



The National Bureau *of Asian Research*

2021 ANNUAL REPORT



With power, risk, and opportunity concentrating in Asia, we tackle those critical issues that America's leaders need to understand—because the decisions they make matter and the stakes are high.

As the nation's Asia policy think tank, we envision a future that is free, open, secure, and prosperous for all.

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We help decision-makers better understand Asia
and craft concrete, actionable policy.

Letter from the President

OUR WORK AT THIS MOMENT IN TIME—to make sense of the concentrating power, risk, and opportunity in Asia for decision-makers—has never been more essential.

True to our mission, in 2021 we remained focused on delivering original research on the evolving strategic environment in Asia in anticipation of future challenges. With a select global network of experts leading our research agenda, we continue to deliver policy-relevant research that informs decision-making and public policy.

More than two hundred Asia specialists worldwide contributed their expertise to NBR research studies, publications, podcasts, and outreach to policymakers in 2021. At their core are a newly reconstituted Board of Advisors. Our inaugural nonresident fellows bring their expertise to our research teams.

NBR's innovative research makes a difference in areas that are of pressing concern for policymakers in Congress and the administration—the theft of intellectual property, China's vision for a new global order and its strategy for Africa, opportunities and concerns posed by the rise of digital trade, and the challenges of achieving both energy security and environmental sustainability, among many others. Our flagship program—Strategic Asia—released its 20th anniversary volume, which assesses the impact of U.S.-China competition, pushback against globalization, and the Covid-19 pandemic on the Indo-Pacific region. And our longstanding research on China's People's Liberation Army entered a new phase in exclusive partnership with the Indo-Pacific Command (INDOPACOM) and with the first of our PLA Executive Education courses.

Taking our research to decisionmakers to inform policy remains central to our mission. Our research teams regularly brief members and staff on Capitol Hill. Throughout 2021, even as the pandemic limited in-person engagement, we continued to reach out virtually to Congress, cultivating relationships with many members of the House and Senate on both sides of the aisle, providing both hearing testimony and informal policy support to staff. Our interactions with Biden administration officials were extensive in 2021, ranging from small, in-person briefings to virtual staff briefings for the National Security Council staff, State Department, Department of Defense, and intelligence community. Our team also took part in consultations on the new National Security Strategy, and crisis communications between the Department of Defense and Chinese military. Our interactions with INDOPACOM are particularly fulsome. Admiral John Aquilino and Lieutenant General Steve Sklenka were distinguished speakers at the 2021 PLA Conference in Seattle as we explored Chinese perspectives on deterrence under Xi Jinping.

Training the next generation of Asia specialists has always been our second mission, and in 2021 our programming blossomed. We welcomed the inaugural class of two Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship awardees, representing underrepresented communities in Asia policy work. Their fellowships were funded by NBR staff, demonstrating our commitment to making a difference. Also new in 2021 was the Ellings-Korduba Research Fellowship Program, whose two fellows spent a summer in residence at NBR's Seattle office where they joined the inaugural eight-week NBR Summer Seminar: The China Challenge. June also marked the first successful completion of the Gorton Leaders Program since the passing of Senator Slade Gorton. Members of a national advisory council selected five students to be part of the fourth class of the Chinese Language Fellowship Program, who started the year online then moved to study in Taiwan in the fall.

NBR donor societies continue robust programming that highlights our access to senior Asia policy leaders and decision-makers. President's Circle guests included Japan's new Ambassador to the United States Koji Tomita and Chairman's Council members had the privilege of hearing from 64th Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Governor (and three-time ambassador) Jon M. Huntsman Jr., and Foreign Minister Joseph Wu of Taiwan, among other distinguished guests. We were heartened by the praise offered for our work by Secretary Albright:

"I have the highest respect for the National Bureau of Asian Research and the role that it plays in helping American decision-makers craft better policy towards Asia. It is a role that will become even more critical as Asia's influence grows and U.S. engagement in the region expands."

I am often reminded of what a privilege it is to engage with our supporters and expert network in common cause to further our mission—better-informed Asia policy and a well-trained next generation of Asia specialists. And we are grateful to all who make our vital work possible.



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President



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Our research is conducted by a global network of specialists and tackles critical issues identified by stakeholders in anticipation of future challenges.

Understanding China's Emerging Vision and Strategy

CHINA'S STRATEGIC AMBITIONS

UNDER XI JINPING, CHINA HAS BECOME MORE ASSERTIVE on the global stage. NBR research has found that China seeks a world order tailored to its interests and values—a “loose, partial, and malleable” hegemony that is largely exercised over the global South. The African continent is a clear priority for China.

How does China's increasing engagement within Africa reflect China's strategic ambitions? How does China seek to achieve its strategic ambitions in Africa? What are the international implications for China's engagement with the continent?

The project Into Africa: China's Emerging Strategy, led by principal investigator **Nadège Rolland**, Senior Fellow for Political and Security Affairs, has begun answering these questions in the report “A New Great Game? Situating Africa in China's Thinking.”

The State Department's regional China officers for Africa found the report extremely useful in setting a coherent framework for their on-the-ground observations. The project will release two more reports in 2022.



Contrary to Beijing's protestations, and despite the skepticism of many Western observers, China is in fact preparing to export its model to Africa and perhaps to other parts of the developing world as well.

Nadège Rolland
Senior Fellow, NBR

Addressing China's Military Challenge

CHINA'S MILITARY MODERNIZATION

IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY DOMAIN, China's military modernization has shifted the balance of power. The nature of the challenge is multifaceted and complex: U.S. allies and partners are concerned over China's assertiveness and growing military strength, but many also have extensive economic, cultural, and historical links to Beijing.

To better understand the impact of China's improving warfighting, deterrent, and coercive capabilities on regional Asia-Pacific security, this project commissioned a series of briefing papers. As a key deliverable, NBR held a Track 1.5 Dialogue in June, in which government practitioners and academics from eight countries across the Indo-Pacific assessed the regional impacts of China's growing military power and provided recommendations for coherent U.S. responses. The culminating report from the project, led by principal investigator **Bates Gill**, was released in January 2022.



[T]he diplomatic challenge going forward will be responsively balancing the range of security perceptions and expectations among those partners while building on the common concerns they share about Beijing's ambitions.

Bates Gill
Professor of Security Studies,
Macquarie University

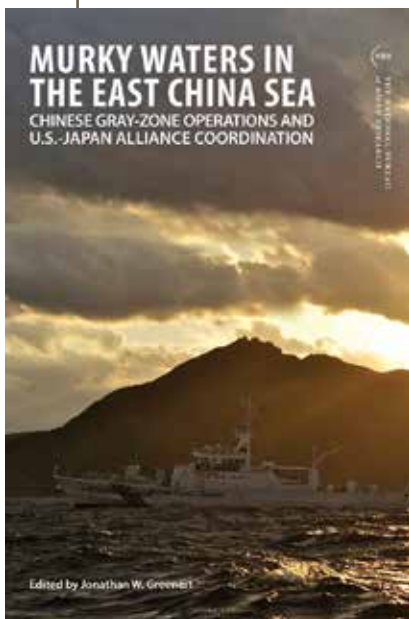
Whatever we do it has to be coherent...we can't just react and go item by item because that gets right back to what the gray-zone operations are all about: keep the other side reacting.

Admiral Jonathan Greenert, USN (ret.)
John M Shalikashvili Chair
in National Security Studies



CHINESE GRAY-ZONE OPERATIONS

TENSIONS IN THE EAST CHINA SEA are often overshadowed by those in the South China Sea, yet they are a potent flashpoint for conflict between China and Japan and pose a unique challenge for the United States, which is treaty-bound to assist Japan in an armed conflict. In May, NBR released a report edited by **Admiral Jonathan Greenert** that sheds light on the nature of China's gray-zone capabilities and activities and the lack of alliance coordination. The report discusses policy options for improving allied responses and mitigating the potential for a larger conflict in the East China Sea.



Admiral Greenert, who served as the thirtieth Chief of Naval Operations in the U.S. Navy from September 2011 to September 2015, is the current holder of the John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies. NBR endowed the John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies to advance the study of national security issues and address critical United States interests in Asia. At NBR, Admiral Greenert employs his impressive experience to inform debates on critical issues in the Asia-Pacific through briefings to congressional, military, and administration officials; meetings with senior-level counterparts in Asia; and research and writing.



The work you...have been doing over the years at NBR on *Strategic Asia* and on the many other publications...is so important to informing the broader discussion and debate around key issues on China and the Indo-Pacific.

Laura Rosenberger

Director for China and Taiwan, National Security Council

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

THE CHINA STRATEGIC FOCUS GROUP, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, joined with NBR to convene the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Conference in December 2021 around the theme "Modernizing Capabilities and Evolving Doctrine: China's Approach to Deterrence." In-person and virtual participants, representing the world's leading specialists from academia, government, the military, and policy think tanks, examined traditional approaches of China to deterrence and assessed how those approaches are shifting across both existing and emerging domains.



NBR'S INAUGURAL PLA EXECUTIVE EDUCATION COURSE covered three days in November 2021. Tailored to meet the needs of military and civilian practitioners and industry leaders, the seminar convened PLA specialists on topics such as technological modernization and recruitment, strategic doctrine, operational concepts, and land- and sea-based contingency scenarios.



Top, left to right: Dennis Blasko (U.S. Army (ret.)), Caitlin Campbell (Congressional Research Service), Cortez A. Cooper III (RAND), David Finkelstein (CNA), Kristen Gunness (RAND). Bottom, left to right: Elsa Kania (Center for a New American Security), Alison Kaufman, (CNA), Oriana Skylar Mastro (Stanford University), Joe McReynolds (SOS International), Andrew Scobell (United States Institute of Peace), and Joel Wuthnow (Georgetown University).

Assessing Asia's Evolving Strategic Environment

THE GEOPOLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE INDO-PACIFIC

FOR TWO DECADES, NBR'S STRATEGIC ASIA PROGRAM has strengthened and informed strategic and policy decisions by providing innovative research on challenges and opportunities for U.S. national interests in the Asia-Pacific region. *Strategic Asia 2021-22:*

Navigating Tumultuous Times in the Indo-Pacific assesses the impact of three major trends on the geopolitical environment of the Indo-Pacific region: intensifying strategic competition between China and the United States, growing pushback against globalization, and the Covid-19 pandemic.



In July 2021, NBR held a virtual discussion on the challenges of navigating the current geopolitical environment for Japan, Australia, India, and Taiwan. Experts discussed how these countries are re-examining core strategic assumptions and reviewing their alliance relationships and their trade, and economic relations with both China and the United States. They are also examining their role in international institutions and regional groupings and agreements.

NBR's vice president of research Alison Szalwinski (left) and executive vice president Michael Wills (right) are the volume co-editors along with Strategic Asia Program research director Ashley J. Tellis.

On balance...many key U.S. bilateral relationships in the Indo-Pacific region have been deepened in the face of the United States' rising competition with China.

Ashley J. Tellis

NBR Counselor; Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs and Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace





[T]he post-pandemic world will have no choice but to contend at last with a problem long in the making: the awful dilemma of global integration without solidarity.

Nicholas Eberstadt

NBR Advisor; Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy,
American Enterprise Institute

THE “NEW NORMAL” ENVIRONMENT IN ASIA

THE WORLD HAS BEEN SHAKEN by the Covid-19 pandemic at a scale that only global war, revolutions, or natural disasters can achieve. To help readers understand the parameters of the “new normal” environment, NBR invited leading experts from the NBR network to contribute to the *New Normal in Asia* essay series.

In his April 2020 inaugural essay, NBR advisor **Nicholas Eberstadt** set the stage for the series with a sweeping look at the tectonic economic shifts underway, the likely enduring centrality of Asia in a post-pandemic world, the impending global reckoning with China, and the imperative for U.S. leadership.

From late 2020 into mid-2021, NBR expanded the series to include the emerging and diverse voices of younger scholars and analysts in both the United States and the Indo-Pacific.

Clockwise from top: Emerging Voices contributors Stephanie Char, Margareth Sembiring, Naima Green-Riley, Frega Wenas Inkiriwang, Shiming Yang, and Bhagya Senaratne



Examining Technological and Economic Issues

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY AND TRADE SECRET THEFT

THE COMMISSION ON THE THEFT OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY brings together expertise from industry, defense, and politics to provide concrete policy recommendations that address the problem of IP theft. The Commission published reports in 2013 and 2017 and additional recommendations in 2018 and 2019.



Section 3402 of the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act (USICA), adopted by the U.S. Senate on June 8, 2021, implements a key IP Commission recommendation. The bipartisan SECRETS Act, introduced in the Senate on June 15, 2021, cites the 2021 IP Commission update released in March 2021 and implements several major IP Commission recommendations. In October, NBR convened a bipartisan informational briefing for congressional staff on U.S.-China intellectual property relations.

In January 2021, original IP Commission co-chairs **Admiral Dennis Blair** and **Governor Jon Huntsman Jr.** authored a letter to Cabinet and White House officials and key members of Congress arguing for the highest standards in protection of intellectual property. At a virtual discussion in March 2021 on “Recent Progress and Persistent Challenges in IP,” Blair and Huntsman were joined by former **Secretary of State Madeleine Albright** and other experts to discuss the most pressing IP issues facing the United States today.

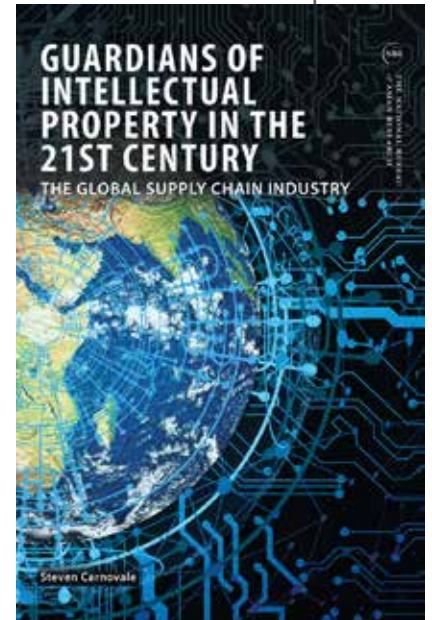
The original [2013 IP Commission] report received, and continues to receive, widespread public attention. Congress adopted several Commission recommendations to provide the executive branch and private industry with unprecedented, powerful tools with which to fight IP theft.

Admiral Dennis C. Blair
IP Commission Co-chair



INDO-PACIFIC TRADE AND SUPPLY CHAINS

INCREASING COMPLEXITY IN MODERN SUPPLY CHAINS has introduced new vulnerabilities for companies' intellectual property. In December 2021, NBR released the report "Guardians of Intellectual Property in the 21st Century: The Global Supply Chain Industry" by **Steven Carnovale**, which explores ways to better protect IP throughout supply chains, with an emphasis on the use of emerging technology. A virtual event in November 2021 explored prospects for strengthening U.S.-Korea cooperation on semiconductor supply chains, including both immediate steps the two countries can take to help mitigate chip shortages and long-term efforts to promote resilient and secure semiconductor supply chains.



INDO-PACIFIC TRADE RELATIONS are undergoing a period of profound change. With the conclusion of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership agreement, Asian countries have assumed greater leadership in shaping the rules of trade. Meanwhile, the U.S.-China trade war, heightened concerns over cross-border flows of sensitive technologies, and supply chain disruptions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic have led many in the region to re-evaluate their trade policies. The Evolving Indo-Pacific Trade Environment project analyzed developments in Indo-Pacific trade, new approaches to address trade challenges in the region, and the policy implications for the United States and like-minded countries. In February 2021, as the Biden administration came into office, NBR held a virtual discussion on the most pressing issues in Indo-Pacific trade relations and the Biden administration's approach toward the region.



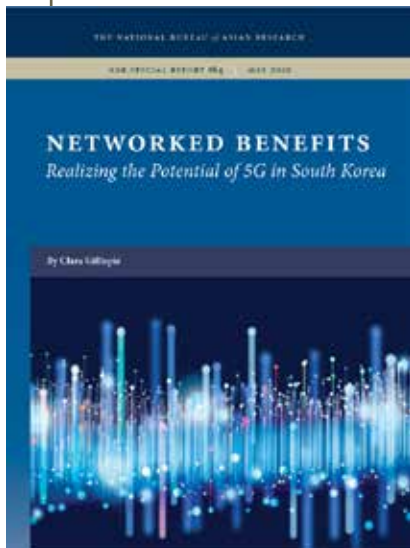
As the development and integration of global value chains accelerates in the [Indo-Pacific] region...countries are hoping for heightened U.S. engagement as a balance to both the gravitational pull of the Chinese market and the centrality of China in these global value chains.

Congressman Charles W. Boustany Jr.
NBR Counselor

SHAPING THE FUTURE OF DATA GOVERNANCE

HOW DATA IS ACCESSED, AGGREGATED, USED, AND SHARED will shape the technologies and economies of the future. The international norms, standards, and agreements shaping the use and monitoring of this data are of vital importance in determining what countries and companies will have an advantage in the innovation critical to economic development and national security. NBR's Digital Balancing Act project brought together experts on topics ranging from data security in 5G networks, to public health data, to the role of digital trade agreements in data governance for an in-depth analysis on the complex and ever-evolving question of global governance.

SOUTH KOREA'S DEPLOYMENT OF 5G NETWORKS and development of smart cities have demonstrated the country's ability to develop and adopt advanced technologies domestically. NBR's project South Korea's 5G Ambitions explored how South Korea might strengthen its work with the United States, the EU, China, Japan, and other major economies in shaping the future of data governance. In March 2021, NBR convened a private roundtable on the role for South Korea and the United States in Asia's quest for smarter cities. In June, the project held a virtual discussion exploring a role for South Korea in the crafting of a new strategy to strengthen and better align regional approaches to data governance in the Indo-Pacific.



Though the United States and South Korea have periodically found themselves at odds with one another in debates about 5G or data governance, they have nonetheless found ways to closely partner on addressing challenges in global technology policy (including on 5G).

Clara Gillispie
NBR Advisor



Navigating Energy Demand, Policy, and Geopolitics

ASIA'S ENERGY SECURITY

THE ENERGY SECURITY PROGRAM convenes senior policy and industry leaders and Asia energy specialists to engage in high-level discussions of Asia's energy policies and their implications for geopolitics. In September 2021, NBR and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars co-hosted the seventeenth annual Energy Security Workshop—"India's Energy Future: Designing and Implementing a Sustainable Power Mix"—a virtual event based out of Washington, D.C. The 2021 Energy Security Program report analyzes the role of the power sector in addressing challenges for India's economic, energy, and environmental security and considers policy options for the country to transition to a more sustainable power mix.

THE 2021 PACIFIC ENERGY SUMMIT focused on the regional alliances and public-private partnerships central to building stronger collaboration and regional energy security between the United States and the Indo-Pacific. The virtual program featured a series of off-the-record conversations involving experts and policymakers from key U.S. partners including Japan, India, Indonesia, and South Korea, as well as private sector representatives who are shaping regional energy transitions.



For seventeen years this program has provided an assessment of major developments in Asian energy markets and geopolitics to assist policymakers in better understanding and addressing the implications for energy and environmental security in the region.

Mikkal Herberg
NBR Advisor;

Senior Lecturer , University of California San Diego

We really value the research that NBR does. These meetings are extremely valuable, and I know that the [Clean EDGE Asia] fellows are producing important work and will go back to their home countries and will share insights that they've learned this year.

Virginia Palmer
Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary
for the Bureau of Energy Resources



ENERGY SECTOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

NBR'S PROJECT ON CLEAN EDGE ASIA encompasses a range of activities—including policy workshops, commissioned research, and year-long fellowship opportunities for rising leaders from the region. This initiative engages high-level stakeholders from government, business, and the research community to craft market-based recommendations for public policy on energy security and access in the Indo-Pacific.

In May, NBR hosted a virtual conference exploring energy integration, sustainable supply chains, the technical challenges of renewable goals, opportunities for market liberalization, and the role public-private partnerships could play in supporting transitions. The 2021 Clean EDGE Asia Workshop featured in-region speakers and expert discussants who explored environmental and energy issues in-depth on a country level and considered recommendations for adopting a collective approach to regional environmental and energy challenges.



Left to right: 2020–21 Clean EDGE Asia fellows Mandira Adhikari, Astha Gupta, Han Phoumin, Mirza Sadaqat Huda, and Huong Le Thu

Addressing Nontraditional Security Challenges

COOPERATION IN DISASTER RESPONSE IN SOUTH ASIA

ASIA IS THE MOST DISASTER-PRONE REGION ON EARTH. As climate patterns continue to change and intensify, there is an urgent need to develop a cohesive regional approach to reduce the scope and scale of future disasters. There are many existing organizations and efforts that aim to mitigate the impact; however many of these initiatives have operated disjointedly. Given that natural disasters affect every aspect of society and do not adhere to national borders, the need for coordinated, multilateral humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations and strategic planning becomes ever more important.

NBR's project to create a framework for cooperation on disaster management in South Asia was made possible through funding from the U.S. Consulate in Chennai. Through a range of activities—including expert interviews, virtual working group sessions, a two-day workshop, and final report—this initiative engaged high-level stakeholders from the policy, public health, energy, technology, and disaster management sectors to improve capacity, coordination, and regional connectivity for disaster management efforts in South Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific.



The United States, like India, provides relief and recovery to disasters not just within its borders but beyond, to nations around the world. I am optimistic that the learnings from this conference will set new standards on Indo-Pacific cooperation in the area of disaster preparedness and response.

Judith Ravin,
U.S. Consul General, Chennai, India

Analyzing Complex Maritime Security Issues

INTERACTIVE MAPPING TECHNOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

THE MARITIME AWARENESS PROJECT combines interactive mapping technology with analysis from leading maritime Asia experts to serve as an authoritative resource on maritime security issues. Over the past two years, the project has expanded to cover maritime issues in Northeast Asia, particularly the East China Sea, the Yellow Sea, and the Sea of Japan. At the same time, the portal remains a resource for information and analyses, including regional perspectives, on a variety of maritime issues, such as the South China Sea disputes.

China has serious and significant outstanding territorial disputes with its neighbors. ... That matters because basic research in international relations and political science shows that states are more likely to fight over territory than anything else.

M. Taylor Fravel

Principal Investigator, Maritime Awareness Project;
Arthur and Ruth Sloan Professor of Political Science
Massachusetts Institute of Technology



We bring world-class scholarship to bear on the evolving strategic environment in Asia through original, policy-relevant research.

Bridging the Gap for Today's Policymakers

POLICY-RELEVANT ACADEMIC RESEARCH

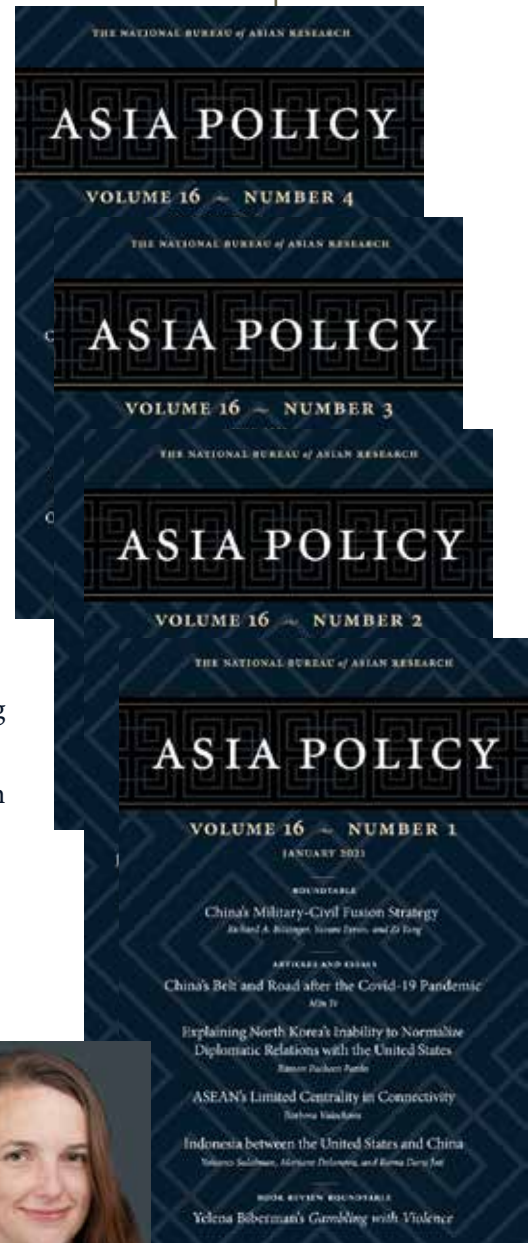
ASIA POLICY IS A PEER-REVIEWED SCHOLARLY JOURNAL presenting policy-relevant academic research on the Asia-Pacific that draws clear and concise conclusions useful to today's policymakers. The journal is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October.

In 2021, the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, and the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University served alongside NBR as *Asia Policy* consortium partners. In the four issues released in 2021, the journal published the work of 73 experts on a range of topics, including:

- the role of trade and investment in advancing sustainable development in Asia
- strategic futures for the Indian Ocean
- Afghanistan's future after the U.S. withdrawal
- Beijing's crackdown on human rights and rule of law in Hong Kong
- Japan's alliance-enhancing security developments
- prospects for U.S.–Southeast Asia relations under the Biden administration
- the 5G race with China
- China's military-civil fusion strategy
- China's Belt and Road after the Covid-19 pandemic



Left to right: *Asia Policy* editors Kristi M. Govella, Mark Frazier, and Deepa Ollapally and managing editor Jessica Keough.



Our experts and research have shaped congressional legislation and administration policies, brought issues to the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda, and attracted worldwide media attention.

We mobilize expertise on Asia for a more effective foreign policy.

Engaging with Policymakers on Capitol Hill

CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS INITIATIVES

NBR'S ORIGINS DATE BACK TO SENATOR HENRY M. "SCOOP" JACKSON, who identified the urgent need for an institution that would tap the best Asia expertise to inform and strengthen policy decisions on issues affecting U.S. interests in the region. Building on Senator Jackson's legacy, NBR engages in a demand-driven approach to reach out to Congress and cultivate relationships on both sides of the aisle. Through sustained interaction in high-trust, nonpartisan settings, NBR is a go-to resource for policymakers needing reliable and useful Asia expertise. NBR interacts with policymakers on Capitol Hill through frequent meetings, partnerships with study groups and caucuses, and substantive briefings, as well as through facilitating congressional testimony by its executive staff and network of experts.

Since its founding in 2005, NBR has led the Academic Advisory Group for the House U.S.-China Working Group, which is co-chaired by Representatives Rick Larsen (D-WA) and Darin LaHood (R-IL). NBR also organizes briefings and policy discussions for the Senate Working Group, co-chaired by Senators Dan Sullivan (R-AK), Steve Daines (R-MT), and Mazie Hirono (D-HI).

NBR regularly hosts congressional briefings on issues of high legislative relevance related to U.S. policy toward Asia. Topics in 2021 included U.S.-China dynamics, the relationship between the United States and its key allies in Northeast Asia, and how the United States can develop domestic and foreign policy to augment its leadership and competitiveness in the booming global digital economy.

In 2021, NBR established a bi-monthly newsletter to share NBR publications as backgrounders for Congressional staff to understand current events. These newsletters provide policy updates and facilitate deeper analysis of issues relevant to the day-to-day work of Congress. NBR also conceptualized and laid the groundwork for a new bipartisan, bicameral, off-the-record dinner series to elevate attention in Congress to the risks and opportunities emanating from the Asia-Pacific. This new initiative, launching in 2022, will deepen NBR engagement with Pacific Northwest stakeholders and provide a venue for NBR experts to inform high-level congressional debate and action.

Joshua Nezam joined NBR in 2021 as Director of Congressional Affairs



Leveraging Today's Media Landscape

INNOVATIVE MEDIA

IN 2021, NBR EXPANDED USE OF NEW MEDIA FOR ENGAGEMENT with a growing global audience. With pandemic restrictions continuing through the year, the number of virtual events NBR held increased by 30% over the 2020. The number of podcasts released by NBR's *Asia Insight* series increased by 33%.

Podcast topics in 2021 included:

- Chinese and Indian vaccine diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific
- implications of North Korea's "new normal" for regional security
- power rivalry in South Asia amid the pandemic
- China's shift to gray-zone operations and implications for the U.S.-Japan alliance

Our online-only commentaries and interviews address a range of topics, including some that are outside of the scope of our current research projects. Topics in 2021 included:

- the politics and strategy of an end-of-war declaration on the Korean Peninsula
- Chinese "wolf warrior" diplomacy
- nuclear negotiations on the Korean Peninsula amid great-power competition
- developments in China's space sector
- biopharmaceutical innovation and supply chain security



In May 2021, NBR board member LTG Charles Hooper (left) moderated a virtual Chairman's Council discussion with Jon Huntsman Jr. (right), former governor of the State of Utah, deputy U.S. trade representative, and ambassador to China, Russia, and Singapore.

We invest in our future by training the next generation of Asia specialists.

Training the Next Generation

NEXT GENERATION FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS

THE CHINESE LANGUAGE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM seeks to train a new generation of scholars with a deep understanding of China's contemporary politics, society, and modern history, as well as fluency in Chinese language. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the CLFP provides fellowships to American graduate students whose work focuses on China policy issues to spend a year taking part in intensive Chinese language training at an institution of the fellow's choice, generally in China or Taiwan. The second class of three fellows completed their fellowships in August 2021. The third class of five fellows began their language studies online in September 2021.

THE ELLINGS-KORDUBA RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM, established in honor of former NBR president **Richard Ellings'** 30 years of leadership, supports both interested professionals and American graduate and undergraduate students whose degrees focus on issues of strategic importance to the United States in Asia. The program awards fellowships, plus a stipend, and enables participants to spend a summer in residence at NBR's Seattle office. The fellows participate in the Summer Seminar organized by Dr. Ellings and with guest speakers from across NBR's network of experts. In 2021, a group of twelve undergraduate, graduate, and professional participants examined prospects for the peaceful integration of China into the international system in a manner acceptable to the United States and other democracies.



Ellings-Korduba Fellows hear from Admiral Jonathan Greenert during the 2021 Summer Seminar.

I loved my fellowship experience.... One of the most influential parts of the Gorton Leaders Program was learning from the legacy of Senator Gorton and those who knew him well.

Brenton Riddle
2021 Gorton Leaders Program Fellow



THE GORTON LEADERS PROGRAM shares lessons from the life and work of Senator Slade Gorton, a long-time NBR counselor, with Seattle-area undergraduate students. This six-month professional development fellowship aims to enhance students' ability to make a significant, positive impact in their fields of study. Each class of GLP fellows takes part in a series of expert speaker discussions, alumni networking, and guided reading centered on issues that Senator Gorton focused on during his work with NBR and leadership lessons from his career in public service. The Gorton Center provided a series of seminars and educational programs for its eighth cohort of students from January through June of 2021, the first class not facilitated by Senator Gorton since his passing in August 2020. Guided by a newly established advisory committee, the GLP continues to grow its distinguished alumni network of over 100 fellows.



Senator Slade Gorton

THE UNDERGRADUATE DIVERSITY FELLOWSHIP aims to extend educational, professional, and mentorship opportunities to underrepresented Black and brown students interested in pursuing a career in the field of international affairs. In 2021, we welcomed the inaugural class of two Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship awardees, representing underrepresented communities in Asia policy work. Their fellowships were funded by NBR staff, demonstrating NBR's commitment to making a difference.

Left to right: 2021 Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship awardees Kylie Del Rosario and Alura Winfrey.



We rely on the generous contributions of individuals, corporations, foundations, government departments and agencies, and other institutions to help support our work. For over three decades, this balanced funding has allowed NBR to produce high-caliber, policy-relevant research on U.S. relations in the Asia-Pacific and gather top leaders from policy, industry, and academia for events throughout the world.

Giving Societies

CHAIRMAN'S COUNCIL

CHAIRMAN'S COUNCIL MEMBERS provide a significant annual gift in support of NBR's mission. Among other benefits, members engage with high-profile guest speakers during exclusive Chairman's Council discussions, participate in high-level meetings with experts and policymakers held alongside NBR's Board of Directors meetings, and receive invitations to private NBR events and programs.

In 2021, Chairman's Council members joined discussions with the speakers from the business and policy communities.

Featured Chairman's Council Speakers



Secretary Madeleine Albright



Admiral John Aquilino



Governor Jon M. Huntsman Jr.



Secretary Ernest Moniz



Sherie Ng



Minister Joseph Wu

PRESIDENT'S CIRCLE

THE PRESIDENT'S CIRCLE is a forum for key supporters to engage with NBR president Roy Kamphausen and leading experts on U.S. affairs in Asia. Members provide an important annual gift in support of NBR's mission. Among other benefits, they engage with expert guest speakers at monthly President's Circle discussions, stay informed with president Roy Kamphausen's update on top issues in Asia policy, and receive invitations to private NBR events and programs.

Featured President's Circle Speakers



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Ketty Chen



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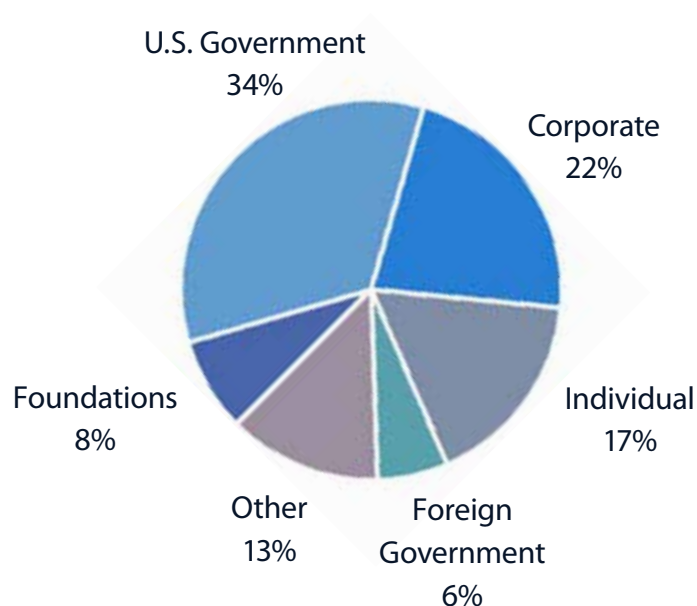
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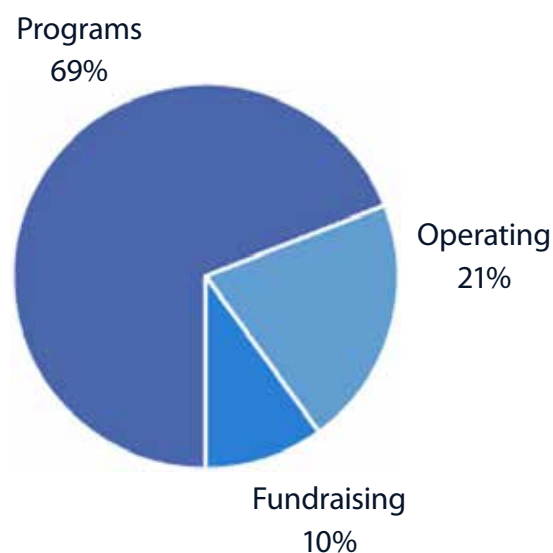
Financial Overview

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