

Shaping the Global Future Together



On the cover: Demonstrators wave their smartphones during a rally in Hong Kong, China, June 26, 2019. REUTERS/THOMAS PETER

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Ceremony marking the thirtieth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall at Bernauer Strasse in Berlin, Germany, November 9, 2019. REUTERS/FABRIZIO BENSC

INTRODUCTION



JOHN F.W. ROGERS
CHAIRMAN
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“The Atlantic Council was built for this historic moment”

It might seem counter-intuitive to look backward in this Atlantic Council Annual Report for 2019 when the world is hurtling forward at warp speed.

Yet it is only by understanding the ingredients involved in our past year’s performance (see pages 54–55)—preceded by a dozen years of growth and innovation (see pages 52–53)—that one can understand why the Atlantic Council has so successfully negotiated the historic disruptions of 2020.

The pages that follow, the Atlantic Council’s Annual Report for 2019, capture what may have been the most successful year in the Atlantic Council’s six-decade existence. That’s certainly true by any financial measure, and that is also underscored in this report’s review

We together seek to understand and manage the impact of these times on our community of values and common interests.



G-7 Working Session on the Global Economy, Foreign Policy, and Security Affairs in Biarritz. ANDREW HARNIK/POOL VIA REUTERS

of the substantive work of our thirteen programs and centers.

It is that sound foundation that has allowed the Atlantic Council to so effectively navigate the triple shock of 2020: the worst pandemic in a century, the sharpest economic downturn since the Great Depression, and the most significant anti-racism upheavals in more than fifty years.

The demand for our published work and convening platform has never been greater from our partners all around the world, as we together seek to understand and manage the impact of these times on our community of values and common interests.

After fewer than four months of working remotely, our website had more than double the number of page views daily than it had in the previous year. Through mid-June, we had staged more than 275 virtual events, some two-thirds of which were public, with more than 600,000 individuals tuned in across all the many digital platforms we employ.

That exponential growth in our global reach through digital innovation will make us even more effective and relevant when we return to our offices later this year.

Above all, we are benefiting from three strengths that were in place before the coronavirus struck: a compelling mission and purpose, a committed global community of stakeholders and donors, and a diverse, dynamic, and results-oriented team.

Let's take them in order.

SHAPING THE GLOBAL FUTURE TOGETHER

First, the short version of our mission statement, "shaping the global future together," is only five words long, but those words express a world of meaning.

"Shaping" speaks to the results-oriented nature of how we operate. We aspire not just to admire and analyze challenges, but to inspire, seek, and implement solutions wherever possible.

The words that follow, "the global future," embrace our worldwide outlook and forward-focus.

Yet no word among the five is more powerful to us than "together." It expresses our intentionally collaborative way of working alongside partners and allies.

We act with the conviction that none of our most significant international challenges can be addressed in national or institutional silos. Common cause has seldom been so vital.

We entered this period with a fundamental belief that the stakes we faced as an Atlantic Council global community were of historic dimensions. Even before COVID-19, we confronted an inflection point in history as significant as those

How we navigate the period ahead will have generational consequences.



following the first and second world wars. As was the case during those periods, how we navigate the period ahead will have generational consequences.

I've recently reread two books of history that provide some perspective—worst-case and best-case—on what's at stake as we confront this defining moment.

One is Margaret MacMillan's *Paris 1919*, which the late Richard Holbrooke in the book's forward called "a study of flawed decisions with terrible consequences, many of which haunt us to this day."

President Woodrow Wilson pronounced that the victory in World War I would "make the world safe for democracy." The writer H.G. Wells called it "the war to end wars." Instead, that aspirational world unraveled into one of nationalism and fascism, protectionism and global depression, and then World War II and the Holocaust.

"Visions in Motion" art installation at Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, Germany. REUTERS/FABRIZIO BENSCH

The leaders of that day failed to seize their historic opportunity for a host of reasons, including US isolationism and political polarization, European disunity and seething animosities, and a failure by all to foresee the consequences of their actions.

The second book, Dean Acheson's *Present at the Creation*, is the memoir of President Harry S. Truman's secretary of state (and one of the Atlantic Council's founders). Chastened by the post-World War I experience and galvanized by the Soviet Communist threat, the United States and its allies rose to the challenge after World War II.

Acheson called the task of creating a new world after the wars in Europe and Asia ended in 1945 "as just a bit less formidable than that described in the first chapter of Genesis. That was to create a world out of chaos, ours, to create half a world, a free half, out of the same material without blowing the whole to pieces in the process. The wonder of it is how much was done."

Our challenge now is no less formidable.

Rather than creating a world out of post-war chaos, as Acheson put it, the task now is to reinvent the world for the 21st century while heading off the myriad threats of disarray that are emerging all around us. The mission is to find novel ways to preserve and improve upon the best of what we have achieved together in the past seventy-five years, knowing that the consequences of failure could be even more horrific than World War II given the war-fighting technologies of our times.

Though the decades since that war have been punctuated with setbacks, the overall trajectory was one of democratic gain and the expansion and protection of individual rights, prosperity, and rules-based institutions.

The United States and the Soviet Union, though both nuclear-armed, avoided major-power war. The Berlin Wall's fall and Soviet collapse ended that era peacefully.

The Atlantic Council's most recent strategic review—involving both staff and board members—laid out six major challenges that are at the center of our work for this new epoch.

They include:

- Managing a new era of major-power competition.
- Strengthening open market democracies.
- Redefining and reinvigorating the US role in the world.
- Reinvigorating our rules-based global order.
- Harnessing emerging technologies for good.
- Advancing global resilience through climate-change mitigation and adaptation, and by addressing migratory and public-health challenges.

If the United States rises to this moment, alongside its partners and allies, we can navigate this period successfully, build upon the progress of the past seven decades, and enter one of humanity's most enlightened and prosperous times.

Conversely, history has taught us what a heavy price we will pay should we fail in our efforts.

THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL COMMUNITY

Second, the Atlantic Council has benefited from a committed community of supporters and partners.

That community includes loyal and generous donors (see honor role on pages 50–51), an engaged Board of Directors and International Advisory Board (pages 48–49), and a worldwide group of stakeholders—inside and outside of government—who contribute to our work and benefit from it.

We have found that our most significant partners see themselves as investors in our mission. They embrace our adherence to intellectual independence and transparency regarding our donors.

In 2020, for the sixth year running, the Atlantic Council was recognized with a four-star Charity Navigator rating, recognizing our commitment to industry best practices regarding both our financial health and our accountability and transparency.

It is support from this committed community that has empowered the innovations that have shaped the Atlantic Council over the past dozen years (see pages 56–57).

The decisions of board members and International Advisory Board members to name centers and fellows have helped unlock the value of the Atlantic Council. Most prominent and enduring among these members have been Adrienne Arsht, Boyden Gray, Bahaa Hariri, and Brent Scowcroft.

The Atlantic Council has also enjoyed four significant chapters of board leadership in the past dozen years, serving to reorient the institution and then remake it as a global leader in its field while consistently refreshing the board.

These leaders have included Ambassador Henry Catto (1999–2007), General (ret.) James L Jones (2007–2009; 2017–2018), Senator (later Secretary of Defense) Chuck Hagel (2009–2013), Gen (ret.) Brent Scowcroft (long the organization's driving force, 1998–1999; 2013–4), and Jon M. Huntsman, Jr.

THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL'S RESULTS-ORIENTED CULTURE

Third, and perhaps most crucially, the Atlantic Council over the last decade has transformed its culture into that of a faster-paced, innovative, and results-oriented organization. Its teams have become part of the daily policy mix, responding to world-shaping events at the speed with which they unfold even while engaging in the deeper strategic thinking and work required by our times.

To nurture that culture, the Atlantic Council has welded a more dynamic



The mission is to find novel ways to preserve and improve upon the best of what we have achieved together.

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg shakes hands with US President Donald Trump at the NATO leaders summit.
REUTERS/YVES HERMAN

operating rhythm onto the foresight and analytical capabilities of our expert staff and board. The approach recognizes that while policy makers must often make their most significant decisions in the heat of events, those decisions turn out best when they are informed by strategic purpose and consistency.

The Atlantic Council recruits its staff with the intentional aim of forging a diverse, dynamic team of collegial, collaborative, optimistic, results-oriented, nonpartisan, and entrepreneurial individuals. They are armed with deep content-area expertise.

The legendary management consultant Peter Drucker famously wrote that “culture eats strategy for breakfast.” We would extend that to all other meals of the day. Developing the right strategy achieves little without the right culture to deliver on it.

The work of building and sustaining our culture is continuous, as we learned again this year when we took additional measures to make the Atlantic Council even more diverse after the tragic killing of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, and the events that followed.

The steps we took included the introduction and design of a fully paid internship program so that it will be far more diverse, inclusive, and competitive. The program will serve as a career accelerator for the next generation of international policy leaders.

Among many other measures, we also added anti-bias training to our respectful-workplace workshops and launched a Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Council to ensure our efforts and policies are best-in-class. Our substantive programming will also be expanded to look at the crucial domestic underpinnings of effective US foreign policy.

We like to quote the anthropologist Margaret Mead when people ask whether the Atlantic Council is setting the bar too high for itself.

“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world,” she said. “Indeed, it’s the only thing that ever has.”

No organization of our kind has ever achieved great results by aiming too low. ●

Our Programs

THEMATIC PROGRAMS

The Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security • Adrienne Arsht-Rockefeller Foundation Resilience Center • The Digital Forensic Research Lab • Global Business & Economics Program • Global Energy Center • Millennium Leadership Program

REGIONAL PROGRAMS

Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center • Africa Center • Eurasia Center • The Future Europe Initiative • Rafik Hariri Center & Middle East Programs • South Asia Center • Atlantic Council IN TURKEY



Soldiers hold NATO and Enhanced Forward Presence (eFP) battle group country flags in Rukla military base, Lithuania, February 4, 2019. REUTERS/INTS KALNINS

The Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security

A military vehicle carrying a WZ-8 supersonic reconnaissance drone travels past Tiananmen Square during military parade in Beijing, China October 1, 2019. REUTERS/JASON LEE



The Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security develops 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 four major practice areas: the Foresight, Strategy, and Risks Initiative; the Transatlantic Security Initiative; the Asia Security Initiative; and the Cyber Statecraft Initiative. In 2020, it will add three new programs: the Global Strategy Initiative, the New American Engagement Initiative, and *Forward Defense*.

In 2019, the Scowcroft Center distinguished itself as a go-to forum for serious strategy work and solidified its role as one of the most impactful nonpartisan centers working on national security. Due in large part to the Scowcroft Center's work, the Atlantic Council was ranked the eighth top think tank in the world for defense and national security by the University of Pennsylvania's Go to Think Tank Index.

The center notched important accomplishments in its three most important

priority issue areas in 2019: the return of great-power competition; revitalizing the rules-based international system, and harnessing rapid technological change.

In the area of great power competition, the center's Strategy Consortium zeroed in on China while Scowcroft Center experts contributed directly to a number of US national strategy efforts behind the scenes. The Strategy Consortium is unique in that it regularly includes senior government officials responsible for strategy and directly informs their strategy development efforts. In early 2019, the center published a Strategic Insights Memo (SIM) on the China 5G threat to Europe that was briefed to senior US and European officials and helped to put the issue on the map globally. Additionally, the Scowcroft Center's report, *Permanent Deterrence*, had a significant impact on the US military presence in Poland. The center's annual "NATO Engages" event was once again a huge success and was temporarily the number one trending item on Twitter.

To revitalize the rules-based system, the Scowcroft Center published two major *Atlantic Council Strategy Papers*. *Global Risks 2035* analyzed the major trends shaping the future of global politics and *Present at the Re-Creation* provided a comprehensive strategy for

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the United States and its allies to revitalize, adapt, and defend a rules-based international system. Both strategy papers were briefed to senior policy planners in the United States and Europe. A Scowcroft Center event on alliance burden-sharing in Berlin helped to shape German policy and the Strategic Insights Memo, “How to Break the Korea-Japan Impasse,” informed US government policy for managing relationships with its key Asian allies.

The Scowcroft Center helped the United States and its allies harness technological change. It played an instrumental role in incubating and launching the new Atlantic Council Geotech Center and published an *Atlantic Council Strategy Paper* that articulated a national security strategy for artificial intelligence. The center also briefed its work on new technology and cybersecurity to both the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence and the Cyber Solarium Commission.

Core strategy for 2020

In 2020, the Scowcroft Center will continue to target its priority issue areas with a special focus on great-power competition with China, revitalizing the rules-based system, and leveraging emerging technology with defense and national security applications.



NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg speaks at the NATO Engages event in London.

To that end, the Scowcroft Center will formally launch a new *Forward* Defense practice area which will be a full-scope US and global defense policy effort covering defense foresight, defense strategy and policy, novel operational concepts, emerging defense technology, and the defense industry.

To ramp up its strategy work, the Scowcroft Center will also establish two new strategy efforts. The Global Strategy Initiative will focus on core Scowcroft Center strategy efforts. The New American Engagement Initiative will advance creative and unorthodox approaches to US grand strategy. These new efforts are designed to help steer US decision makers toward creative solutions for the United States to navigate one of the most disruptive and transformative moments in history.

Programmatic lines of effort

Against a fundamentally changed global landscape, the *Foresight, Strategy, and Risks Initiative* advances the Atlantic Council’s mission to support renewed, constructive, and resourceful US leadership. Its competencies in long-range 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* brings 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, including how to manage the rise of China. Through high-profile public convenings, off-the-record strategy sessions, war-gaming, digital engagement, and content-rich publications, the initiative directly advances the council’s core mission of informing the transatlantic security debate.

The *Asia Security Initiative’s* (ASI) central mission is to enhance cooperation between the United States and its allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific



in order to develop a community of like-minded nations that are committed to adapting, defending, and revitalizing the rules-based international system. A key piece of this mission rests on providing cutting-edge analysis and actionable policy recommendations for the United States and its allies and partners as they seek coordinated responses to the rise of China in a new era of great power competition. At the same time, ASI continues to address broader issues shaping the region’s strategic environment, including traditional security issues as well as emerging challenges in non-traditional areas.

The focus of the *Cyber Statecraft Initiative* (CSI) is 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. ●

Dr. Choo-suk Suh, Vice Minister, ROK Ministry of Defense speaks with the 2018–2019 Atlantic Council-Korea Foundation Journalist Fellowship delegation trip to Seoul.

In 2020, the Scowcroft Center will formally launch a new full scope US and global defense policy program and two new strategy programs.

Adrienne Arsht-Rockefeller Foundation Resilience Center



Residents gather to fill empty containers with water from a municipal tanker in Chennai, India, June 25, 2019. REUTERS/P. RAVIKUMAR

The Adrienne Arsht-Rockefeller Foundation Resilience Center will reach one billion people with resilience solutions to climate change, migration, and human security challenges by 2030. We focus our efforts on people and communities to help them better prepare for, navigate, and recover from shocks and stresses. We will help build a more resilient world.

The Adrienne Arsht-Rockefeller Foundation Resilience Center will reach one billion people with resilience solutions to climate change, migration, and human security challenges by 2030. The center will help build a more resilient world by focusing its efforts on people and communities to help them better prepare for, navigate, and recover from shocks and stresses.

Description of center work for 2019

The Resilience Center will reach this goal by deploying a range of evidence-based and innovative approaches, including policy frameworks, scalable community interventions, finance and risk tools, and technology and communications, including the performing arts. Leveraging the council's intellectual strength, global reach, and nearly sixty years of measurable global public policy impact, the Adrienne Arsht-Rockefeller Foundation Resilience Center will transform ideas into action.

“When the Center makes a person more resilient, it has provided a new and durable knowledge set.”

The center's metric for resilience is “additionality.” When the center makes people more resilient, it has provided a new and durable knowledge set, skill, or layer of protection (either seen or unseen) over a person or group of people, that person or group are considered resilient.

In May, the Resilience Center, led by Kathy Baughman McLeod, announced its first community partner as Miami-Dade County, with which the center will partner on resilience solutions for at least three million residents of the county, with the potential to be scaled throughout South Florida.

In July, the Resilience Center established relationships with five additional cities: Athens, Chennai, Melbourne, Mexico City, and Paris. Building on the resilience strategies these cities developed through 100 Resilient Cities, a program of the Rockefeller Foundation, the center identified extreme heat as a key challenge and began building partnerships to craft interventions cities could implement to reduce their vulnerability to this climate and public health threat.

The Resilience Center continued its focus on extreme urban heat later in the year by co-hosting a convening with the Rockefeller Foundation at its Bellagio

Center centered on this deadly global hazard. Extreme heat is creating an unprecedented public health emergency and profound economic disruptions. In response, more than thirty leading experts from city government, climate finance, disaster preparedness, risk and insurance, health, and science gathered to design a finance and risk facility for protecting people and communities from extreme heat. The aim of the facility is to prepare cities for extreme heat events, as well as cool and increase livability for future high temperatures.

At the Atlantic Council's annual Global Citizen Awards dinner held in New York City, Adrienne Arsht, Atlantic Council executive vice chair, announced Anna Deavere-Smith as the Council's first-ever "Artist-in-Residence", sitting within the Resilience Center. An actress, playwright, teacher, and author, she will lead a project called *Stories of Human Resilience*, in which she will conduct interviews to capture people's journeys to becoming resilient. She will then perform these stories through her interpretation.

Preview of center intentions for 2020

Given that 2019 was the second-hottest year on record, the center will carry on its initiative to prepare cities for extreme heat. By building on an established evidence base, it will seek to help cities finance and scale interventions and catalyze resilience policy approaches.

In 2020 the Resilience Center will launch an urban horticulture program with Chennai, India, a resilience solution that could potentially reach up to three million people in the city, most of whom live in slums and settlements. This effort will reduce heat exposure among at-risk populations, promote healthier youth through better nutrition, increase economic independence and prosperity among women, build greater social cohesion, and enhance overall community resilience.

Through a partnership with the Weather and Climate Risks Group

at ETH Zurich, the Resilience Center will expand and adapt the existing "Economics of Climate Adaptation" (ECA) methodology that will allow governments and institutions to more rapidly identify cost-effective climate adaptation measures, and as a first of its kind, will consider gender, biodiversity, and social vulnerabilities. Once developed, the center and its partners will begin applying the Rapid Economics of Climate Adaptation (RECA) tool to assess projects such as infrastructure investments for coastal

2019 was the second-hottest year on record.



Migrants, mainly from Central America and marching in a caravan, on the outskirts of Ciudad Hidalgo, Chiapas, Mexico. REUTERS/ANDRES MARTINEZ CASARES

protection, and policy interventions for disaster risk reduction.

As a centerpiece of its strategy to tackle migration challenges, the Resilience Center will partner with the International Federation for Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) to scale and add capacity and tools to Humanitarian Service Points (HSP)—safe, neutral centers that provide a welcoming environment for vulnerable migrants and displaced communities. HSPs will facilitate access to essential services (such as aid, food, water, shelter, and psycho-social support). In tandem, mobile relief hubs connected to the HSPs will allow for continuity of services as migrants move through their journeys. With an initial concentration on the Venezuelan crisis, the Resilience Center will work with local Red Cross and community

volunteers helping migrants in Colombia and elsewhere in the Americas.

The center will launch the *Climate & Migration Dialogue Series*, which will promote a positive narrative around migration, refugees, and other displaced populations as valuable contributors to society. These discussions will feature top experts via virtual and in-person events and podcasts, sharing new research and firsthand accounts of migrant experiences. It will also explore cutting-edge initiatives to combat xenophobia and improve perceptions around migration and build greater social inclusion for refugee and host communities.

To build the increasingly necessary skills to become more resilient in the face of climate change and extreme events, the center is partnering with cities and communities around the world to deploy Community Resilience Pods. The first mobile prototype, a transformed 40-foot shipping container donated by MSC (Mediterranean Shipping Company) Foundation, to be deployed in Miami-Dade County in 2020, was designed in collaboration with world-renowned architects and local artists. These mobile assets will educate on personal, location-specific risks and empower people and communities to prepare for and confront climate, migration, and public health crises by sharing tools, guidance, and actions to be taken at the individual and community levels. ●

The Digital Forensic Research Lab

Building transparency and accountability online and around the world to promote free and open societies.

The Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab—whose work resides at the unique intersection between government, media, and technology—aims to establish accountability and transparency online as a means to secure democracy and restore trust in public discourse.

DFRLab is spread across five continents, and its work is rooted among three pillars:

- To **promote objective fact as a foundation of government for and by people**, to protect democratic institutions and norms from those who would undermine them online, and to identify, expose, and explain disinformation when and where it occurs.
- To **create a new model of expertise** adapted for impact and real-world results.
- To **forge digital resilience** at a time when humans are more interconnected than at any point in history.

In 2019, the DFRLab expanded its network of digital forensic analysts working to explain information environments—both open and closed—around the world. The stark reality remains that disinformation, the spread of false news with intent to mislead or manipulate, has a catalytic effect and makes other global challenges more difficult to solve.

While each case of disinformation that DFRLab examined was distinct, one insight was universal: the global competition for information has gone viral, and the outcome of this competition, both at home and abroad, remains unclear. The same technologies that have democratized access to information have also enabled malicious actors to undermine democratic values and processes.

Open-source research and reporting

One of the key cornerstones of the DFRLab's work is open-source research. Using only sources that are publicly accessible, the lab does not assume its own credibility but instead continuously proves it, delivering work that is transparent, verified, and replicable. At a time when global trust in institutions and platforms is receding, this approach is crucial. As open-source research becomes more widely utilized, DFRLab



Sir Julian King, European Commissioner for the Security Union at 360 Open Source Summit, The Roundhouse, Camden Town, London, June 2019.
ATLANTIC COUNCIL

stands at the forefront of this trend, raising—and sometimes setting—industry standards through rigorous innovation.

The DFRLab publishes real-time analysis on events as they occur, as well as more in-depth investigations into elections, conflict zones, democratic protests, violent extremism, global news stories, and hyper-local events. In June, the DFRLab published an investigation

into a suspected Russian-based information operation, dubbed “Secondary Infektion 2.0,” which demonstrated an evolution of foreign influence operations. Later in the year, the DFRLab partnered with Facebook to provide independent analysis exposing the first widespread use of profile photos generated through artificial intelligence.

Building a community of #DigitalSherlocks

Disinformation does not exist in just one newsroom, on just one platform, or within our neatly defined national borders. It is a collective challenge, and it requires a cooperative, people-based solution. DFRLab has built a community designed to grow, organize, and create standards for #DigitalSherlocks around the world.

In 2019, the DFRLab conducted more than sixty trainings in thirty countries, teaching more than 1,500 people how to use open-source tools to combat disinformation. These sessions gave trainees hands-on experience and actionable skills via table games, simulations, and project-based activities.

Connecting with leading voices

In an effort to translate research and grassroots efforts into actual policy change, the DFRLab brought together more than 650 leading voices representing civil society, tech, media, academia, and governments for two major events in 2019: the 360/OS Open Source summit in London and StratCom in Washington, DC. These convenings facilitated collaboration across sectors and advanced policy frameworks in the spirit of moving from talk to action.

Vision for 2020

In 2020, the DFRLab will build on its body of research and reporting; expand training and capacity building; and identify policy solutions with partners in order to look beyond disinformation and build a more resilient society for the years ahead. ●

Global Business & Economics Program

Transforming for a New Era in the Global Economy.

There is an urgent need to restore confidence in US global economic leadership and the open, rules-based system it has championed for seventy-five years. To rejuvenate the post-war economic order, and rebuild trust in capitalism, the United States and its allies must understand and adapt to the changing global economy. Therefore, the program is pivoting to relaunch as the GeoEconomics Center in 2020 to establish itself as the go-to place at the intersection of economics, finance, and foreign policy.



Chinese Vice Premier Liu He welcomes US Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin in Shanghai, China, July 31, 2019. NG HAN GUAN/POOL VIA REUTERS

The GeoEconomics Center will build on the work of the Global Business & Economics Program (GBE). In 2019, GBE expanded its sanctions and trade portfolio, and added a group of senior fellows to deepen the program's intellectual capital.

Expanding the sanctions initiative's policy input and reach: GBE took its sanctions work beyond the Beltway to key markets including New York, London, and Brussels. The Economic Sanctions Initiative serves as a bridge between the current US administration, the US Congress, and European allies on questions of sanctions policy. Under Ambassador Dan Fried's leadership, the initiative has built a constructive relationship with both the executive and legislative branches.

Shaping facts-based trade dialogue: GBE broadened its transatlantic trade focus and put a greater emphasis on China, the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), Latin America, and the future of the World Trade Organization (WTO). High-level public and private events with speakers such as EU Trade Commissioner Cecilia Malmstrom, a deep bench of first-rate experts, a steady stream

of publications, and having a presence at trade conferences and corporate summits, allowed GBE to elevate its trade coverage in 2019.

Building a gender balanced roster of fellows: In 2019, GBE added a number of younger, highly qualified female fellows to improve the age and gender balance of the program's roster.

Strategy for 2020: History accelerates after a crisis. This will be the reality of the post COVID-19 world.

The GeoEconomics Center will be a collaborative and innovative part of the Atlantic Council and, through partnerships, will leverage the existing top-level Council workstreams on energy, climate policy, national security, and technology. The center will organize around three pillars central to the future of the global economy and US economic leadership: the future of capitalism, the future of money, and the way forward on economic statecraft. These pillars are critical to ensure that free markets and international economic cooperation will remain the best architecture to enable human potential.

Within these pillars, a project on inclusive growth will examine the economic fractures which existed before COVID-19, including the rise of wealth, income, and intergenerational inequality within advanced economies. Our work will assess the consequences of climate change, low productivity growth, excessive inequality, and automation on

“This is the time for Geoeconomics. The United States can once again energize the world with creative and collaborative economic leadership.”

countries' social infrastructure. The project will highlight how empowering women and minorities can be an economic game-changer in all types of economies, and the policies needed to realize these gains—from health care to taxes to streamlined regulations. Through research and events, the GeoEconomics Center will develop a blueprint for reform of the Bretton Woods institutions and the WTO, with a particular focus on grappling with China's future role and its competitor model.

The 2020s will be the decade in which the concept of money is redefined. Therefore, the team will develop content and programming around the future of the Euro, the rise of digital currencies, and the US dollar's uncertain destiny as the world's reserve currency. Among other issues, the center will explore whether the EU monetary union will become a fiscal union, inform policy on the development of central bank digital currencies (CBDCs), and highlight the impact of massive federal reserve liquidity on the global economy.

Finally, the GeoEconomics Center will strengthen the Council's ongoing work on sanctions while broadening the aperture to consider the range of tools, including tariffs, that US policy makers can deploy. The Economic Statecraft Initiative will look at the future of the transatlantic trading partnership, outline how US and EU regulatory policies can better align to unleash both partners' full economic potential, and examine the increase of illicit financial flows across the world and how strategic competitors and adversaries to the United States are developing sophisticated systems to avoid detection.

This is the time for Geoeconomics. The United States can once again energize the world with creative and collaborative economic leadership. But it will be impossible without adaptation, and without a substantive understanding of how economics, finance, geopolitics, and diplomacy interact every day on the world stage. ●

Global Energy Center

Promoting energy security alongside partners to devise pragmatic solutions to the challenges of the energy.

The Global Energy Center (GEC) 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 landscape.

The GEC has quickly developed into an important resource for governments, industry, and civil society to understand and navigate the energy transition. The center focuses on three core themes: energy security, geopolitics, and markets; understanding and managing the energy transition; and climate and advanced energy.

2019 also saw the unveiling of the GEC's European energy security project, which evaluated opportunities for strengthening transatlantic energy security via events in Washington, DC; Brussels; and Berlin, and with a series of issue briefs on the future of US-European Union cooperation.

The Atlantic Council Task Force on US Nuclear Energy Leadership, co-chaired by Senators Mike Crapo (R-ID) and Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), launched its report, *US Nuclear Energy Leadership: Innovation and the Strategic Global Challenge*. The GEC also wrote two subsequent nuclear policy issue briefs, one of which was cited in a bipartisan letter signed by 20 senators arguing that support for US nuclear power should be included in the NDAA.

As part of the center's spotlight on the role of oil and gas companies in the energy transition, the center hosted workshops in New York, Abu Dhabi, Singapore, and Houston with stakeholders from the finance, hydrocarbon production, and oil and gas trading industries, as well as a conference in Washington, DC, in collaboration with the International Energy Agency.

GEC's Climate and Advanced Energy Program remained a driving force for the center's work in 2019. Events in Washington, DC, a congressional staff delegation to South Carolina to explore the future of clean transport, and reports covering forest restoration financing, blockchain, and international grid integration strategies, all propelled this important program into



policy makers' line of sight. The center also launched the Veterans Advanced Energy Project (VAEP), anchored by the inaugural Veterans Advanced Energy Summit, which convened nearly two hundred people to discuss trends in clean energy and to hear from policy makers, including Representative Sean Casten (D-IL) and former Senator Kelly Ayotte (R-NH).

Finally, in partnership with the RBC Foundation, the center announced the inaugural class of its Women Leaders in Energy Fellowship, a one-year program for women energy and climate policy leaders under the age of thirty-five to receive unique mentorship opportunities and professional development training.

In 2020, the GEC will build on its expertise in energy security, the oil market, and the geopolitics of the energy

Smoke is seen following a fire at Aramco facility in the eastern city of Abqaiq, Saudi Arabia, September 14, 2019. REUTERS/STRINGER

transition, while continuing to amplify its analysis on climate, advanced energy, and civil nuclear issues. The center will also expand its research on sustainable aviation fuels; critical minerals; and carbon capture, utilization, and storage (CCUS); as well as the global impact of the 2020 US election on energy policy. ●

The GEC has quickly developed into an important resource for governments, industry, and civil society to understand and navigate the energy transition.

Millennium Leadership Program

Enabling innovative ideas, transformational leadership, and global impact.

In 2019, the Millennium Leadership Program (MLP) celebrated its fifth cohort of Millennium Fellows. Chosen from over 1,200 applications and 100 countries, this year's class was our strongest yet. All thirty-five years old or younger, these young leaders inspire hope for a bright future.

From the public sector, they included the senior advisor on parliamentary affairs to the prime minister of North Macedonia instrumental in forging political consensus for his country's



2018 Millennium Fellow Zafar Hashemi from Afghanistan delivers talk at the 2018 NATO Engages Summit in Washington, DC.

landmark deal to change its name; a Ukrainian member of parliament driving sustainable energy development in her country as the chairperson of this committee in Parliament; the senior advisor for international economic affairs at the National Security Council supporting the US-China trade negotiations; and the chief financial officer and deputy treasurer for the state of Illinois overseeing its \$300 billion banking operation and \$31 billion investment portfolio. The program also included Fortune 500 executives such as Allianz' chief economist; award-winning entrepreneurs solving food security, mobility, and healthcare challenges in developing nations; and groundbreaking media figures such as the first female football commentator in the Arab world, among many others across civil society, academia, business, the arts, and science.

In May, MLP took the class to Colombia to explore the country's historic peace process, the promise of the "Orange Economy," and the crisis in Venezuela. Under the theme of "Leading Change," they met with current Colombian President Iván Duque and former president Alvaro Uribe among many other senior officials and business leaders in



2019 Millennium Fellows in Guatapé on Fellow Expedition focused on Leading Change in Colombia.

Bogotá and Medellín. They also spent time in rural Colombia, sharing meals and stories with grassroots activists and former combatants from different sides of the conflict, as well as Venezuelan leaders in exile. This extraordinary experience was the product of exemplary cross-program collaboration within the Atlantic Council between MLP and the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center.

Fellows figured prominently both across and beyond council work, including serving as featured speakers at our largest events such as the 2019 NATO Engages conference in Washington, DC; and launching new programs and projects within the council such as the Veterans Advanced Energy Summit in Chicago, Illinois. Beyond the council, fellows were engaged in impact projects supported by the MLP community, such as the Azadi Project—moved by their 2018 study tour to the frontlines of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey and Greece, fellows founded the Azadi Project, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that trains young female refugees and connects them to employment opportunities. Through two workshops in 2019, they trained women from Niger, Palestine, Iran, and Afghanistan, and are now entering their second year of operations.

MLP also deepened its expertise and capabilities in the domain of leadership development with a second

successful year of executive education programming, the addition of a full-time community manager to more fully integrate fellows across the council, the addition of next-generation firepower to our programs and centers, and the introduction of a new leadership curriculum that includes individualized executive coaching and practical training on key frameworks and concepts supplemented with distance and virtual learning to complement in-person gatherings. MLP's fellowship has already emerged as one of the most competitive, transformational, and prestigious programs of its kind. These new additions, along with partnerships in the executive search, leadership advisory, and academic worlds, position the program as an emerging center of excellence on leadership within the council. ●

“The MLP is in my mind the most impactful leadership program in the world for international policy makers, business leaders and public intellectuals.”

Dr. Manuel Muñiz, 2016–2017 Millennium Fellow, Secretary of State for Global Spain, Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center



Demonstrators holding Chilean, Argentinian and Colombian flags take part in a protest as a national strike continues in Bogota, Colombia December 4, 2019. REUTERS/LUISA GONZALEZ

Shaping understanding of Latin America's global importance.

The Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center broadens understanding of regional transformations through high-impact work that shapes the conversation among policy makers, the business community,

and civil society. The center focuses on Latin America's strategic role in a global context with a priority on pressing political, economic, and social issues that will define the trajectory of the region.

Description of 2019 work

The year 2019 was one of transformation for Latin America. New governments entered into office in Brazil, Argentina, El Salvador, and Panama. In parallel, tens of thousands of citizens across

the continent took to the streets to advocate for change in Colombia, Chile, and beyond. In a year of transition, the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center doubled down on its mission to work with partners and allies to provide certainty amid uncertainty and to highlight the opportunities Latin America holds for the United States and the world.

With the crisis in Venezuela persisting, the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center accelerated its efforts to support a peaceful transition to democracy. As Juan Guaidó was elected president of the National Assembly, the center hosted him to discuss his plans for the country and convened policy makers from nine countries for a PeaceGame with *Foreign Policy* magazine to align innovative solutions to the crisis.

In Colombia, the center launched phase two of its US-Colombia Task Force, led by Senators Roy Blunt (R-MO) and Ben Cardin (D-MD), the findings of which were presented to President Iván Duque.

Founded by Adrienne Arsht and chaired by HSBC's Gerardo Mato, the center also launched the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center Advisory Council, which includes US and regional public and private-sector leaders, former presidents, artists, governors, and others to harness opportunities for collaboration.

Over twelve months, the center hosted over seventy-five events, garnered over 1,400 media hits, produced ten reports, and provided expertise in briefings and meetings with the US Congress, the US administration, and regional governments.

Preview of 2020 work

In 2020, ahead of key elections in the United States and in the region, the Adrienne Arsht Latin America Centre will look toward solidifying its role in harnessing economic and political opportunities to deepen US-Latin American relations and Latin American relations with other regions of the world.

With the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement's passage complete, the center will analyze opportunities to harness the agreement's potential.

In Central America, the center will advance momentum to help secure the livelihoods of those who face daily violence and remote economic opportunity.

Seizing on economic synergies and progress, the center will provide a renewed vision and innovative recommendations for strengthening US-Brazil trade and investment, in partnership with US and Brazilian policy makers and the private sector.

In Venezuela, the center will build on new ways to work toward a democratic transition by supporting democratic actors and countering disinformation, in partnership with the Digital Forensic Research Lab.

The center will also deepen its support of the US-Colombia partnership—critical as Venezuelan migration flows continue to accelerate—through efforts to strengthen investment and build the infrastructure needed to integrate local markets into the broader economy.

Through it all, China remains a major influence in Latin America. As the Asian giant deepens engagement and investment across the region, the center will closely follow how China may shape opportunities and perspectives in the hemisphere. ●



President of Colombia Iván Duque.

Africa Center

Promoting dynamic geopolitical partnerships with African states.

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.

African communities harnessed the power of social media and public protest to mount important, and overdue, challenges to authoritarian states in 2019. The Republic of the Sudan's popular removal of long-standing ruler Omar al-Bashir in April was a singular and still-fragile achievement. His fall from power has left the country with a power vacuum that can only be repaired by a long and complex sequence of reforms, which will necessitate both the cooperation of Sudan's security forces and the active re-engagement of Western powers. As Sudan's civilian-led transitional government worked to find its footing, the Africa Center—through its Sudan Initiative led by Senior Fellow

Cameron Hudson—provided an inimitable forum for research and analysis. Over the summer, the Africa Center hosted two strategy sessions for policy makers, including one for US Special Envoy for Sudan Ambassador **Donald E. Booth**. The center also provided the venue for Sudanese Prime Minister **Abdalla Hamdok's** public address to Washington in December, which marked the first official visit of a Sudanese head of government in over thirty years.

Another important, and imperfect, transition occurred in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Popular outrage and international pressure prevented authoritarian President **Joseph Kabila** from running for an illicit third term and compelled him to surrender power to **Félix Tshisekedi**. The center hosted Tshisekedi in April, where he outlined his vision for a strategic partnership with the United States. Senior Fellow **Dr. Pierre Englebert** continued to lead the center's Congo on the Edge programming through astute analysis of the elections and cutting-edge research on provincial decentralization efforts. While center Director **Dr. J. Peter Pham** recused himself from the center's work on the Congo, he was very much engaged in this historic transition as the United



Sudanese Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok addresses the Atlantic Council on December 5, 2019.

States special envoy for the Great Lakes Region of Africa.

The appetite for change was not universal, however. The citizens of some of Africa's foremost powers—Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa—voted to return incumbents to office in 2019. Democracies across the continent continued to struggle under the siege of extremist violence. Most worryingly, a soaring number of attacks by Islamist militants forced more than one million people to flee their homes across the Sahel. Over one thousand violent incidents were reported in 2019 alone, underscoring worrisome cracks in the capabilities of G5 Sahel countries and donor nations to respond to the escalating security crisis. Recognizing these challenges, the center welcomed Mali's former Prime Minister **Soumeylou Boubèye Maïga** and former Minister

As Sudan's civilian-led transitional government worked to find its footing, the Africa Center provided an inimitable forum.

of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation **Kamissa Camara** in March.

While 2019 proved to be a milestone year for intra-continental trade, with the much-awaited entry into force of the African Continental Free Trade Area in May, US-Africa trade hit some roadblocks. Notably, US Customs and Border Protection (CBP) issued several withhold release orders on goods produced on the continent on grounds of forced labor. CBP's investigation into reports of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire's cocoa sector triggered a visit to Washington by First Lady **Dominique Ouattara**, who spoke at the council in September. Further engaging with the West Africa region, the Africa Center hosted Guinean President **Alpha Condé** for a strategic discussion on US trade and human rights ahead of much-anticipated elections in 2020.

Looking ahead, center Director of Programs and Studies **Bronwyn Bruton** is tracking the run-up to Ethiopia's upcoming elections and the pace of Nobel Laureate Prime Minister **Abiy Ahmed's** reforms. In June, she moderated a roundtable with **Berhanu Nega**, the head of the newly formed political party Ethiopia Citizens for Social Justice. ●

Eurasia Center

Promoting stability, democratic values, and prosperity across Eurasia.

Core impact/accomplishments for 2019

In 2019, the Eurasia Center was laser-focused on protecting bipartisan support for Ukraine in Washington. Despite a turbulent US political landscape, in December the center hosted a landmark, bipartisan event on Capitol Hill together with nine other think tanks to reaffirm support for Ukraine and its democratic aspirations. The center's work saw real impact when Congress levied sanctions on Nord Stream 2 and an additional \$50 million was authorized in military aid for Ukraine.

To further bolster its network on Capitol Hill, the center convened its second class of the Eurasia Congressional Fellowship Program. The 2019 program brought together sixteen Senate and House staffers who participated in a series of policy briefings as well as a study trip to Kyiv and the Donbas.

The center also helped protect Ukraine's democratic processes as

the country held its most significant elections since the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. In the run-up to Ukraine's presidential elections, the center partnered with local and international organizations to form a Ukrainian Election Task Force designed to monitor and expose election interference. In March, the center hosted its second #DisinfoWeek, a week-long series of events in Athens, Brussels, and Madrid. More than seven hundred people attended, and nearly two thousand tuned in to watch virtually. Participants probed an array of issues including protecting democratic elections, reporting in the age of disinformation, regulating the web,



Eurasia Center 2019 class of congressional fellows visit Ukrainian military personnel in Donbas, eastern Ukraine. ATLANTIC COUNCIL



General David H. Petraeus, US Army Ret. (center) and Ambassador John Herbst, director at the Atlantic Council's Eurasia Center (left), visit Ukrainian soldiers stationed on the line of contact in Avdiivka, Ukraine. ATLANTIC COUNCIL

and identifying bots, trolls, and deep-fakes. In October, the third annual Global Forum on Strategic Communications brought together nearly three hundred participants from academia, tech, government, civil society, and the private sector to strategize on a path forward against disinformation.

The center's *UkraineAlert* blog focused on Ukraine's presidential and parliamentary elections and, for the first time ever scooped the local media and announced five candidates under consideration for prime minister, garnering more than 100,000 hits.

The Eurasia Center also launched several projects with the aim of tracking and highlighting the Kremlin's activities at home and abroad. In February, it published *The Putin Exodus: The New Russian Brain Drain*, which highlights the relationship between Russians living abroad and the Kremlin's repressive policies at home.

The report was widely covered by press in the United States, Europe, and Russia. In September, the Eurasia Center and

Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center collaborated on a report that underscored how Russia's actions in Venezuela undermine US regional interests.

2020 strategy

In 2020, the Eurasia Center will continue to focus on maintaining bipartisan support for a sound Ukraine policy. An important piece of this effort will focus on maintaining pressure on the Kremlin for its war in the Donbas and strengthening Ukraine's position in talks to end the war.

This year will continue to test the durability of Eurasia's democratic institutions on a regional scale. Georgia will hold critical parliamentary elections in October, and Ukraine will hold local but important elections in the fall. The center will work to promote democracy, open societies, and market economies throughout the region, and strengthen the capacity of Eurasian countries to choose their own geopolitical course.

Amid all of this, Russia's actions will remain extremely influential. In response, the center plans to conduct significant studies on developments in Russia and produce a paper on US strategy toward the Kremlin. Other key countries of focus will include Armenia and Uzbekistan. ●

The Future Europe Initiative

Advancing a strong, ambitious Europe and a forward-looking transatlantic partnership.

The Future Europe Initiative (FEI) promotes leadership, strategies, and analysis to ensure a strong, ambitious, and forward-looking transatlantic partnership.

The transatlantic relationship is the United States' greatest asset. Since the Atlantic Council's founding, Europe has been the United States' political, economic, and security partner of first resort. North America and Europe have proven to be the most effective global force when acting together. Together, they laid the foundation for a liberal international order that offers the prospect of widely-shared security, prosperity, and freedom.

Today, this crucial relationship is challenged by both internal and external forces. Transatlantic leaders can no longer take the partnership for granted, nor should they give in to nostalgia or be in denial of the forces affecting it. Europe is in the midst of a historic transition, the outcome

of which is of great strategic importance to the United States. The Atlantic Council's Future Europe Initiative promotes 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 initiative seeks to understand change in Europe, galvanize leadership, and forge a strategy of renewal.

FEI's objective is to provide fresh thinking on the transatlantic relationship at a time of great power competition, rising authoritarianism, and technological and environmental challenges. The initiative seeks to foster engagement among policy makers, economic leaders, and citizens on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as to promote rising leaders and develop common solutions to defend liberal democracies.

Its key pillars of focus include:

- Building a Europe whole, free, and at peace by restoring trust in the European project, confronting backsliding, and integrating the peripheries.
- Developing a common strategy in great power competition to confront Russian aggression and Chinese assertiveness together.

- Restoring transatlantic leadership in the global economy and bolstering the economic foundation of the transatlantic community's international strength by advancing growth, innovation, and competition policies.
- Promoting European efforts at defense integration and coordination.
- Educating US citizens and policy makers on developments in the European Union (EU) and their importance for the transatlantic relationship.
- Building a transatlantic consensus on issues of global consequence, such as energy markets and supplies, international financial flows, climate change, cyber security, and new technologies.
- Recommitting to common values and ideals across the Atlantic and with other partners by fostering an international order characterized by rule of law, democracy, human rights, and free markets.
- Bringing together the next generation of US and European leaders.

The Future Europe Initiative's work is conducted with the strong belief that the resilience and strength of the European Union, alongside the unity of NATO, is a critical national interest of the United States.

In 2019, FEI hosted seventy events in ten countries which convened four presidents, four prime ministers, five foreign

The resilience and strength of the European Union, alongside the unity of NATO, is a critical national interest of the United States.

ministers, three defense ministers, three EU commissioners and nineteen ambassadors. It published five issue briefs and reports, including *The United States and Central Europe: Tasks for a Second Century Together*, which was co-authored by GLOBSEC and selected as one of the best think tank reports of the year by the Global Go To Think Tank Index Report.

In 2020, FEI will amplify its presence in key European countries and will launch an effort to rethink the US-German partnership. The Initiative will also launch a major series on US-EU relations, expand its work on Central Europe, and grow its efforts to address the future of Greece and the Euro-Atlantic future of the Western Balkans. Its work on transatlantic digital policy will become ever more relevant as the EU escalates its ambitions in that space. ●

Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte speaks with the Atlantic Council's Damon Wilson.



Rafik Hariri Center & Middle East Programs

Advancing security and unlocking human potential in the Middle East.

As the region undergoes significant political and socioeconomic change, the council's Middle East programming provides a forum for galvanizing the transatlantic community to work together to address the range of challenges and support opportunities for growth in the region. Through sub-regional, country-specific, and functional initiatives, the council works with allies and partners in Europe and the wider Middle East to protect US interests, build peace and security, and unlock the human potential of the region.

2019 accomplishments

As the Middle East approaches the tenth anniversary of the Arab Spring, several countries across the region are witnessing popular protests demanding an end to corruption and foreign intervention and calling for improved economic opportunities. At the same time, the US withdrawal from Syria and perceived withdrawal from other parts of the region have

reinvigorated a debate on the role of the United States in the Middle East. As China and Russia threaten to fill the international leadership void in the region, the Atlantic Council's Middle East and North Africa team is at the forefront of helping policy makers navigate these complex dynamics.

In response to China and Russia's expanding roles in the Middle East and North Africa, the center convened a full-day conference to release a report on the implications of great power competition in the region.

Additionally, the council's Middle East experts have steered the conversation in Washington regarding the future of US-Iraq relations via its Iraq Initiative and various public and private events featuring the Iraqi foreign minister, the Iraqi speaker of parliament, the Iraqi finance minister, and the Iraqi ambassador to the United States.

In February, on the fortieth anniversary of the Iranian revolution, the Future of Iran Initiative convened a day-long conference to examine the legacy and trajectory of the revolution and its impact on regional and transatlantic relations with Iran. In the lead-up to the conference, the initiative published a series of blogs on related issues on its *IranSource* blog. The program's Iraq and Iran Initiative Directors



An Iraqi demonstrator pastes a note with his wish at a wall of wishes, during ongoing anti-government protests, in Baghdad, Iraq November 25, 2019.
REUTERS/KHALID AL-MOUSIL

Abbas Kadhim and Barbara Slavin also collaborated on a timely issue brief on succession scenarios for senior Shiite leaders in Iraq and Iran.

In June, the Scowcroft Middle East Security Initiative led a delegation of Middle East and Africa think tank experts to explore the rapidly changing geopolitical dynamics surrounding the Red Sea.

In addition to covering the ongoing security challenges across the region, the Rafik Hariri Center is laser-focused on spotlighting economic and human development issues. In April, the center hosted 2015 Nobel Peace Laureate Ouidad

Bouchamaoui to discuss progress and challenges in Tunisia's ongoing democratic transition. In the fall, in collaboration with the United Nations Regional Bureau of Arab States, the center previewed the forthcoming *Arab Human Development Report*.

2020 preview

2020 began with escalating tensions between the United States and Iran, quickly followed by a Russia–Saudi Arabia oil price war, and a global pandemic that hit parts of the region especially hard. All of this will have a major impact on the future of the US role in the region. Faced with an imminent withdrawal of US troops in Iraq and the continued withdrawal of US troops from Northern Syria, Council experts will remain purposeful in their efforts. ●

South Asia Center

Fostering partnerships with institutions and creating a forum for dialogue between decision makers in South Asia.

The South Asia Center is the Atlantic Council's hub for work on greater South Asia and the relations among its countries, neighboring regions, the United States, and Europe.

The center aims to foster partnerships with key institutions in the region to serve as a forum for dialogue between decision makers in South Asia and the United

States. Its core issues of focus include governance, trade and development, international migratory flows, traditional and non-traditional security, climate sustainability, and energy, with the overarching goal to offer critical analyses and practicable recommendations for policy makers.

In 2019, the South Asia Center's body of work underwent a significant transition to reflect the evolving challenges and opportunities of an increasingly multipolar international environment. Regional stakeholders face continued uncertainty regarding the future of the Afghan peace process and role of the NATO coalition, while macroeconomic instability in India and Pakistan has undermined hopes of rapid growth and institutional reform. All of this unfolds as growing sectarian and majoritarian politics in India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka pose emerging challenges to democratic aspirations in the region and competition between the United States and China for influence in the region continues to grow.

Under the new leadership of Dr. Irfan Nooruddin, the center maintains its longstanding portfolios on regional nuclear security and the role of national news media in diplomacy between India and Pakistan, while new projects focused on



Dr. Kurt Campbell, Dr. Ashley Tellis, Admiral (Ret.) John Richardson, and Dr. Alyssa Ayres discuss the Indo-Pacific strategic landscape, December 2019.

the peace process in Afghanistan and the role of South Asia in the global economy.

In October, Ambassador Roya Rahmani joined the center to review the state of Afghanistan's democratic institutions following the country's fourth presidential elections. In September, Ambassador S. Jaishankar, foreign minister of India, spoke on India's evolving approach to international diplomacy and changing strategic partnership with the United States.

In addition to this traditional body of work, the center established an emphasis on regional commerce and trade with the launch of a new US-India Trade Initiative and its landmark report *Trade at a Crossroads: A Vision for the US-India Trade Relationship*.

Issues of macroeconomic stability in Pakistan loomed in 2019 and remain prominent in the New Year. In October, the South Asia and Global Energy Centers co-hosted Governor of the Central Bank of Pakistan Dr. Reza Baqir

Local residents attend a protest against a new citizenship law, in New Delhi, India, December 21, 2019. REUTERS/ANUSHREE FADNAVIS

to discuss the country's relationship with the International Monetary Fund and ongoing macroeconomic reform efforts.

The South Asia Center will continue to adapt its work to developments in the region through 2020, executing a new program strategy to tackle four broad pillars of essential work: 1) regional commerce and trade, 2) international migratory flows and undefined borders, 3) climate and sustainability, and 4) traditional and non-traditional approaches to regional security. The coming months will include an analysis of illicit financial networks in Afghanistan and their impact on the future peace process, a review of the role of national news media in India-Pakistan bilateral diplomacy, and an examination of India's evolving role in the global digital economy. ●

Issues of macroeconomic stability in Pakistan loomed in 2019 and remain prominent in the New Year.



Atlantic Council IN TURKEY

Promoting bilateral dialogue between the United States and Turkey on core issues of energy, economics and business, migration, and security.

The Atlantic Council IN TURKEY aims to shape the relationship between the United States and Turkey by promoting bilateral dialogue through programming designed to underpin the following core issue areas: energy, economics and business, migration and security. The program operates with the overarching goals of ensuring Turkey's place among the leading developed economies and promoting constructive US engagement in the region.

The council has had a presence in Turkey for more than ten years, but in the midst of an increasingly challenging environment, it launched the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY Program two years ago to double down on its commitment to engagement and dialogue with the region.

The nearly seven decades-old US-Turkey alliance currently faces



Turkish Trade Minister Ruhsar Pekcan (R) meets United States Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross (L) in Ankara, Turkey on September 10, 2019. FATIH KURT / ANADOLU AGENCY

dramatic tensions and is buffeted by complex geopolitical and economic forces. Tensions between the United States and Turkey have surfaced in recent years due to a number of disagreements including in Syria over the YPG militia and over the S-400 missile system. Energy is one of the most important sectors for Turkey, with economic and strategic implications stretching beyond Turkey and into the surrounding region.



U.S. Vice President Mike Pence shakes hands with Turkey's Vice President Fuat Oktay as Secretary of State Mike Pompeo looks on after a meeting with Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan at the Presidential Palace in Ankara, Turkey, October 17, 2019. REUTERS/HUSEYIN ALDEMIR

The energy sector also presents an important bilateral commercial opportunity. In February 2019, the council hosted a conference on new regional gas market dynamics under liquefied natural gas (LNG) expansion and the shale gas revolution. The event explored the impact of new gas sources, including US LNG; the expansion of the Southern Gas Corridor; and East Med gas on regional energy security and energy markets.

As Turkey maintained its vital role in addressing and managing the Syrian refugee crisis, migration continued to be a key pillar of the Atlantic Council IN TURKEY's work in 2019. Turkey is now the world's largest refugee hosting nation with almost four million refugees. In April, the program organized a high-level roundtable at the European Parliament in Brussels focused on Turkey's relationship with the European Union, particularly in regard to migration issues.

US-Turkey relations are a cornerstone for transatlantic security and stability along NATO's Southern flank. In 2019, the council hosted a series of high-level roundtables featuring visiting Turkish policy makers in Washington,

DC, culminating in a discussion with Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlut Çavuşoğlu in November. The timely discussion with Minister Çavuşoğlu took place just one day after US President Donald Trump hosted Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at the White House during the aftermath of Turkey's military operation in Northern Syria.

This year, the program will deepen its engagement, outreach, and impact both in Turkey and the United States by launching its blog *TURKEYSource* to provide analysis and insight on Turkey and related developments. *TURKEYSource* will provide coverage from Turkish, regional, and international experts; webinars on timely issues with high-level speakers from both governments and the private sector; and in-depth analysis through reports on Eastern Mediterranean energy resources as well as the economic inclusion of Syrians in Turkey. The program also has increased its international outreach through cooperation with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United Nations Development Programme. ●

Convening

Global Citizen Awards and Distinguished Leadership Programme • Global Energy Forum • International Advisory Board • Board of Directors • 2019 Honor Roll • Financial Summary • About Us



From left to right: Kadri Simson; General James L. Jones, Jr., USMC (Ret.); Amos Hochstein; and Helima Croft discuss energy security and geopolitics at the Atlantic Council's Global Energy Forum in Abu Dhabi.

AWARDS

The Atlantic Council Global Citizen Awards and Distinguished Leadership Awards

Held in September, the **2019 Global Citizen Awards** underscored our mission of “shaping the future together” and convened a high-level audience of some six hundred policy and industry leaders, media practitioners, and civil society activists to shine a light on four exceptional individuals: President of Chile Sebastián Piñera, Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte, Oscar Award-winning producer Brian Grazer, and musician, technologist, and philanthropist will.i.am.

The **2019 Distinguished Leadership Awards** dinner in Washington, DC,

celebrated three individuals who embody leadership at its finest: Adrienne Arsht, Christine Lagarde, and Fred Smith. We were also honored to bestow our Distinguished International Leadership Award to NATO on its seventieth anniversary, the first time the Atlantic Council in its fifty-nine-year history has honored an international organization. ●

Left to Right: Honorees gather for an intimate dinner the night before the gala, including Rose Gottemoeller representing NATO, Frederick Smith, Christine Lagarde, and Adrienne Arsht.



Flags for NATO member countries displayed next to the stage at DLA in honor of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Left to Right: GCA Honorees Brian Grazer and will.i.am are joined by introducer Ron Howard at a reception prior to the awards dinner.





CNBC Anchor Hadley Gamble speaking at the Atlantic Council Global Energy Forum in Abu Dhabi.

The Atlantic Council Global Energy Forum

The Atlantic Council **Global Energy Forum** is the go-to conference on the geopolitics of the energy transformation, where energy and foreign policy leaders come together to set the energy agenda for the year and examine the longer-term geopolitical and geoeconomic implications of the changing energy system.

In January 2020, the Global Energy Center held the fourth-annual Atlantic Council Global Energy Forum in Abu Dhabi, kicking off Abu Dhabi Sustainability Week. 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 and Industry of the United Arab Emirates, Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC), and Mubadala Investment Company, with Emirates Nuclear Energy Corporation and Sharjah-based Crescent Petroleum as platinum co-chairs.

The forum convened global energy leaders at a time of geopolitical uncertainty, focusing on the role of oil and gas in the energy transition; financing the future of energy; interconnections in a new era of geopolitics; and energy dynamics in South and Southeast Asia. More than 750 delegates representing seventy-four countries attended, including more than eighty C-suite executives. ●

NATO Engages

In 2019, the Atlantic Council convened two **NATO Engages** town halls on the sidelines of official NATO meetings. On April 3, around the commemoration of NATO's seventieth anniversary, the Council hosted "NATO Engages: The Alliance at 70" in partnership with NATO, the German Marshall Fund (GMF), and the Munich Security Conference (MSC). Our stage became the public platform for key officials and rising leaders, including US Vice President Mike Pence and NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, to celebrate the alliance's history and success and discuss the challenges facing NATO. The event—which rocked The Anthem, DC's downtown concert venue—utilized creative and interactive formats, such as storytelling, to humanize the alliance and its key moments.

On December 3, alongside the London Leaders Meeting, we convened

"NATO Engages: Innovating the Alliance," at Central Hall Westminster. Working with MSC, GLOBSEC, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), and King's College London, we discussed NATO's future and emerging challenges, such as technology and China. With a stage graced by heads of state, pop stars, and tech gurus alike, the event gathered some six hundred participants, about half of whom were under thirty-five and women. The NATO Engages hashtag reached 57.1 million users worldwide and trended number one in the United Kingdom. ●

At NATO Engages London, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte engage in a conversation with Deborah Haynes, Foreign Affairs Editor of Sky News, about the future of NATO.



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Statement of Activities and Change in Net Assets Year Ended December 31, 2019 (With Comparative Totals for December 31, 2018)

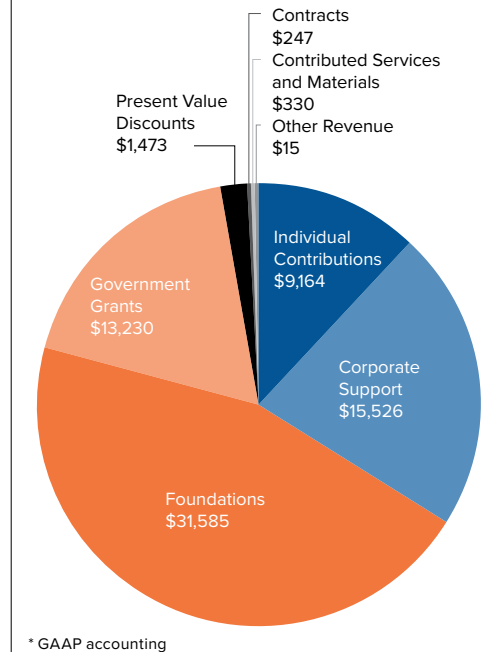
(\$000'S)			2019	2018
	WITHOUT DONOR RESTRICTIONS	WITH DONOR RESTRICTIONS	TOTAL	TOTAL
REVENUE				
Grants and contributions:				
Individual contributions	\$2,556	\$6,607	\$9,164	\$4,164
Corporate support	3,413	12,112	15,526	14,272
Foundations	51	31,534	31,585	4,746
Government grants	65	13,165	13,230	7,000
Present value discounts	(1,473)	-	(1,473)	227
Contracts	247	-	247	-
Contributed services and materials	330	-	330	666
Other revenue	15	-	15	(8)
Net assets released from restrictions	30,372	(30,372)	-	-
Total revenue	35,576	33,047	68,623	31,067
OPERATING EXPENSES				
Program/center services:				
Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center	2,679	-	2,679	2,040
Adrienne Arsht Rockefeller Foundation Resilience Center	3,198	-	3,198	836
Africa Center	983	-	983	1,170
Atlantic Council in Turkey**	493	-	493	-
Digital Forensic Research Lab	3,184	-	3,184	1,951
Eurasia Center	2,214	-	2,214	1,976
Future Europe Initiative	1,818	-	1,818	1,923
Global Energy Center	3,292	-	3,292	3,688
GeoTech Center	549	-	549	-
Global Business and Economics Program	540	-	540	587
Rafik Hariri Center and Mideast Programs	2,147	-	2,147	1,811
Millennium Leadership Program	622	-	622	684
Scowcroft Center for Strategy & Security	4,970	-	4,970	5,511
South Asia Center	956	-	956	1,050
Total program/center expenses	27,644	-	27,644	23,226
Supporting services expense:				
Management and general	5,840	-	5,840	4,573
Fundraising	3,464	-	3,464	2,075
Total supporting service expenses	9,304	-	9,304	6,648
Total operating expenses	36,947	-	36,947	29,873
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS BEFORE NON-OPERATING ACTIVITIES	(1,372)	33,047	31,675	1,194
OTHER ITEMS				
Investment income (loss), net	821	2,280	3,101	(1,048)
Change in net assets	(550)	35,327	34,777	146
Net assets at beginning of year	3,703	34,800	38,503	38,357
NET ASSETS AT END OF YEAR	\$3,153	\$70,127	\$73,279	\$38,503

**The Atlantic Council in Turkey was included in the Global Energy Center in our 2018 audited financial reports. The program is reported separately in 2019 and forward.

Statement of Financial Position December 31, 2019 (With Comparative Totals for December 31, 2018)

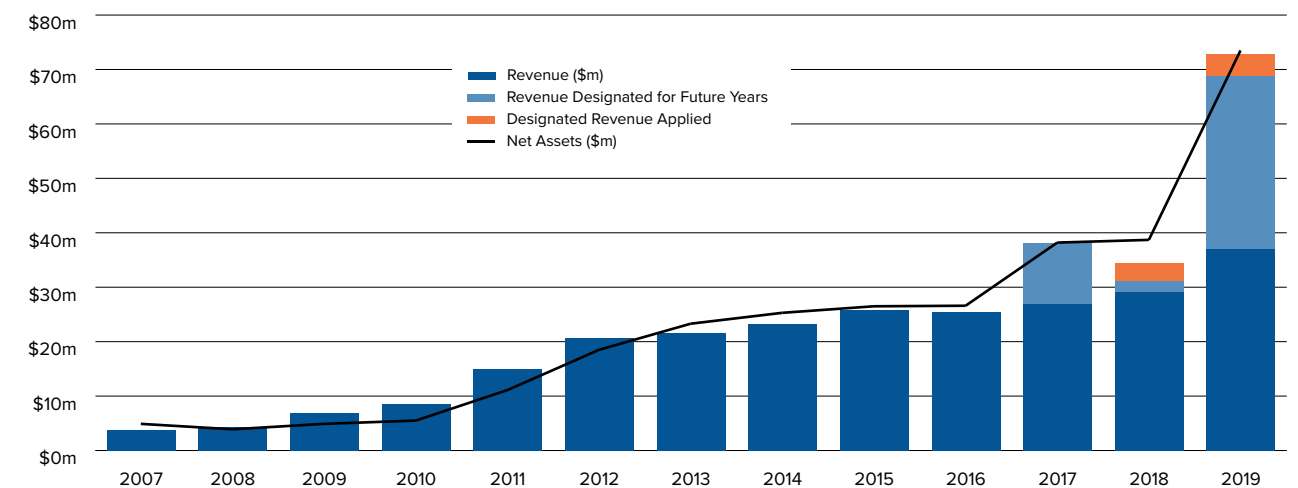
(\$000'S)	2019	2018
ASSETS		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$3,940	\$4,521
Contributions, grants, and other receivable	47,544	17,957
Prepaid expenses and other	589	917
Fixed assets (net)	4,293	4,486
Investments	25,657	17,803
Total assets	\$82,023	\$45,683
LIABILITIES		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	\$2,979	\$1,380
Capital lease obligation	264	326
Refundable advance	115	54
Deferred revenue	180	34
Deferred rent	4,973	5,202
Deferred compensation	232	185
Total liabilities	\$8,744	\$7,181
NET ASSETS		
Without donor restrictions	3,153	3,703
With donor restrictions	70,127	34,800
Total net assets	\$73,279	\$38,503
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS	\$82,023	\$45,683

DIVERSITY OF SUPPORT*



* GAAP accounting

OVER A DECADE OF REVENUE AND NET ASSET GROWTH



Best Financial Year in Atlantic Council History



THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL IS RATED 4 OUT OF 4 STARS BY CHARITY NAVIGATOR



Global Talent

157 intellectual Entrepreneurs from 32 countries

64% under age 35

26% started as interns

Equal gender mix



Community of Influence

61 Number of members of Congress hosted

▲ 29% in non-US officials

▲ 14% in US officials

66% growth in C-Suite attendees

Events:
45% of all events attended by C-suite execs

44% of all events attended by board member

14 Hill testimonies



Richer Content

Blogs:
New Atlanticist and *UkraineAlert* top performers (approx.

700k page views each)
IranSource, *EnergySource* fastest growing

Top Publications:
Global Risks, Russia's Intervention in Venezuela, Saudi Aramco-SABIC Merger, Declaration of Principles



Finance

Best Financial Year To Date
\$40.9m revenue (14% ▲)

\$48m assets (38% ▲)



Media

Audience reach has increased by

28%

Mentions in Tier 1 outlets:

1,400



Digital reach

Website:
42% of traffic from US

58% Global world markets: UK, Ukraine, Canada, India, Germany

Social Media:
US, Russia, UK, Ukraine, Greece

Traditional Media:
US, UK, India, Afghanistan, Turkey



Global Audience

14% increase to **4.7m** views

84% increase in Twitter Video

Peaks:
NATO Engages DC, DLA, GCA, StratCom, NATO Engages London

Top Video:
Venezuela, VP Pence on NATO, Declaration of Principles, Ivanka Trump, Trudeau

Top Webcasts:
Indian FM, Sudanese PM



Global Convening

641 events

65% private

41 events outside US (▲ 256%)

29,000 attendees (▲ 60%)



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#5 Top Defense and National Security think tank

#4 Best Think Tank Conference

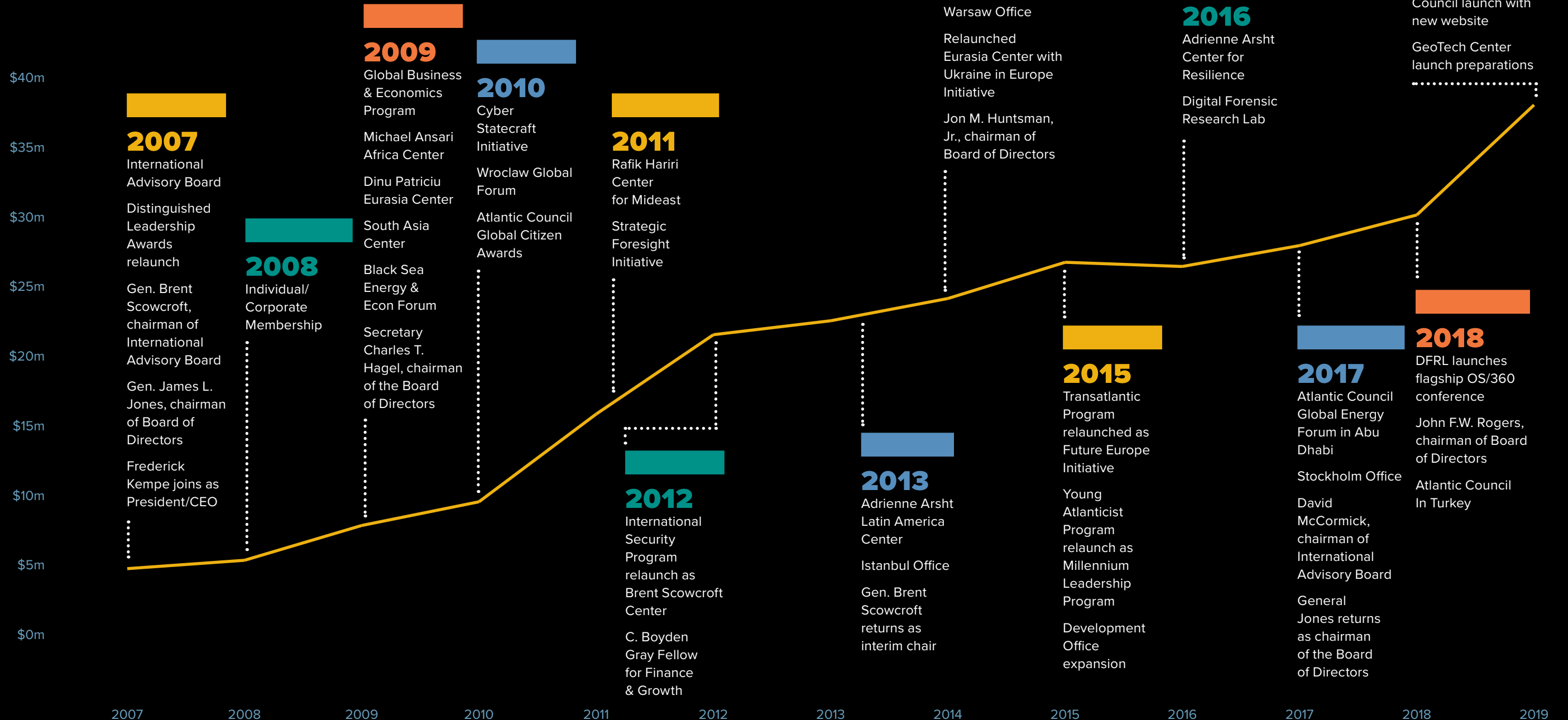
#4 think tank to watch in the US

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