NBR THE NATIONAL BUREAU of ASIAN RESEARCH

ANNUAL REPORT

2023

# **CONTENTS**

| Letter from the President    | 3  |
|------------------------------|----|
| Research, Outreach, Impact   | 5  |
| Next Generation Programs     | 14 |
| Leadership                   | 17 |
| Funding and Financials       | 20 |
| A Look Ahead                 | 26 |
| <b>Publication Spotlight</b> | 27 |

As an independent research institution dedicated to informing policy in both the public and private sectors, the National Bureau of Asian Research brings world-class scholarship to bear on the evolving strategic environment in Asia through original, policy-relevant research.

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

# Letter from the President



Globally disruptive forces such as Al and digital transformation, the energy transition, and rising tensions between China and the West have brought geoeconomic and geopolitical dynamics in the Indo-Pacific to the forefront for decision-makers in both the public and private sectors. Meanwhile, ongoing issues—including Russia's invasion of Ukraine, China's provocations in the Taiwan Strait, and the effects of geopolitical developments and technological advances on supply chains—have underscored the importance of robust policy to bolster democracies and inform decision-making.

It is for such a time as this that NBR exists. Indeed, recognizing that the Asia-Pacific was already becoming a nexus of economic dynamism and a zone of strategic interaction—the National Bureau of Asian Research was established in 1989, realizing the vision of Washington State Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson. Founding president Kenneth Pyle wrote in September 2023 marking the 40th anniversary of Senator Jackson's untimely passing: "It was his wish that there be an institution to bring together academic expertise on China and Russia to build an intelligent and informed Asia policy. This wish became the inspiration for our founding of NBR after his death."

Since our founding, the strategic implications of China's rise—and its growing political, military, and economic influence—have been at the core of our policy-oriented research agenda as we seek to promote effective policy based on a deep understanding of Chinese strategic objectives.

In 2023, Nadège Rolland, Distinguished Fellow for China Studies at NBR, guided the development of new projects related to China across all of NBR's research areas—politics and security, technology and geoeconomics, and energy and environment—and launched the innovative project *Mapping China's Strategic Space* to examine how China's leaders conceive of national political, economic, and security objectives in the pursuit of that rise.

NBR's Strategic Asia Program released the volume *Strategic Asia: Reshaping Economic Interdependence in the Indo-Pacific*, which looks at shifts in the Indo-Pacific's economic landscape as the long process of de-risking is underway. Together with the China Strategic Focus Group at U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, NBR convened the annual People's Liberation Army Conference, which explored how the Chinese Communist Party is thinking about using military force in an increasingly complex security environment and assessed the efficacy of the party's application of its military tool of power.

In addition to a regular roster of events in Washington, D.C., NBR hosted several key events in Seattle in 2023, including the inaugural Pacific Security Forum, which brought together experts from government, academia, and the private sector to address issues of strategic and security importance to U.S. interests in Asia. The Pacific Energy Summit



took place alongside the third APEC Senior Officials' Meeting in Seattle, examining key issues related to the digital economy, supply chain resiliency, and critical minerals trade amid the energy transition.

We were delighted that Ambassador Bi-khim Hsiao joined us for the last Chairman's Council roundtable of the year just weeks before Lai Ching-te, named her as his vice-presidential running mate in Taiwan's election. Chairman's Council and President's Circle forums afford terrific opportunities to engage in candid discussions with policy leaders on U.S. affairs in Asia.

NBR's future-oriented Next Generation Programs continue to educate, equip, and empower a rising generation of capable leaders with the Asia policy expertise essential for our nation to anticipate and navigate complex issues in the decades ahead.

The pages that follow not only look back at our work in 2023 but also look ahead at an agenda of ongoing work and new projects already underway in 2024 covering areas essential to the formation of concrete, actionable policy toward Asia.

With gratitude for your support and engagement,

Ray D. Karph

Roy D. Kamphausen President, The National Bureau of Asian Research



# RESEARCH, OUTREACH, IMPACT

We conduct advanced independent research on strategic, political, economic, globalization, and energy issues affecting U.S. relations with Asia. We disseminate our research through briefings, publications, conferences, congressional testimony, and email forums, as well as by collaborating with leading institutions worldwide.

# CHINA'S GRAND STRATEGY AND VISION

# Comprehensive research on a complex environment

The strategic implications of China's rise have been a core focus of the policy-oriented research agenda of NBR since our founding in 1989. Nadège Rolland, Distinguished Fellow for China Studies, played a key part in taking the impact of NBR's Asia expertise and engagement fully global in 2022—and in accelerating that direction in 2023—through work that was bolstered in part by private philanthropy.

Building on NBR's work over the past decade on China's grand strategy, foreign policy, defense policy, and vision for itself as a great power, Nadège launched the Mapping China's Strategic Space project, which seeks to understand Chinese intellectual and political elites' attempts to define a vision of their country as a great power on the world stage. The result is a highly accessible website and suite of visually engaging multimedia presentations that illustrate the historical context and geopolitical underpinnings of China's conceptualization of its strategic space.

Nadège guides the development of new research projects related to China across all of NBR's research areas—politics and security, technology and geoeconomics, and energy and environment—and mentors interns, young fellows, and rising scholars.

Over the course of the year, her engagement in public events as well as private briefings for government and corporate leaders has raised her international visibility as an indispensable resource for decision-makers.

China's overseas activities have drawn increasing scrutiny in Western democracies in Oceania, North America, and Europe.



Nadège Rolland

# GEOECONOMICS AND GLOBALIZATION

# Decoupling, derisking, and China policy

The Strategic Asia Program aims to strengthen and inform strategic and policy decisions by providing innovative research on challenges and opportunities for U.S. national interests in the Asia-Pacific region. The 21st volume in the Strategic Asia series—Strategic Asia: Reshaping Economic Interdependence in the Indo-Pacific—examines shifts occurring in the global trading system and their implications for the strategic environment in Asia. To mark the release of the volume, NBR convened a discussion in November that featured contributing authors of five of the volume's eight chapters.

Each chapter explores developments in goods, services, and finances; assesses the extent to which key countries and regions are decoupling from China; and evaluates the consequences for regional and global politics.

NBR held a series of private briefings for offices at the United States Trade Representative, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Department of State to share findings from the new *Strategic Asia* volume, including strategic implications for U.S. policy on Asia.

China's 'dual circulation' and other strategic economic policies, if successful, will likely reduce its foreign economic dependence even as they foster increased foreign reliance on China.

#### William J. Norris

Texas A&M University, author of the chapter "The Future of China's Economic Power"



Left to right: *Strategic Asia* contributors Kristin Vekasi (University of Maine), Syaru Shirley Lin (Center for Asia-Pacific Resilience and Innovation), Vikram Nehru (Johns Hopkins University), and Benjamin Herscovitch (Australian National University) discussed research results at an event in Washington, D.C., marking the launch of the volume.

# TECHNOLOGY, ENERGY, AND GEOECONOMICS

# Examining APEC's goals during the U.S. host year

In 2023, the United States served as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) host, convening four rounds of meetings on trade, digital, energy, and related issues. To complement these discussions, NBR conducted a year-long series of activities examining APEC's goals and priority issues. In Seattle, NBR held several events alongside the Third Senior Officials' Meeting, the Energy Ministers' Meeting, and other APEC meetings in August. An event examining U.S.-Taiwan trade and technology relations featured keynote remarks from Taiwan Minister of Economic Affairs Wang Mei-hua at a time when the United States and Taiwan had just signed the first agreement under the U.S.-Taiwan Initiative on 21st Century Trade.

The 2023 Pacific Energy Summit built on previous years' discussions to examine how international trade and economic policy will influence the energy security and low-carbon transitions of Indo-Pacific nations. Held alongside the APEC ministerial meetings, the Summit brought together leading experts, policymakers, and stakeholders from across the Indo-Pacific for an impactful discussion on balancing energy transitions with energy security in a complex geopolitical arena. The summit concluded with a fireside chat between Roy Kamphausen and Ambassador Matt Murray.



Washington State has always been at the center of U.S. engagement with the Asia-Pacific region. In many ways semiconductors are just like Taiwan. They are tiny but very critical in so many industries as also is Taiwan's role—so small but so critical.

**Wang Mei-hua**Minister of Economic Affairs, Taiwan

NBR has been an invaluable partner throughout the 2023
APEC host year. By bringing together diverse stakeholders and experts from both the United States and other APEC economies, NBR has provided platforms to disseminate the vision of what APEC can accomplish and for voices to be heard.

#### **Ambassador Matt Murray**

U.S. Senior Official for APEC, U.S. Department of State



# INDO-PACIFIC SECURITY

# Addressing security challenges in the Indo-Pacific

Intensifying competition with China will influence every sector and community—ranging from industry to nonprofits to academia to government. With the aim of advancing the interests of the United States and its Indo-Pacific allies and partners, NBR convened the inaugural Pacific Security Forum in Seattle in October.

Underscoring the importance of the Pacific Northwest as a critical nexus for U.S. security interests, the forum featured an opening keynote by Representative Adam Smith (D–WA), Ranking Member of the House Armed Services Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, and a luncheon keynote by Lieutenant General Xavier T. Brunson, Commanding General, I Corps and Joint Base Lewis-McChord. Admiral Samuel Paparo, Commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet, joined virtually for a keynote and Q&A moderated by Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert (U.S. Navy, ret.), John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies at NBR.

Left to right: Congressman Adam Smith and Lieutenant General Xavier T. Brunson.

Below: Michael Wills moderated a session on security challenges in the Indo-Pacific with panelists Elaine Bunn, Brigadier General Brian Davis (U.S. Army, ret.), and Nadège Rolland.

PACIFIC SECURITY FORUM

We've come to the end of ourselves as a military where we realize that pure military solutions aren't going to solve anything. It's a recognition that there are a host of capabilities that exist across the government—to include think tanks like this one—that are going to help us to come to solutions to this brave, brave new future that we're all wading into.

**Lieutenant General Xavier T. Brunson**Commanding General, I Corps and Joint Base

Lewis-McChord



# THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

# Assessing China's military

NBR convenes the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Conference with U.S. Indo-Pacific Command. The annual, invitation-only conference brings together leading specialists from academia, government, the military, and policy think tanks.

In June, NBR and the China Strategic Focus Group at U.S. Indo-Pacific Command convened the 2023 PLA Conference. The event took place against the backdrop of rising U.S. concerns over China's increasing willingness to incur risks to advance its interests as the Chinese Communist Party grows more focused on the challenges facing its "China dream" of "national rejuvenation."

Drawing on our PLA expertise, since 2021 NBR has offered a three-day executive education course exploring the history, strategic culture, and impact of the PLA. This graduate-level course in Washington, D.C., features a series of interactive seminar-style classes, discussion sessions focused on research methods, and scenario exercises, as well as remarks from current and former senior defense officials.

I have barely been back in the office for half a day, and I have been able to share what I learned last week in several conversations. I am definitely more informed and more intellectually curious about the PLA and the PRC having taken the course.

#### **Executive Education Course participant**

Below: The 2023 PLA conference brought together an audience, primarily in-person, representing the world's leading PLA specialists from academia, government, military, and policy research organizations. Participants included U.S.-based experts and those representing U.S. allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific.



#### U.S.-TAIWAN RELATIONS

# Strengthening deterrence in the Taiwan Strait

An NBR delegation led by Admiral Philip S. Davidson (ret.) and NBR vice president for research Alison Szalwinski traveled to Taiwan from January 31 through February 3. The delegation met with Minister of Foreign Affairs Joseph Wu and President Tsai Ingwen and held meetings with members of the Taiwan government and civil society as well as the U.S. government. The trip aimed to strengthen bilateral understanding and exchange perspectives between the United States and Taiwan.

The delegation met leaders and high-level staffers of the American Institute in Taiwan, Mainland Affairs Council, Ministry of Economic Affairs, National Security Council, and Ministry of Defense.

Left to right: Delegation participants Rachel Bernstein (NBR), April Herlevi (NBR), Alison Szalwinski (NBR), James Schoff (Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA), Tami Overby (Albright Stonebridge Group), and Admiral Philip S. Davidson meeting with President Tsai Ing-wen and other government officials. Following the delegation, NBR held a public discussion on "Securing Taiwan" that featured a fireside chat with Admiral Davidson. A panel discussion examined Taiwan's defense needs and explored a range of strategic options to strengthen deterrence and prepare for potential contingencies in the Taiwan Strait.

11 NBR has been paying attention to Indo-Pacific security issues for a long time, and often provides in-depth analysis. The guests in the delegation also have relevant research backgrounds. I believe that through the visit, Taiwan and the United States can have more exchanges of views on Indo-Pacific security issues.

#### **President Tsai Ing-wen**

(English translation of remarks to NBR delegation)



# **ENERGY SECURITY**

# Reconciling economic security with climate ambitions

Energy security has risen to the top of the economic agenda across the Indo-Pacific in the wake of supply chain disruptions, heightened geopolitical tensions, and the Covid-19 pandemic. Led by Energy Security Program research director Mikkal Herberg, NBR published a report on these issues. Senator Dan Sullivan (R-AK) and Representative Kim Schrier (D-WA) delivered remarks at the Energy on the Hill event marking the report's release.

Developing options to meet Asia's booming demand for energy is essential to sustaining economic growth and improving the standard of living in a region where 700 million people still lack access to reliable, modern forms of electricity. Yet the ways in which countries might seek to satisfy energy demand can also introduce new policy challenges. As part of NBR's multi-year project on Clean EDGE Asia, made possible with funding through a cooperative agreement with the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Energy Resources, a Clean EDGE Asia conference held in Dhaka, explored avenues for cooperation between Bangladesh and its regional counterparts to advance a sustainable, equitable, and just energy transition in South Asia.

As Vice Ranking Member of the Energy and Commerce Committee, I've had the opportunity to discuss and pose questions on making the U.S. energy grid cleaner, more reliable, and more affordable. I am so grateful to NBR for hosting this event to explore how we can continue to innovate for a more secure, greener future.

#### **Kim Schrier**

U.S. House of Representatives (D-WA)

Thank you NBR for hosting this really important but also very timely conference. I love the name by the way—"Revenge of Energy Security." I think that is an apt description of what is going on in the world. I think on this topic of energy security we need to really broaden the aperture of what exactly is happening in the world right now.

#### Dan Sullivan

Left to right: Mikkal Herberg (University of California San Diego moderates a panel with Erica Downs (Columbia University), Michael Kugelman (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), and Se Hyun Ahn (University of Seoul).

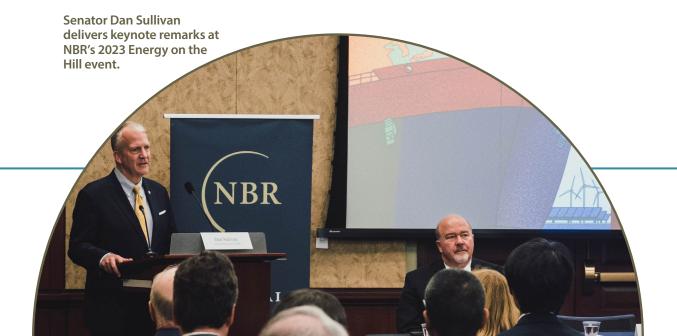
# BRIDGING THE GAP

# Scholarly research and engagement with policymakers

NBR conducts both public events and private briefings on Capitol Hill, informing the public and congressional offices and committees on key policy matters. Many public events feature keynote addresses by administration officials. In 2023, NBR hosted panels for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on emerging technology challenges posed by China, economic security challenges, and U.S.-China competition in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. In advance of President Yoon Suk Yeol's state visit marking the 70th anniversary of the U.S.-ROK alliance, NBR held a briefing in coordination with the House Foreign Affairs Committee on key issues in U.S.-ROK relations. Nadège Rolland briefed committee staff in preparation for a hearing on U.S. efforts to counter China's Belt and Road diplomacy. Several NBR experts briefed members of a bipartisan congressional delegation to Singapore led by Representative Rick Larsen (D-WA) in August.

NBR's off-the-record Pacific Rim Congressional Study Group dinners for senior congressional staff covered China-Russia relations, U.S.-Japan relations, and geopolitics in the digital era. NBR's peer-reviewed journal *Asia Policy* presents policy-relevant academic research on the Asia-Pacific that draws clear and concise conclusions useful to today's policymakers. Topics on which the journal published in 2023 included:

- regional responses to the Russia-Ukraine war
- Asian states' approaches to the Arctic
- U.S. semiconductor policy
- the conflict in Myanmar
- regional security implications of East Asian countries' rapidly aging populations
- maritime security assistance in Southeast Asia
- Prime Minister Kishida's climate policy and opportunities for U.S.-Japan cooperation
- Australia's foreign policy toward China
- India's economic decoupling from China
- U.S.-Japan cooperation and the rules-based economic order
- minilateral deterrence in the Indo-Pacific



# NEXT GENERATION PROGRAMS

We invest in our future by providing exceptional fellowship and internship opportunities for the purposes of attracting and training the next generation of Asia specialists and leaders.

# NEXT GENERATION PROGRAMS

# Investing in our future

NBR provides fellowship and internship opportunities to post-graduate, graduate, undergraduate, and community college students.

#### **Chinese Language Fellowship**

The Chinese Language Fellowship Program seeks to train a new generation of scholars who possess deep understanding of China as well as fluency in the Chinese language. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the program provides fellowships to American graduate students whose research focuses on China policy issues to spend an academic year taking part in intensive Chinese language training in China or Taiwan.

In July 2023, the fifth class of eight fellows gathered in Washington, D.C., for a program orientation, including a briefing with staff of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, before traveling abroad to their Chinese language programs.



#### **Ellings-Korduba Research Fellowship**

Established in 2021 to honor NBR's president emeritus Richard Ellings and his wife Marta Korduba, the Ellings-Korduba Research Fellowship provides support for American graduate and advanced undergraduate students who focus on issues of strategic importance to the United States in Asia. The program enables students to spend a summer in residence at NBR's Seattle office participating in a summer seminar series with high-level speakers from NBR's network of experts. In 2023, the third class of Ellings-Korduba fellows and finalists gathered in Seattle for this program.

#### **Japan Studies Research Fellowship**

Established in 2023 with the generous support of the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission (JUSFC), the Japan Studies Research Fellowship is designed to cultivate a new generation of U.S.-Japan specialists and leaders. Each year, the fellowship selects one emerging student focused on policy-relevant research about Japan to join NBR as a junior fellow in residence, conduct independent research with the help of our research and publications teams, and expand their networks and understanding through roundtables with Japan experts. In 2023, NBR welcomed its first Japan Studies Research Fellow to our Seattle office.

Ellings-Korduba and Japan Studies Research Fellows participating in the NBR Summer Seminar present their research to Joint Base Lewis-McChord 1st Special Forces Group.





#### **Gorton Leaders Program**

This six-month professional development program organized by NBR's Slade Gorton Policy Center is open to community college, undergraduate, and master's degree students attending colleges and universities in the Seattle area. Fellows take part in expert speaker discussions and guided reading on democracy and China, national security, intellectual property protection, and digital trade, as well as leadership lessons from Senator Gorton's career in public service. In 2023, seven students from the University of Washington and Seattle University completed the program in June, joining a growing number of over 120 program alumni. The commencement ceremony included remarks from Slade Gorton Chief of Staff J. Vander Stoep and concluded with the fellows attending a Seattle Mariners baseball game in honor of Senator

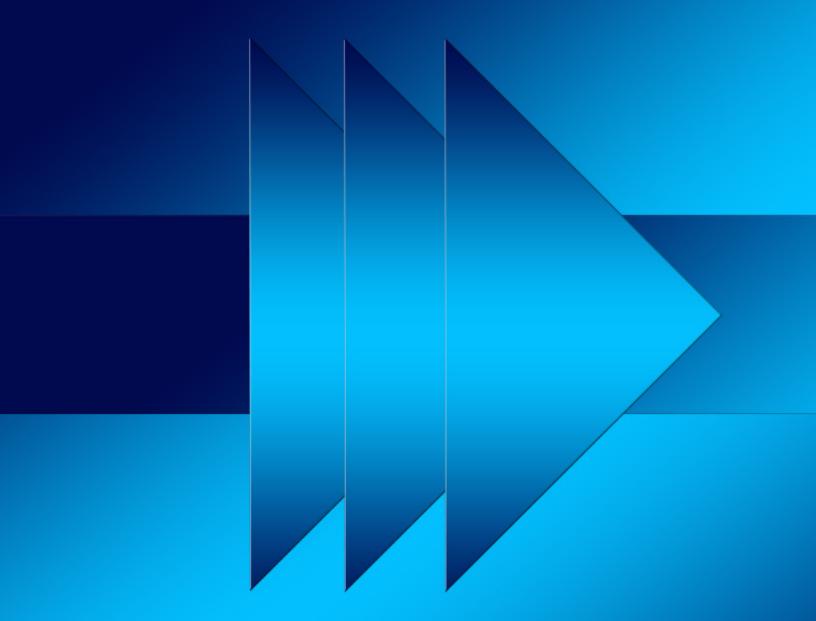
#### **Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship**

Established in 2020, the Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship aims to extend educational, professional, and mentorship opportunities to underrepresented minorities, such as Black and brown students at the community college or undergraduate level, who are interested in pursuing a career in the field of international affairs. Fellows work primarily with one of the existing program teams at NBR and gain experience in project management, research, writing, and editing in order to build skills for future careers in policy. In 2023, we welcomed two fellows to NBR's Washington, D.C., office.

Above, left to right: Undergraduate Diversity fellows Stephanie Boyd-Maignan and Wyatt Weekes.



# LEADERSHIP



#### **Board of Directors**

**CHAIR** 

John V. Rindlaub

Regional President (ret.) Wells Fargo Asia Pacific

VICE CHAIRS

Thomas W. Albrecht

Partner (ret.) Sidley Austin LLP

**Kurt Glaubitz** 

General Manager, Corporate Affairs, Asia Pacific Exploration and Production, Chevron Corporation

**Ahn Ho-young** 

Former Ambassador (South Korea)

**Richard J. Ellings** 

President Emeritus and Counselor (in residence) The National Bureau of Asian Research LTG (ret.) Charles W. Hooper

Senior Counselor The Cohen Group

**Roy Kamphausen** 

President

The National Bureau of Asian Research

**TREASURER** 

**Quentin W. Kuhrau** 

Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer Unico

**Melody Meyer** 

President
Melody Meyer Energy LLC

Long Nguyen

Chairman, President, and Chief Executive Officer Pragmatics, Inc.

Rear Adm. (ret) Huan Nguyen

Senior Advisor to Naval Sea Systems Command Kenneth B. Pyle

Henry M. Jackson Professor Emeritus University of Washington Founding President The National Bureau of Asian Research

Jonathan Roberts

Founder & Partner Ignition Partners

**Tom Robertson** 

Corporate Vice President and Deputy General Counsel Microsoft

Mitchell B. Waldman

Principal

M Barnet Advisors LLC

**Cynthia Watson** 

Professor & Dean Emerita National War College

# **Executive Management Team**

**Roy Kamphausen** 

President

**Karolos Karnikis** Senior Vice President, Information Technology **Jennie Mattingly** 

Vice President, Finance and Operations

**Alison Szalwinski** 

Vice President of Research

**Michael Wills** 

**Executive Vice President** 

#### **Counselors**

**Charlene Barshefsky** 

U.S. Trade Representative (ret.)

Charles W. Boustany Jr.

U.S. House of Representatives (ret.)

Norm D. Dicks

U.S. House of Representatives (ret.)

**Richard J. Ellings** 

The National Bureau of Asian Research (ret.)

Thomas B. Fargo

Admiral, U.S. Navy (ret.)

**Aaron L. Friedberg** 

**Princeton University** 

Jonathan W. Greenert

Admiral, U.S. Navy (ret.) John M. Shalikashvili Chair

**Ashley J. Tellis** 

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

#### **Advisors**

**CO-CHAIRS** 

Linda M. Distlerath

PhRMA (ret.)

**Heino Klinck** 

U.S. Army/Department of

Defense (ret.)

William B. Abnett

The National Bureau of Asian

Research

Se Hyun Ahn

University of Seoul

Dennis C. Blair

Admiral, U.S. Navy (ret.)

**Ketty Chen** 

Taiwan Foundation for

Democracy

Josh Corless

ConocoPhillips

Linda M. Distlerath

APhRMA (ret.); Principal,

Bamberg Advisors, LLC

**Nicholas Eberstadt** 

American Enterprise Institute

**Karl Eikenberry** 

Former Ambassador (U.S.); Lt. General, U.S. Army (ret.) **Bates Gill** 

Macquarie University

Clara Gillispie

The National Bureau of Asian

Research

Stephen E. Hanson

College of William and Mary

**Harry Harding** 

University of Virginia

Mikkal E. Herberg

University of California San Diego

Carla A. Hills

Hills & Company

. . .

**Robert Holleyman** C&M International

**Chun In-Bum** 

Lt. General, ROK Army (ret.)

**Mark Jones** 

Wells Fargo

**Amit Kapoor** 

India Council on Competitiveness

Tariq A. Karim

Former Ambassador (Bangladesh); Independent

University

**Heino Klinck** 

U.S. Army/Department of

Defense (ret.)

**David M. Lampton**Johns Hopkins University

Stephen Lanza

Lt. General, U.S. Army (ret.)

Nicholas R. Lardy

Peterson Institute for International Economics

**Richard Lawless** 

**New Magellan Ventures** 

William C. McCahill Jr.

Department of State (ret.)

**Dewardric L. McNeal** 

Longview Global, LLC

**Meredith Miller** 

Albright Stonebridge Group

**Tami Overby** 

Albright Stonebridge Group

John S. Park

Harvard Kennedy School

Pamela Passman

APCO Worldwide

Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan

**Observer Research Foundation** 

**Evans Revere** 

Department of State (ret.)

**Clarine Nardi Riddle** 

Kasowitz, Benson, Torres & Friedman LLP

Rvo Sahashi

University of Tokyo

**Ulrike Schaede** 

University of California San

Diego

**Robert Scher** 

BP

**David Shambaugh** 

George Washington University

**Benjamin Shobert** 

Microsoft

**Mike Studeman** 

Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (ret.)

**Travis Sullivan** 

**Boeing Company** 

**Travis Tanner** 

**Greenpoint Group** 

**Arzan Tarapore** 

**Stanford University** 

Jessica C. Teets

Middlebury College

**Debra Waggoner** 

Corning (ret.)

**Dana White** 

Ankura

# FUNDING AND FINANCIALS

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.

# **OUR SUPPORT**

# Balanced funding for research with impact

# **Private Sector Supporters**

AbbVie Inc.

Alion Science and Technology Corporation

Amgen, Inc.

**Chevron Corporation** 

**ConocoPhillips Company** 

**Deloitte Tohmatsu Consulting LLC** 

Freeport - McMoRan

**Microsoft Corporation** 

Mitsubishi Heavy Industries America, Inc.

**PR Consulting Dentsu** 

# **Foundation Supporters**

**Evans Family Foundation** 

Henry M. Jackson Foundation

**Hinrich Foundation** 

**Korea Foundation** 

**Smith Richardson Foundation** 

The Melody and Kim Meyer Foundation

**US-Japan Foundation** 

#### **Institution Partners**

**Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada** 

**Australian National University** 

Center for Advanced China Research

**CRDF Global** 

Inst. for Global Strategy & Cooperation

**Korean Trade-Investment Promotion Agency** 

**National Defense University Library** 

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies,

**Nanyang Technological University** 

**University of Connecticut** 

# **Government Supporters**

**Australia Department of Defence** 

**Consulate-General of Japan in Seattle** 

**Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA)** 

Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission

Japan Bank for International Cooperation

**Japan External Trade Organization** 

Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office

**U.S. Department of Defense-ONA** 

U.S. Department of State (ENR)

U.S. Department of State (CDP/ICS)

U.S. Department of State (Emb Wellington)

# **Individual Supporters**

Ahn Ho-young Jonathon W. Greenert Nadège Rolland

Steven Ahrenholz Kevin Heim Ulrike Schaede

Thomas Albrecht Carla A. Hills William Schenck

Daniel Alderman Ashley Johnson Daniel Schoolenberg

Ellen Beauchamp Mark Jones Joan Shalikashvili

Rachel Bernstein Roy & Arminda Kamphausen Gordon & Deborah Smith

William E. Berry Jr. Jessica Keough Sandip Soli

Rod Bindon Ryo Kubota Stephanie Stinetorf

Dennis C. & Diane Blair Quentin Kuhrau Doug Strub

Martin Bowling Anthony Lowe Grant Sung

Richard & Martha Bush Jonathon Marek Robert & Valerie Sutter

Jerry Yu Chiang Art Maria Alison Szalwinski

William Coburn Deryl McCarty Travis & Amy Tanner

Nina Collier Jason Nelson C. Peter Timmer

Timothy Cook Melissa Newcomb Debra Waggoner

John Corbett Huan Nguyen Mitch Waldman

George Davidson Long & Kimmy Nguyen Sandra Ward

Linda Distlerath Tim Peckinpaugh Cynthia Watson

Nelson Dong Dylan Plung Daniel Weiner

Richard Dzina Kenneth & Anne Pyle Jim Weymouth

Nicholas Eberstadt & Clarine Nardi Riddle Michael Wills

John & Sarah Rindlaub Michael Woods

Jonathan Roberts Larry & Christine Wortzel

Thomas Robertson Magdalen Yum

Mary Tedeschi

**Thomas Fargo** 

**Richard J. Ellings** 

# **GIVING SOCIETIES**

# Chairman's Council

The Chairman's Council is an exclusive forum for select donors to engage with leaders on a substantive level in an off-the-record context. Chairman's Council members provide a significant annual gift in support of NBR's mission to help decision-makers better understand Asia and make concrete, actionable choices. To learn more about the full range of membership benefits, contact give@nbr.org.

# Chairman's Council guests in 2023

#### **Ambassador Ahn Ho-young**

Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States

#### **Ambassador Bi-khim Hsiao**

Taiwan's Representative to the United States

#### Tadashi Maeda

Chairman of the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC); Special Advisor to the Cabinet of the Government of Japan

#### **Ambassador Paul Myler**

Deputy Head of Mission at the Australian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

#### **Sir John Sawers**

Former Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6)

#### **Rear Admiral Mike Studeman**

Commander, Office of Naval Intelligence; Director of the National Maritime Intelligence Integration Office



President Kamphausen had the privilege of hosting Ambassador Bi-khim Hsiao, Taiwan's Representative to the United States, for a Chairman's Council roundtable in early November, just weeks before Lai Ching-te, the frontrunner for Taiwan's presidency, named her as his vice-presidential running mate.

# **GIVING SOCIETIES**

# 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. President's Circle members provide an important annual gift in support of NBR's mission to promote balanced perspectives and research and to help decision-makers better understand Asia. To learn more about the full range of membership benefits, contact give@nbr.org.



# President's Circle guests in 2023

#### **Camille Dawson**

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State with the Department of State's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs

#### **Rick Waters**

Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for China and Taiwan and China Coordinator at the State Department

#### **Abraham Denmark**

Senior Advisor to the Secretary of Defense for AUKUS, the Australia-UK-U.S. trilateral security agreement

#### Leslie Palti-Guzman

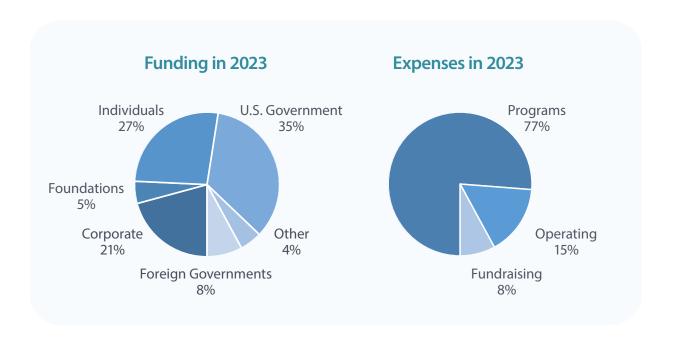
Head of Research and Market Intelligence at SynMax and former CEO of GasVista

#### **Ely Ratner**

Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs

# **FINANCIALS**

The National Bureau of Asian Research is supported by U.S. and foreign governments, foundations, corporations, and individuals. The information shown below is from the audited financial statements for January 1 to December 31, 2023.



To remain accountable to its donors, NBR is audited annually by:

Moss Adams LLP 999 3rd Avenue, Suite 2800 Seattle, WA 98104-4019

Contributions to The National Bureau of Asian Research are tax deductible to the extent permitted by law. NBR is a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization and is publicly supported as described in 509(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code. NBR's IRS identification number is 91-1444105.

# A LOOK AT 2024

# Politics, security, technology, geoeconomics, and energy

#### **China's Military Footprint in Africa** is

exploring how Chinese military and strategic thinkers view China's growing security interests and potential for military engagement in Africa.

#### The China Open-Source Course is

offering rising China specialists in the United States the opportunity to develop research techniques for performing open-source research on China.

#### **China's Global Health Ambitions**

is examining how global health fits into China's strategic ambitions.

#### **Mapping China's Strategic Space**

will brief policymakers and administration officials on the project's key findings and hold a public launch event in Washington, D.C.

#### The People's Liberation Army

**Conference** is examining the Chinese Communist Party's vision for a "world-class" PLA and progress toward achieving this goal.

#### Regional Experiences with the PLA

is analyzing operational encounters between the PLA and six countries in the Indo-Pacific to better understand Beijing's military decision-making.

#### Advancing Alternatives to Authoritarian Cybersecurity Models

is examining the spread of authoritarian cybersecurity policies abroad.

#### The U.S.-ROK Strategic Cooperation

**Forum** second annual event will discuss emerging technology, supply-chain resiliency, and the impact of related developments on U.S.-Korea cooperation.

#### **The Pacific Technology Policy**

**Conference** in Seattle will include presentations on the U.S.-ROK technology and innovation report, cybersecurity, PRC export controls, and related topics.

# Preventing Diversion of Dual-Use Technology in the Technology

**Startup Sector** will conduct training workshops in Bucharest, Istanbul, and Tunis, seeking to raise awareness of the malign or dual-use potential of emerging and advanced technologies among startups and innovation hubs in developing countries.

#### **Achieving Resiliency in an Era of**

**Disruption** is examining how the United States and Japan are responding to ongoing risks of disruption in critical sectors with a focus on economic security, supply chain dependencies, emerging disruptions in the digital domain, and coercion by malign actors such as the PRC.

#### **The Energy Security Program** is

marking its 20th anniversary with an assessment of major developments in Asian energy markets and the implications for regional geopolitics, trade and investment, and U.S. national interests.

# The Clean EDGE Asia Project conference in Jakarta marks the conclusion of NBR's four-year cooperative agreement with the U.S. Department of State to strengthen regional energy security in South and Southeast Asia and to support the Clean EDGE

Asia initiative.

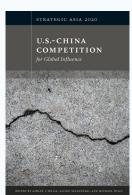
# PUBLICATION SPOTLIGHT

# Books and Reports

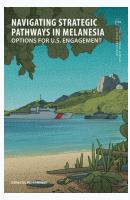
#### **Strategic Asia Series**

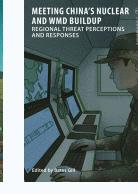






#### **NBR Special Report Series**



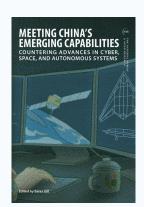




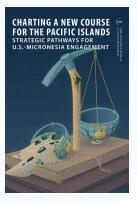












#### THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF ASIAN RESEARCH

Seattle and Washington, D.C.

600 University Street, Suite 1012 (One Union Square) Seattle, WA 98101 Tel: +1.206.632.7370 1819 L Street NW, Ninth Floor Washington, D.C. 20036 Tel: +1.202.347.9767

