR ARUN K. SINGH, FORMER AMBASSADOR OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES

"THE SOUTH ASIA CENTER HAS SERVED AS AN EXCELLENT RESOURCE AND AN INTERLOCUTOR IN ADVANCING US - INDIA RELATIONS. OVER THE YEARS, IT HAS PLAYED A CRITICAL ROLE IN ADDRESSING KEY ISSUES SUCH AS TRADE, REGIONAL SECURITY, AND THE OVERALL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP."

began engagement with the ongoing development of the United States' Indo-Pacific strategy. On July 30, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced the administration's Indo-Pacific vision for engagement in the region. Following his speech,

Mark Linscott, former United States trade representative for Central and South Asian affairs, discussing regional commerce at a dinner discussion on the Indo-Pacific Vision. the South Asia Center, along with the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security, hosted a private dinner discussion with embassy and US Department of State officials to discuss the way forward for the implementation of the newly announced policy. During United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) week, the South Asia Center hosted a private lunch discussion with the Former President and CEO of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, Mr. Ray Washburne, to discuss how India and the other countries in the Indo-Pacific region can support their work to improve private sector investment. In November, the center hosted a discussion in Singapore to understand perceptions of the United States' Indo-Pacific vision in the region.





Left to right: Nidhi Upadhyaya, Associate Director, South Asia Center; Roya Mahboob, Founder and CEO, Digital Citizen Fund; Fatemah Qaderyan, Captain and Spokesperson, Afghan All-Girls High School Robotics Team.

### AFRICA CENTER

The Africa Center seeks to promote dynamic geopolitical partnerships with African states and to redirect US and European policy priorities toward strengthening security and bolstering economic growth and prosperity on the continent.

Many intractable African stalemates came to a head in 2018. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), opposition candidate Félix Tshisekedi was

2018 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Dr. Denis Mukwege (left) discusses the magnitude of gender-based violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo at a luncheon hosted by Africa Center Director Dr. J. Peter Pham (right). (Atlantic Council). declared the winner of the longawaited December 30 presidential election, the country's first peaceful transfer of power since independence. In May, the center's **Congo on the Edge** campaign hosted Tshisekedi and longtime opposition leader Moïse Katumbi



for a candid discussion, and in June the Africa Center recruited leading academic Dr. Pierre Englebert as a senior fellow. The center's preeminence was confirmed by the appointment of Atlantic Council Vice President and Africa Center Director Dr. J. Peter Pham to serve as the United States Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Throughout the year, center analysis was featured in hundreds of outlets, including the BBC, CBC, the New York Times, the Financial Times, and the Globe and Mail. The center also hosted 2018 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Dr. Denis Mukwege just weeks after the elections for a private discussion on the use of rape and sexual violence as a weapon of war in the DRC.

The center's Sudan Task Force continued to move the needle on US policy towards Sudan, guided by co-chairs Pham and Atlantic Council Board Director Amb. Mary Carlin Yates. Following a fact-finding trip to Khartoum and Darfur in January, the Task Force published three policy briefs in March, which aimed to provide recommendations to the US and Sudanese governments as they work to advance the bilateral relationship. In November, the center hosted Sudanese Foreign Minister H.E. Dr. ElDirdiri Mohamed Ahmed just days after he met with State Department officials to formally launch the "Phase II" framework to normalize relations between Washington and Khartoum.



The center's publications and regular consultations with the highest levels of government were instrumental in finalizing this renewed effort to improve relations.

In a historic turn of events, Ethiopia and Eritrea found peace in 2018 after decades of hostility and armed confrontation. The Africa Center was at the forefront of analysis on these developments, hosting Ethiopian Foreign Minister H.E. Dr. Workneh Gebeyehu just hours after former Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn resigned in February and convening opposition figures Bekele Gerba and Eskinder Nega just three months after they were released from prison. Moreover, the courageous efforts of the center's **Eritrea Working Group** to spur reBekele Gerba, deputy chairman of the Oromo Federalist Congress, and Mr. Eskinder Nega, prominent Ethiopian journalist and blogger, discuss the political situation in Ethiopia at the Atlantic Council, (Atlantic Council).

engagement with Eritrea, drawing on the longtime work of Africa Center Director of Programs and Studies and Deputy Director Bronwyn Bruton, were validated when the UN Security Council lifted sanctions in December that had isolated the country

**AMBASSADOR JENDAYI E. FRAZER,** BOARD DIRECTOR, ATLANTIC COUNCIL; US ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS (2005 TO 2009); US AMBASSADOR TO SOUTH AFRICA (2004 TO 2005); SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND SENIOR DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (2001 TO 2004)

"WITH THE CONTINENT EXPECTED TO ACCOUNT FOR OVER ONE QUARTER OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION BY 2050, AFRICA'S STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS WILL ONLY CONTINUE TO RISE. THROUGH ITS AFRICA CENTER, THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL IS IN AN EXCELLENT POSITION TO ELEVATE THE DEBATE ON KEY ISSUES AFFECTING AFRICA AND PROVIDE SOUND ANALYSIS AS WE PREPARE FOR THE FUTURE, A FUTURE THAT IS UNEQUIVOCALLY AFRICAN."





Supporters of Felix Tshisekedi, leader of the Congolese main opposition party, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) who was announced as the winner of the presidential elections, celebrate outside the party's headquarters in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo, January 10, 2019. REUTERS/Baz Ratner.

for almost a decade. Bruton's analysis was regularly featured in top tier media outlets including the BBC, NPR, AP, *Foreign Policy, Bloomberg,* the *New Yorker* and the *New York Times* throughout the year.

To keep up with all of these developments, the center convened numerous senior-level officials from the United States, Africa, and Europe. In March, we welcomed H.E. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, president of the Republic of Ghana, back to the Atlantic Council for a luncheon with senior US government officials and business leaders, having previously hosted him in 2015 when he was leader of the opposition. During another exceptionally busy United Nations General Assembly week in September, the Africa Center convened a half-day conference with colleagues in

the Global Energy Center on the future of Africa's energy sector, featuring Ivorian Vice President H.E. Daniel Kablan Duncan, Africa50 CEO Alain Ebobissé, and industry leaders from around the globe.

To the surprise of many, African nations rose to become the unexpected defenders of free trade amidst growing anti-trade rhetoric in 2018, with almost all fifty-four countries signing onto the new African Continental Free Trade Agreement. The center remained a leading voice on these economic shifts. thanks to the yeoman's work of Senior Fellows Aubrey Hruby, Aleksandra Gadzala, and Abdoul Salam Bello, the latter of whom published a new book, La régionalisation en Afrique. Essai sur un processus d'intégration et de développement. As the continent scurries to find solutions

to new challenges emanating from disruptive technologies, Senior Fellow Gadzala published a cutting-edge trifecta of publications on the implications of financial technologies, 3D printing, and artificial intelligence for Africa's economies. In November, Hruby published a policy brief on the new US International **Development Finance Institution** (USDFC) just days after the United States Senate joined the House of Representatives in passing the Better Utilization of Investment Leading to Development (BUILD) Act, which paved the way for the creation of the new \$60 billion development agency. The brief's recommendations provide a practical outline for the policy makers tasked with constructing the new USDFC. 🏶

In his first international trip outside of Africa, President Félix Tshisekedi Tshilombo outlines his hopes to establish a strategic partnership with the United States at the Atlantic Council.



**REVITALIZING THE GLOBAL SYSTEM** 

## REVITALIZING THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

#### THE CHALLENGE

For seven decades, the United States and its allies have led an international order that advanced freedom, prosperity, and security for hundreds of millions of people at home and around the world. But today, this order is under siege from both within and without. The future of the global system centered around democratic values, free and open economies, alliances, and the rule of law—has never been so uncertain.

Rising uncertainty about the global system stems from three key areas. The first is the increasingly bold efforts by autocratic powers notably Russia and China—to challenge the fundamental tenets of the order. Second, uncertain American leadership and popular backlash against globalization is straining US alliances and creating doubts about America's global role. Third, the rise of new technologies and the increasing diffusion of global power is transforming the geopolitical landscape. As their relative shares of the global economy grow, China and India in particular, will have a determinative influence on the future of the international order.

### THE SOLUTION

The global system is beginning to unravel, and the trend lines are worrisome. Leaders must figure out how to preserve the fundamental attributes of the rules-based order while taking deliberate steps to revitalize, adapt, and defend it.

The Atlantic Council advocates for a three-tiered approach that entails (i) revitalizing the order by deepening cooperation among US allies and partners to advocate for shared values and implement common strategies; (ii) adapting the order by revamping and updating financial and development institutions to give greater voice and stake to rising powers, and developing new rules and norms for emerging technologies; and (iii) defending the order against autocratic challengers, while seeking convergence around shared norms.

The United States must reaffirm the concept of a rules-based order as a strategic umbrella for advancing national security interests and must rebuild bipartisan support among policy makers and the broader public in favor of this framework. At the same time, a secure and prosperous international order depends on the peaceful rise of China and the inclusion of a responsible Russia in the community of nations, and the United States and its allies must pursue new approaches to inclusively engage rising global powers.

The United States has built a historically unprecedented network of alliances and partnerships through attraction and inspiration rather than coercion and intimidation. American power and influence derive in part from the principles for which the United States stands and the norms it helps to advance. These same values serve as a force multiplier for US global influence. Accordingly, the

### "THE COUNCIL'S WORK AIMS TO ENSURE THAT A US-LED COMMUNITY OF VALUES ENDURES WITH THE CAPABILITY AND THE WILL TO MANAGE TODAY'S GREATEST CHALLENGES."

Council's work aims to ensure that a US-led community of values endures with the capability and the will to manage today's greatest challenges.

### **OUR WORK**

Across its centers and programs, the Atlantic Council has established a solid foundation to advance and defend key elements of a rules-based order. The Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security serves as a leading source of expertise for developing strategies to address emerging global challenges. Through its newly-launched Democratic Order Initiative, the Atlantic Council has established a bipartisan task force, led by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, former National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley, former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, and former Japanese Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi, that has begun to develop a new "Declaration of Principles" for advancing a rulesbased order. In addition, the Council has established an ongoing platform for dialogue among top strategy officials and experts from the United States and its leading allies— the D-10 Strategy Forum-to discuss strategies for growing and defending the democratic order.

The Council's Future Europe Initiative is engaging key interlocuters to ensure a strong transatlantic and European partnership, while other regional centers are working to advance a new era of partnerships among political, business, and opinion leaders across India, Brazil, Argentina, South Africa, and other rising democracies. The Eurasia Center and Digital Forensic Research Lab are focused on efforts to counter Russian-sponsored disinformation campaigns and meddling in elections, while defending against unwanted aggression. More broadly, the Global Business & Economics Program is engaging business leaders, economists, and global experts to foster a more open, fair, and transparent global trading system.

#### **ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES**

Implemented successfully, this effort to revitalize the global system will provide policy makers in the United States and around the world with a strategic roadmap, backed by an orchestrated public engagement campaign, to formulate and enact the policies which will advance a rules-based democratic order. Achieving the following outcomes will be an indicator of our success:

- Clear expressions of support for a revitalized global order by US officials, Congress, and key allies;
- Renewed public support for the fundamental principles of a revitalized order; and
- Concrete policy actions taken by US officials, Congress, and key allies to implement the recommendations identified through this initiative that ultimately lead to an adapted rules-based order. (#)

### Atlantic Council GLOBAL CITIZEN AWARDS



# CONVENINGS

ATLANTIC COUNCIL
## **Atiantic Council**

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#ACaward

**72** Distinguished Leadership Awards

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74

Global Citizen Awards

**76** Global Energy Forum

**78** NATO Engages

**PHOTO:** Prime Minister of Norway Erna Solberg addressing the Global Citizen Awards dinner crowd.

## DISTINGUISHED LEADERSHIP AWARDS

The Distinguished Leadership Awards is among the most important gatherings of global decision-makers in Washington each year, bringing together an elite audience of 800 guests from more than fifty countries. Each year, the Atlantic Council recognizes exemplary leaders who represent the highest levels of achievement across the primary pillars of the transatlantic relationship.

Former President George W. Bush praised the Atlantic Council's important and "good works," contending that "the only way for peace [is] through partnership

BELOW, LEFT: President Bush addresses the audience during his acceptance remarks.

BELOW, RIGHT: Actress and Broadway singer Ana Villafañe performs in honor of Gloria Estefan with a special nod to Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz. and engagement" at the Atlantic Council's Distinguished Leadership Awards dinner in Washington on May 10, 2018. General Curtis M. Scaparrotti's remarks also reiterated the importance of global engagement, especially transatlantic engagement, to the United States and the world, noting that he and those he has worked with have "benefitted tremendously from the Council's expert analysis and thinking on complex issues." Howard Schultz and Gloria Estefan both spoke of their hope for the future, inspired by people bridging divides to solve pressing challenges. #







Left to Right: Honorees gather for an intimate reception prior to the dinner, including General Curtis M. Scaparrotti, Gloria Estefan, Former President George W. Bush, and Howard Schultz. DISTINGUISHED INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP AWARD

## PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

DISTINGUISHED MILITARY LEADERSHIP AWARD

GENERAL CURTIS M. SCAPARROTTI

Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Commander, US European Command

DISTINGUISHED BUSINESS LEADERSHIP AWARD

## HOWARD SCHULTZ

Executive Chairman, Starbucks Corporation

DISTINGUISHED ARTISTIC LEADERSHIP AWARD

GLORIA ESTEFAN

Grammy Award-Winning Singer

# **GLOBAL CITIZEN AWARDS**

The Global Citizen Awards dinner, held annually during the United Nations General Assembly week in New York, convenes a high-level international audience of current and former heads of state, members of the US administration, foreign dignitaries, global business leaders, and world-renowned artists.

The ceremony celebrates remarkable leaders who represent just the sort of principled, visionary leadership the dinner was created to inspire. Over 500 guests from some fifty countries gathered at Cipriani Wall Street, a New York landmark, on September 24, 2018. There they saluted Argentine President Mauricio Macri, Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg, entrepreneur and humanitarian Hamdi Ulukaya, and late Senator John S. McCain. @



HIS EXCELLENCY MAURICIO MACRI

President of the Argentine Republic

## HER EXCELLENCY ERNA SOLBERG

Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Norway

## HAMDI ULUKAYA

Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Chobani and Founder, The Tent Partnership for Refugees

THE HON. JOHN S. MCCAIN (1936 - 2018)

Posthumous Award Accepted by Mrs. Cindy McCain

Left to Right: Dr. Klaus Schwab, Founder and Executive Chairman, World Economic Forum; H.E. Erna Solberg, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Norway; Executive Vice Chair of the Atlantic Council Ms. Adrienne Arsht; H.E. Mauricio Macri, President of the Argentine Republic; Mrs. Cindy McCain; Founder, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Chobani and Founder of the Tent Partnership for Refugees Hamdi Ulukaya; Atlantic Council Executive Chairman Emeritus Gen. James L. Jones, USMC (Ret.); Global Citizen Awards Chairman and First Eastern Investment Group Chairman and CEO Victor L.L. Chu; and Frederick Kempe, President and CEO of the Atlantic Council.



ATLANTIC COUNCIL







**TOP:** Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg addresses the audience during her acceptance remarks.

**BOTTOM, RIGHT:** Musician Kate Davis performs a moving rendition of Louis Armstrong's "What a Wonderful World" in honor of the late Senator John S. McCain.

**BOTTOM, LEFT:** Hamdi Ulukaya speaks about his remarkable personal journey from a small village in Turkey to becoming the Founder, Chairman, and CEO of Chobani - exemplifying the dream of all migrants and refugees - the hope of a better future.

# **GLOBAL ENERGY FORUM**

The Atlantic Council Global Energy Forum in Abu Dhabi annually convenes the world's top energy and foreign policy decisionmakers to set the global energy agenda for the year ahead and examine the longer-term geopolitical and geoeconomic implications of the changing energy system.

The forum, which was part of Abu Dhabi Sustainability Week, was held under the patronage of His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of

BELOW, LEFT: Hadley Gamble, Reporter and Anchor at CNBC speaking at the third annual Global Energy.

BELOW, RIGHT: (Left to right) H.E. Mohammed Al-Rumhy, Minister of Oil and Gas, Sultanate of Oman, H.E. Suhail Al Mazrouei, Minister of Energy and Industry, United Arab Emirates, and H.E. Dr. Sultan Al Jaber, Minister of State, United Arab Emirates and Chief Executive Officer, Abu Dhabi National Oil Company at the third annual Global Energy Forum. Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the United Arab Emirates Armed Forces, and in partnership with the UAE Ministry of Energy and Industry, ADNOC, and Mubadala.

The forum has become the go-to energy conference for government officials and policy makers, business leaders, and investors to discuss the geopolitical and market issues confronting the energy industry in the coming year, develop new partnerships, and demonstrate thought leadership on the energy, security, and economic trends shaping our world. The 2019 forum was held with a specific focus on the future of oil, the digitalization of energy, diversification within energy companies and countries, and had a regional emphasis on East and Southeast Asia. #









**TOP:** Musabbeh Al Kaabi, Chief Executive Officer, Petroleum and Petrochemicals at Mubadala Investment Company speaking at the third annual Global Energy Forum with Claudio Descalzi, Chief Executive Officer of Eni on his left, and Frederick Kempe, President and CEO of the Atlantic Council on his right.

ABOVE, LEFT: Helima Croft, Managing Director and Global Head of Commodity Strategy, Global Research at RBC Capital Markets speaking at the third annual Global Energy Forum.

**ABOVE, RIGHT:** (*L* to *R*) The Hon. Frank Fannon, Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Energy Resources at the US Department of State and Amb. Paula Dobriansky, Senior Fellow, Future of Diplomacy Project, JFK Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School of Government speaking at the third annual Global Energy Forum.

## **NATO ENGAGES**

On July 11-12, 2018, heads of state and government, military leaders, and senior officials gathered in Brussels for the 2018 NATO Summit, hosted at the Alliance's new headquarters.

The Atlantic Council, in partnership with NATO, the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), Women in International Security Brussels (WIIS), and the Munich Security Conference (MSC) hosted the official public-facing outreach event on the sidelines of the official Summit. 'NATO Engages: The Brussels Summit Dialogue' complemented the main Summit's themes in a specially built venue within the security parameters of NATO's new home and took on a role of outsized importance.

At a time of uncertainty surrounding NATO's future, the Atlantic Council doubled down on its founding mission of supporting,



analyzing, and promoting public understanding of history's most effective and enduring alliance. Using a range of unique and engaging formats, this high-profile event engaged a diverse array of experts and leaders, including next generation voices and women from around the world. in an open debate about current and future security threats and NATO's role in addressing them. Among the eighty-three speakers we convened, our event became the public platform for heads of state and government officials to issue their support for NATO, provide read outs from the closed-door summit meetings, and engage in candid discussions around the issues that challenge the future of the Alliance.

The format and agenda broke new ground. Our stage 'in the round' created an open forum enabling dialogue and debate to flourish between world leaders, dignitaries, experts, NATO's leaders and participants. NATO's Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, opened the first day's session. Deputy Secretary General Rose Gottemoeller gave a read out of the Summit on the second day. Leaders such as Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada; Prime Minister Zaev of

Icelandic Prime Minister Katrín Jakobsdóttir addresses NATO Engages, July 2018.



the Former Yugoslav Republic of North Macedonia; Presidents Poroshenko and Margvelashvili of Ukraine and Georgia; Senators Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) and Thom Tillis (R-NC), and many others used the stage to address issues of importance to the transatlantic partnership. As well as on-stage debates, plenary sessions, and networking receptions, participants joined smaller breakout sessions. These featured scenario-based discussions and included interactive demonstrations on digital forensics, disinformation, and inclusive security. All 1,200 accredited journalists had access to the event, and the #NATOEngages hashtag was used 16,000 times on

ABOVE: NATO Engages main studio, July 2018.

**RIGHT:** Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau delivers an address to NATO Engages, July 2018.

social media, garnering 153 million impressions. The twoday long dialogue underscored key Atlantic Council strengths. Firstly, it convened leaders at the highest levels around the most pressing challenges. Secondly, we worked alongside partners in this case the Munich Security Conference, the German Marshall Fund, and Women in International Security—to magnify our potential for impact.



# L'OT en dial Conversations

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**PHOTO:** NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg delivers his speech at NATO Engages, July 2018. Credit: Carmen Romero/Twitter

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This list represents cash support received January 1, 2018 - December 31, 2018.

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## FINANCIAL SUMMARY

## Combined Statement of Activities and Change in Net Assets For the Year Ended December 31, 2018\*

(\$000s)		restricted	Temporarily tricted Restricted		FY 2018		FY 2017		Change	
REVENUE										
Individual Contributions	\$	1,273	\$	2,859	\$	4,132	\$	14,408		
Corporate Support		3,675		10,348		14,023		12,434		
Foundations		103		3,630		3,733		5,209		
Grants and Contracts		61		6,615		6,676		5,332		
In-kind Contributed Services and Materials		550		-		550		695		
Events and Other Revenue		9		-		9		(1)		
Investment Return Designated for Operations		188		537		726		1,469		
Net Assets Released from Restrictions		23,773		(23,773)		-		-		
TOTAL REVENUE	\$	29,631	\$	216	\$	29,848	\$	39,546	-24.5%	

## **OPERATING EXPENSES**

OTAL PROGRAM/CENTER EXPENSES	\$ 24,151	\$ -	\$ 24,151	\$ 24,611
South Asia Center	1,143	-	1,143	1,150
Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security	5,911	-	5,911	6,230
Middle East Programs	1,873	-	1,873	2,738
Millennium Leadership Program	729	-	729	582
Global Energy Center	3,470	-	3,470	4,323
Global Business & Economics Program	638	-	638	690
Future Europe Initiative	1,981	-	1,981	2,515
Eurasia Center	2,125	-	2,125	1,564
Digital Forensic Research Lab	 1,981	-	1,981	1,030
Africa Center	1,264	-	1,264	1,145
Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience	907	-	907	774
Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center	\$ 2,128	\$ -	\$ 2,128	\$ 1,902

#### SUPPORTING SERVICES

Management and General	\$ 2,777	\$ -	\$ 2,777	\$ 2,375	
Fundraising	2,711	-	2,711	2,576	
Total Supporting Service Expenses	5,487	-	5,487	4,951	
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES	\$ 29,639	\$ -	\$ 29,639	\$ 29,562	0.3%
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS BEFORE	\$ (7)	\$ 216	\$ 209	\$ 9,985	
NON-OPERATING ACTIVITIES					

## **NON-OPERATING ACTIVITIES**

Investment Income	\$ (29)	\$ (991)	\$ (1,020)	\$ 3,015
Investment Return Utilized for Operations	(188)	(537)	(726)	(1,469)
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	(225)	(1.312)	(1.537)	 11.530
	(110)	(1,012)	(1,557)	11,000
	(220)	(1,012)	(1,557)	11,000
Net Assets at Beginning of Year	3,814	34,145	37,959	26,429

\*2018 data is preliminary and unaudited; 2017 is audited

## Combined Statement of Financial Position As of December 31, 2018\*

(\$000s)	FY 2018	FY 2017		
ASSETS				
Cash and Cash Equivalents	\$ 5,347	\$	2,923	
Contributions and Grants Receivable	15,478		18,359	
Prepaid Expenses and Other	604		521	
Fixed Assets (Net)	4,277		4,729	
Investments	17,355		19,039	
TOTAL ASSETS	\$ 43,061	\$	45,570	

## LIABILITIES

TOTAL LIABILITIES	\$ 6,639	\$ 7,611
Other Long Term Liabilities	149	149
Deferred Rent	5,202	5,367
Capital Lease Obligation	91	141
Deferred Revenue	34	59
Accrued Vacation	380	538
Accounts Payable	\$ 783	\$ 1,358

## **NET ASSETS**

Without donor restrictions	\$ 3,590	\$ 3,814
With donor restrictions	32,833	34,145
TOTAL NET ASSETS	\$ 36,422	\$ 37,959
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	\$ 43,061	\$ 45,570

\*2018 data is preliminary and unaudited; 2017 is audited

## DIVERSITY OF SUPPORT -FY 2018 REVENUE



## LONG-TERM GROWTH AND SUSTAINABILITY





 RIGHT: Atlantic Council Vice Chair Adrienne Arsht cuts the ribbon to launch the Adrienne Arsht Center for Resilience Bookshelf at the Atlantic Council in November 2018.
BELOW, LEFT: Atlantic Council staff Summer Social at Nationals Park in July 2018, Washington, DC.
BOTTOM: Atlantic Council team photo at NATO Engages, July 11-12, 2018, Brussels, Belgium.









# CREDITS & ATTRIBUTIONS

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**TOP:** Damon Wilson at the Atlantic Council's 360/OS event in June 2018, Berlin, Germany.

**CENTER:** Atlantic Council staff photo at the Global Citizen Awards in New York City, New York, September, 2018.

**BOTTOM:** Carl Bildt, Madeleine Albright, and Frederick Kempe at the Atlantic Council's 2018 Freedom Awards in Berlin, Germany.



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