

# Hudson Institute

ANNUAL REPORT 2024



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Hudson Institute



### About Hudson

Hudson Institute is a research organization promoting American leadership for a secure, free and prosperous future.

Founded in 1961 by strategist Herman Kahn, Hudson Institute challenges conventional thinking and helps manage strategic transitions through interdisciplinary studies in defense, international relations, economics, energy, technology, culture, and law.

Hudson seeks to guide policymakers and global leaders in government and business through a robust program of publications, conferences, policy briefings, and recommendations.







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LETTER FROM

## The Board Chair and the President and CEO

**T**he world is more dangerous than it's been in decades. At Hudson Institute, we cut through the noise to inform America's leaders with timely analysis and policy recommendations to advance America's security, freedom, and prosperity. Our experts track threats around the globe and build policies that keep America strong and our enemies at bay.

American leaders and key foreign officials come to Hudson to make their case and exchange views. Last year alone, the Institute hosted notable figures including US House Speaker Mike Johnson, Indian Foreign Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen, and South Korean Foreign Minister Cho Tae-yul.

Hudson was honored to cohost the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Public Forum in Washington, DC, during the alliance's seventy-fifth anniversary summit. Hudson has established itself as a vital platform for shaping the future of international relations and security policy with its outstanding analysis and high-level partnerships.

Hudson's influence continues to grow. Hudson experts have been asked to serve in key national security positions throughout the administration. We have built stronger ties with Congress and military leaders, and we have forged closer relationships with key US allies and partners.

Hudson's work is made possible through the support of our many friends and partners. Thank you for your investment in Hudson Institute. You have joined with us to maintain and strengthen American leadership for a secure, free, and prosperous future.

Sincerely,

Sarah May Stern  
*Chair of the Board of Trustees*

John P. Walters  
*President and CEO*

Opposite: A view of the Washington, DC, skyline from Hudson's headquarters.







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## MAINTAINING STABILITY **in the Indo-Pacific**

The Chinese Communist Party intensified its efforts to challenge the United States despite its weakening economy at home. Beijing materially and financially supported Russia's war in Ukraine and Iran's proxy-driven terror campaigns in the Middle East. Meanwhile the People's Liberation Army continued its intimidation campaigns against Taiwan and the Philippines. Hudson experts advanced policies to ensure the US wins the competition against the CCP.

Photo: US and South Korean forces take part in military drills in Yeoncheon. (Getty Images)



## IDENTIFYING AND EXPLOITING **Cracks in the Chinese Economy**

Through a series of reports and op-eds, **John Lee** led the conversation about Chinese ambitions, achievements, and strategies.

China's centralized political economy has for years relied on government investment to spur "high speed" growth. As Beijing seeks to shift to "high quality" growth, Lee explained in *The Wall Street Journal* why Chinese President Xi Jinping is poised to preside over a new phase of failure. **Lee** argued that rather than solve China's fundamental economic problems, the Chinese strategy of massive state assistance to dominate industries (as demonstrated with solar panels) will lead to overcapacity and inefficiency. Furthermore, **Lee** argued, Xi's tightening control over the economy undermines the more efficient private sector, deepens economic flaws, and in-

creases international hostility toward China's policies.

Many developing nations, particularly in the Global South, believe that their interests and values better align with what Beijing is promising than with what Washington is delivering. In *Understanding and Countering China's Global South Strategy in the Indo-Pacific*, **Lee** explained how the US and allies such as Japan and Australia can respond to this reality.

**Lee** also laid out with coauthor **Lavina Lee** why a static deterrence-by-denial approach is no longer sufficient. They explained how the US can impose nonmilitary costs—especially against Xi himself—to deter China.

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Below: John Lee hosts a conversation about China's economic strategy.

**“Just as China benefits from a situation in which other countries have normalized and internalized Chinese coercion and aggression, other countries need to accept US and allied cost imposition retaliation as a fait accompli and part of the strategic and tactical architecture in the region.”**

—John Lee





China has less water per person than almost any other place in the world—and the water it has is extremely polluted and located hundreds of miles from its prime agricultural areas. **Thomas Duesterberg** authored a policy memo detailing how China’s relentless drive to boost agricultural output and industrial growth has led to extensive environmental degradation, including water pollution, soil erosion, and deforestation, not only within China’s borders but also in neighboring regions across South and Southeast Asia. **Duesterberg** recommended the US and its allies counter China’s exploitation by forging robust partnerships with South Asian governments and nongovernmental organizations to deliver the technical, diplomatic, and financial support necessary for responsible, equitable management of the region’s great river systems, thereby safeguarding both local populations and the global environment.

Following the report’s release, **Duesterberg** took to *The Wall Street Journal* to bring attention to China’s record of environmental degradation, recommending that Western lead-

**“China poses the greatest threat to the health of the global commons. Until Beijing seriously commits to environmental stewardship, the West shouldn’t allow it to claim that it does.”**

—Thomas Duesterberg

ers increase public and diplomatic pressure on Beijing to take measurable steps to curb its destructive practices.

**Duesterberg** and **Alexander Aibel** examined how China’s failing social safety net further damages socioeconomic stability in the country as shrinking revenues, declining birth rates, falling marriage rates, and aging populations further fuel the deterioration of the CCP’s finances.

Below: The Yangtze River and Jialing River in Chongqing, China. (Getty Images)



## COMBATting CHINA'S Information Warfare

**Miles Yu**, China Center Advisory Board Chairman **Mike Pompeo**, and other Hudson experts worked with industry partners and leading American and Taiwanese policymakers throughout 2024, including during a crucial Taiwanese election cycle. In both English and Mandarin, the center circulated cutting-edge analysis to counter the Chinese Communist Party's misinformation and disinformation operations.

A Hudson delegation including **Sarah May Stern**, **John Walters**, and other senior leadership was the first think tank to visit the island following its elections.

**Yu** hosted **Vincent Chao**, then spokesperson for President William Lai, and **Alexander Huang**, special advisor to the chairman of the Kuomintang, to debate key issues for the island's future.

**Riley Walters** wrote two briefs analyzing the results and why Taiwan's elections matter for America's interests.

**Yu** also hosted National Security Council Director for Cyber Policy **Israel Soong** for a

conversation on why technology is crucial to Beijing's plans and how the US can maintain the lead in its cyber and technology competition with China.

At a conference in September, **Yu** and **Pompeo** discussed how Beijing hopes to use information and cognitive warfare to degrade the long-term military, civil, and social resources Taiwan would need to defend against an invasion.

*China Insider*, the China Center's flagship podcast, expanded Hudson's reach in the digital and information spaces. As the CCP seeks to manipulate narratives about its struggling economy, rising aggression in the South China Sea, and exploitative business practices, **Yu** and other Hudson experts dispelled falsehoods and shined a light on the party's dishonesty. The podcast received nearly 300,000 downloads, mainly in the United States but also in Hong Kong and China.

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Below: Miles Yu and Israel Soong discuss cyber competition with China.





## STOPPING CHINA'S **Fentanyl Attack**



**Bill Barr** testified before the House Select Committee on Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party on the dangers fentanyl poses. In his testimony, he gave five pieces of evidence that implicate the CCP as the driving force behind this scourge: (1) a hidden Chinese government website offering tax rebates for fentanyl precursors, (2) CCP grants to organizations known to be involved in narcotics manufacturing and trafficking, (3) the Chinese government's stake in Chinese chemical companies that export fentanyl precursors, (4) the CCP's lack of action to crack down on these drug producers—a stark contrast to its treatment of other industries, and (5) the dovetail between Chinese money laundering organizations and the drug cartels that bring fentanyl into the US.

**“It is a euphemism to describe the mass distribution of fentanyl as ‘drug trafficking.’ It is outright murder.”**

—Bill Barr

**John Walters** emphasized that the fentanyl epidemic is not just a domestic crisis but a strategic threat as well. The US needs to deter China from pursuing this chemical warfare just as it needs to deter China's kinetic advances, he wrote. In a Hudson brief, he recommended declaring the CCP a drug trafficking organization, reducing the number of PRC personnel and diplomatic offices in the US, and strengthening American hard power.

Following the release of a House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and Chinese Communist Party report on China's role in the fentanyl trade, **David Asher** hosted **Ray Donovan**, former director of operations of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). They discussed how the US can respond to this crisis—which kills over 100,000 Americans each year—through strategic targeting of CCP agents and other involved actors.

**Miles Yu** appeared on C-SPAN's *Washington Journal* to discuss the increasing number of Chinese nationals who have entered the United States illegally and Beijing's hacking operations against the US.

Top: Bill Barr speaks at Hudson.

## DEFENDING Human Rights

**Nina Shea** authored a major report chronicling CCP persecution of Catholic bishops. The report documented how religious persecution of the Catholic Church in China has intensified since the 2018 China-Vatican agreement, with 10 Vatican-approved bishops facing ongoing detention, surveillance, and other forms of repression for refusing to join the state-controlled Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association. The first comprehensive overview of its kind, the report has since been cited widely in coverage of China's hu-

**“The scale of this brutal practice reveals something about the CCP: there are few things it fears more than its people.”**

—Olivia Enos

man rights abuses in the media and in congressional hearings.

In a Hudson memo, **Olivia Enos** outlined strategies for maximizing the effectiveness of the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (UFLPA), a key tool in cracking down on China's abuses—and its economic warfare. **Enos** identified a significant enforcement gap in the UFLPA's de minimis exception, which allows goods below a specified value threshold to bypass rigorous US customs inspection.

**Enos** also proposed a strategy for securing the release of political prisoners in China, outlining four specific actions for Congress and the executive branch. Her recommendations include establishing an office for political prisoner advocacy within the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor and punishing key nodes of the Chinese government responsible for persecuting political prisoners.

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Below: Olivia Enos hosts a panel of experts to discuss enforcement of the UFLPA.





## SUPPORTING Trilateral Ties



Hudson served as a cohost of the off-the-record Trilateral Executive Dialogue, organized and chaired by Senator **Bill Hagerty** (R-TN) and Hyundai Motor Group Chairman **Euisun Chung**. **Kenneth Weinstein** and **Joel Scanlon** analyzed trade, investment, and economic se-

curity between the United States, Japan, and South Korea as the US and its allies navigate mounting strategic challenges across the Indo-Pacific region.

**Patrick Cronin**, **Riley Walters**, and **James Przystup** hosted **Mira Rapp-Hooper**, senior director for East Asia and Oceania at the National Security Council, to examine the first anniversary of the historic Camp David summit that solidified the US-Japan-South Korea trilateral coordination. They discussed shared strategic interests and assessed the durability of trilateral cooperation amid potential leadership transitions in all three nations.

**Cronin** also discussed the rising threat North Korea poses in two interviews on CNN. First, he warned that Vladimir Putin's visit to North Korea was a serious escalation of ties between two major US adversaries. Then, following President Donald Trump's election, **Cronin** explained the future of security on the Korean Peninsula and how the new administration might approach Pyongyang.

**“Moscow and Pyongyang want to leverage the perception that their ties are long term and increasingly integrated regarding defense. They may also suggest this relationship is comprehensive. Regardless of the words used, current relations will focus on defence cooperation.”**

—Patrick Cronin

Top: Joel Scanlon, Kenneth Weinstein, and other participants of the Second Trilateral Executive Dialogue in Seoul, South Korea.

## US-INDIA Relations

Hudson's analysis and outreach deepened the vital strategic partnership between India and the United States in 2024.

**Walter Russell Mead** traveled to India as part of a delegation from Hudson and other organizations. On the trip, he met with Prime Minister Narendra Modi to discuss how Americans should understand the political and religious movement that propelled the Bharatiya Janata Party to power. **Mead** also explored how shared concerns over China have drawn the US and India together while divergent views on religion, regional politics, and sovereignty threaten to pull them apart. His assessment included an on-the-ground perspective from the border town of Tawang—situated at the intersection of Bhutan, China, and India—offering firsthand insights into the geopolitical tensions, cultural insights, and military realities defining this contested region.

**Aparna Pande** argued that the incoming Trump administration should deepen US-India economic cooperation to counter Chi-

**“The bedrock of the US-India partnership has been shared values and mutual strategic interests.”**

—Aparna Pande

na's rising influence, highlighting the complementary strengths of both nations. She explained that while the US possesses the capital and technology India needs to develop its economic potential and compete with China, India offers the skilled human capital—particularly in high-tech sectors—that America requires to address its persistent shortage of skilled workers and maintain its technological leadership. She emphasized that this mutually beneficial partnership could help both countries leverage their comparative advantages in the strategic competition with China.







Four South Asian Nations—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka—held elections in 2024. **Aparna Pande** hosted Representative **Darrell Issa** (R-CA) to discuss the implications of potential new leadership in South Asia and assess America’s strategic partnership with India amid these transitions. Their discussion examined broader US engagement throughout the region and strategies for advancing American interests in the Indo-Pacific.

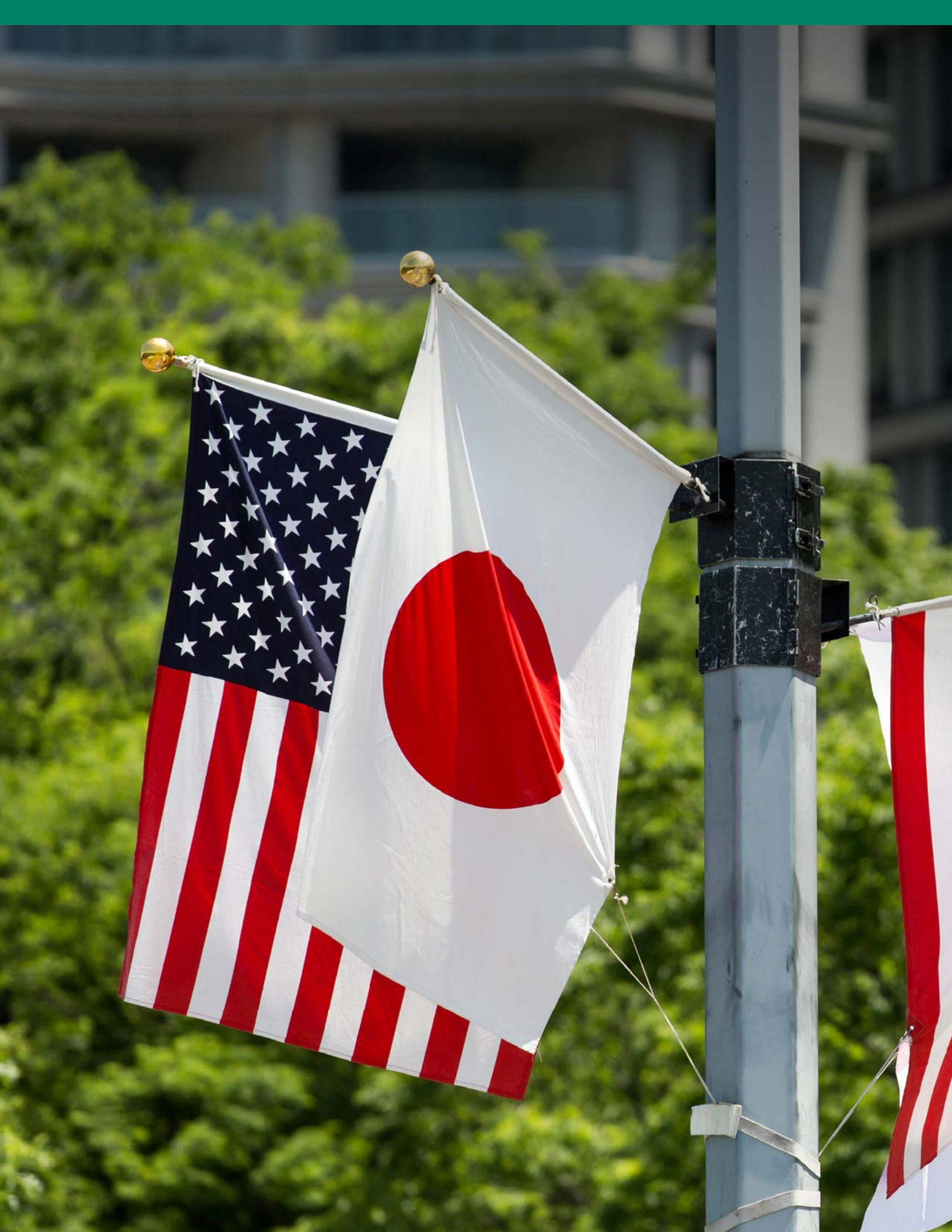
Hudson launched the Motwani Jadeja US-India Dialogue Series to convene high-level officials and experts on the evolving strategic partnership between these two democratic powers. **Mead** and **Pande** began the series by examining the foundational elements of US-India relations, highlighting how shared democratic values, robust people-to-people connections, and over \$190 billion in bilateral trade have created a partnership rooted in mutual economic engagement and evolving defense cooperation toward

a rules-based international order. Ambassador **Sripriya Ranganathan**, the deputy chief of mission at the Embassy of India in Washington, then keynoted a session that focused on technology cooperation as a vital component of the strategic relationship, discussing the US-India Initiative on Critical and Emerging Technology (iCET) and examining how governments, businesses, and academic institutions have expanded collaboration in both civilian and defense technology sectors. Finally, **Pande** and Deputy Secretary of State **Richard Verma** assessed the historic progress achieved over nearly 25 years of deepening bilateral ties and identified the major priorities and opportunities ahead that could shape global prosperity and security.

Opposite: Aparna Pande and Representative Darrell Issa discuss leadership changes in South Asia and America’s strategic response.

Top: Ambassador Sripriya Ranganathan, deputy chief of mission at the Indian Embassy to the US, discusses US-India relations with Walter Russell Mead.







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## STRENGTHENING **US-Japan Ties**

Hudson experts remained at the forefront of key issues vital to the US-Japan relationship, working to strengthen and deepen the alliance through enhanced trade, security cooperation, and scientific and technological investment.

Photo: US and Japanese flags displayed in Tokyo. (Getty Images)



## THE FUTURE OF **Japan's Foreign Policy**

In September, Prime Minister **Shigeru Ishiba**, while still a candidate for office, shared his views exclusively with Hudson on the future of Japan's foreign policy. He argued for establishing an Asian NATO to counter security threats from China, Russia, and North Korea, contending that Russia's invasion of Ukraine demonstrated the limitations of the United Nations-led collective security system and the importance of mutual defense obligations. He also proposed strengthening existing frameworks like the Quad (which includes the US, India, Australia, and Japan), AUKUS (the agreement among the US, the United Kingdom, and Australia), and Japan-US-South Korea cooperation from a hub-and-spoke system that could evolve into an Asian NATO.

Below: Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Ishiba speaks during a news conference in Tokyo. (Getty Images)

**“It is my mission to raise the Japan-US alliance to the level of the US-UK alliance. To achieve this, Japan must have its own military strategy and become independent in terms of security until it is willing to share its own strategy and tactics on equal terms with the US.”**

—Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Ishiba





## US-JAPAN Security Ties

Hudson's Japan Chair organized a discussion featuring former Japanese National Security Advisor **Shigeru Kitamura**, United States Marine Corps Brigadier General **James Wellons**, and National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) Director of Policy Studies **Sugio Takahashi**. They examined the policies needed to fulfill Japan's security needs and complete its defense transformation in cooperation with the United States and other partners.

During his remarks, Kitamura announced a major step in Japan's defense transformation: that Tokyo would expedite its purchase of hundreds of Tomahawk Block IV missiles from the United States. In a policy brief, **Masashi Murano** explained that Japan decided to make this significant investment in its counterstrike capabilities as part of a shift to deterrence by punishment rather than deterrence by denial.

In Japan, **H.R. McMaster** and **Bill Barr** spoke to Japanese corporate leaders about

**"If the window of opportunity is already opening for China and North Korea, Japan's long-range strike capability will, rather than destabilizing the region, prove to be a stabilizing force."**

—Masashi Murano

US politics, regional security threats, and global geopolitical stability—a discussion co-hosted with All Nippon Airways and Asian Forum Japan.

Below: Kenneth Weinstein hosts former Japanese National Security Advisor Shigeru Kitamura and Brigadier General James Wellons.



## STRENGTHENING US-Japan Economic Ties

On the eve of Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida's state visit to the United States in April, Governor **Eric Holcomb** of Indiana joined **Kenneth Weinstein** to discuss the importance of growing US-Japan efforts to enhance both countries' economic security, supply chains, and foreign direct investment, with a particular focus on the potential positive impact for American workers and US industrial leadership.

Senator **Dan Sullivan** (R-AK) took part in a fireside chat with **Weinstein** on how Alaska's prime location and wealth of natural resources offer opportunities for US and allied priorities in security, energy, and technology. Given the Trump administration's energy export-forward outlook and focus on security in the region, Alaska can offer solutions to a number of challenges.

In a report that was circulated in Washington and Tokyo, **Weinstein** and **William Chou** laid out the findings of a Japan Chair tabletop exercise that examined the strengths and weaknesses of the free and open Indo-Pacific concept as a strategic doctrine. In June, **Riley Walters** interviewed **Keisuke Suzuki**, a former member of Japan's House of Representatives and current



minister of justice, on the importance of the Japan-Taiwan relationship to regional prosperity.

Deputy Secretary of State **Kurt Campbell** discussed the US-Japan alliance's strategic evolution with **Patrick Cronin** ahead of the April summit between President Joe Biden and Prime Minister Fumio Kishida. Their conversation explored how the two nations would implement their agreements on enhancing economic ties, advancing technological innovation, coordinating diplomatic efforts, and strengthening security cooperation.

As Nippon Steel sought to navigate a difficult political landscape, Hudson's Japan





Chair highlighted how the company's proposed purchase of US Steel would be a win for US economic and security interests. **Chou** and **Paul Sracic** authored a report, *The Real Deal for US Steel*, that provided a fact-based analysis of the purchase and its benefits from industrial, antitrust, labor, technology, trade,

**“Japanese trade and investment play a huge role in our state’s health. The mutual attraction of open, innovation-driven markets is powerful for the simple reason that one plus one between such societies equals much more than two. We are stronger together.”**

—Governor Eric Holcomb

national security, and community perspectives just before the 119th Congress would take office.

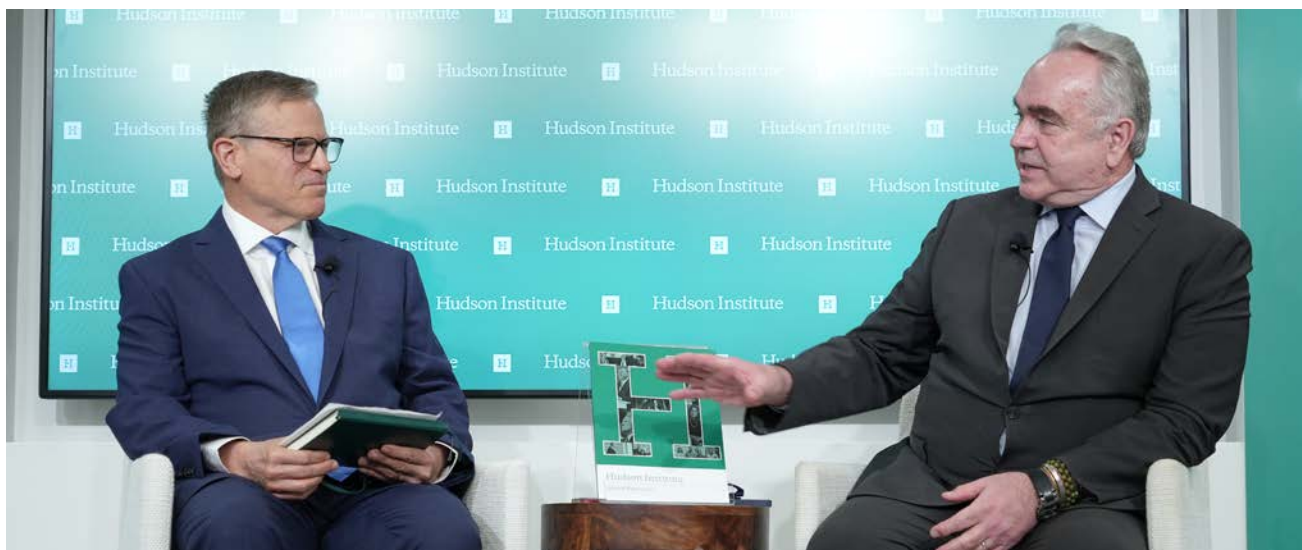
Hudson’s Japan Chair was also the first organization to bring the perspectives of steel industry stakeholders to Washington, hosting Mayor **Chris Kelly** of West Mifflin, Pennsylvania, and members of United Steel Workers Local 2227 in the nation’s capital. At Hudson, they spoke to **Chou** about the deal’s local impact.

**Mark Siegel** authored a policy memo explaining how Tokyo can become a financial hub. Noting the reabsorption of Hong Kong into the People’s Republic of China and the absence of a preeminent Asian financial center, Siegel observed that a window of opportunity exists for Tokyo if Japan can balance preserving its cultural strengths while implementing reforms that attract international financial institutions and professionals.

Previous page top: Senator Dan Sullivan and Kenneth Weinstein at Hudson Institute.

Previous page bottom: A high-level delegation visits Hudson ahead of the 2024 Mt. Fuji dialogue.

Below: Patrick Cronin and Deputy Secretary of State Kurt M. Campbell discuss Indo-Pacific security.









SUSTAINING VITAL

# Alliances in Europe

Hudson's Center on Europe and Eurasia guided policymakers to check Russia's military aggression in Ukraine, counter China's subversion of the continent, forge key links between the United States and Central Asia, and strengthen transatlantic military and economic partnerships. For policymakers from both sides of the aisle and both sides of the Atlantic, Hudson delivered practical policy recommendations on critical regional issues.

Photo: A drone pilot uses first-person-view goggles in Donetsk, Ukraine. (Getty Images)

## SUPPORTING UKRAINIAN VICTORY **And the US National Interest**



Hudson created a resource guide for policymakers focused on US national security and aid to Ukraine. Drawing on experts across the Institute including **Peter Rough, Luke Coffey, Daniel Kochis, Rebecca Heinrichs, Walter Russell Mead, Mike Pompeo, and Nadia Schadlow**, Hudson made the case that Ukrainian victory is vital to American national security interests, arguing that strengthening Ukraine helps degrade Russian military capabilities, deters aggression in Europe, and sends a powerful message to the China-Russia-Iran axis. Hudson experts also highlighted that backing Ukraine is cost-effective compared to the alternatives and represents an investment in modernizing US defense capa-

bilities. Finally, Hudson experts argued that abandoning Ukraine would have catastrophic consequences globally because American support for both Ukraine and other allies is vital to prevent broader, costlier future conflicts.

To forge stronger American support for Ukraine and to improve US relations with key European allies, Hudson hosted European leaders in Washington to deliberate on the path forward for Ukraine. Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States **Oksana Markarova** joined Hudson experts and officials from the US Air Force, the Czech Armed Forces, and the British Embassy to offer the Ukrainian perspective. Hudson welcomed **Gabrielius Landsbergis, Krišjānis Kariņš, and Margus Tsahk-**



na, the foreign ministers of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, respectively, to discuss the impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the recent NATO enlargement. **Kusti Salm**, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Defence of Estonia, joined **Peter Rough** to discuss Estonia's recently released plan for Ukrainian victory. Hudson hosted **Andrei Sannikov**, a longtime Belarusian opposition leader, to discuss Belarus's strategic importance, Russia's regional ambitions, and the prospects for political change in Minsk. Finally, Swedish Minister for Civil Defense **Carl-Oskar Bohlin** joined **Daniel Kochis** for a discussion on how Sweden's comprehensive approach to civil defense can inform NATO allies, enhance the security of Western societies, and adapt to new geopolitical realities.

Previous Page: Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States Oksana Markarova speaks on a panel with Luke Coffey.

Below: Peter Rough leads a discussion on the future of European security.

Ahead of a crucial congressional vote on continued aid to Ukraine in April, **John Walters** and **Mike Pompeo** penned an open letter to House Speaker Mike Johnson. They warned

**“The only way to force Putin from his objective is to give Ukraine the means to beat him on the battlefield. This is not an impossible task, but it requires the US to keep its nerve, recognize the stakes, and identify the path ahead. Now is the time to act.”**

—Luke Coffey and Peter Rough



**“Europe without America is in danger, and America is weaker without Europe too. Only working together makes sense, but it must be a partnership which is responsible and fair.”**

—Czechia Prime Minister Petr Fiala



that Russia is just one part of a larger axis that is working to weaken American security, and they emphasized the importance of maintaining strong alliances—from the Indo-Pacific to the Middle East to Europe—to promote American prosperity. As the letter urged, the speaker took the bill to the House floor.

**Rough** and **Coffey** coauthored three policy memos emphasizing Europe’s importance to the US and explaining how Washington can strengthen its relationships on the continent to protect American interests. One outlined how Russia’s invasion changed the security dynamics of the region and how the United States and NATO should adapt to these new circumstances. Dame **Karen Pierce**, the British ambassador to the US, joined Hudson to support this memo’s release. In another Hudson memo, **Coffey** and **Rough** laid out a “strategy of courage” for the US and its allies to adjust their approach to new realities in Ukraine. Ahead of the 2024 NATO summit, the report identified concrete goals for Ukraine and gave Western policymakers a roadmap to help Kyiv achieve

them. Finally, **Rough** and **Coffey** explained the importance of Moldova to the West’s competition against Russian influence and energy warfare in a policy memo released just before critical Moldovan elections.

**Matthew Boyse** partnered with Romania’s New Strategy Center to author a report on Ukraine’s success in the battle of the Black Sea. In a Hudson event, he discussed the importance of suppressing Moscow’s ability to operate in this key strategic region and how the US could benefit from deepening cooperation with Kyiv against Russia’s Black Sea Fleet.

**Daniel Kochis** authored a policy memo arguing against “Pacific prioritization,” which would divert US resources from Europe to counter China. **Kochis** argued this approach misunderstands the unified nature of the Russian and Chinese threats, that supporting Ukraine strengthens rather than undermines Pacific deterrence, and that abandoning European allies would damage US credibility globally.

**Can Kasapoğlu** continued to provide leading analysis on the military balance on the continent. In his weekly *Ukraine Military Situation Report*, he provided experts and policymakers with relevant analysis of the latest open-source intelligence from the front lines. This newsletter accurately predicted the nature of North Korea’s involvement and other key developments in the war. **Kasapoğlu** also conducted a thorough analysis of NATO’s military balance with Russia, which identified the alliance’s materiel and force-deployment shortfalls and was shared widely in Washington and European capitals.

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Photo: Czech Prime Minister Petr Fiala delivers an address on transatlantic relations.



## HUDSON AT THE **2024 NATO Public Forum**

Hudson was proud to cohost the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Public Forum in Washington, DC, on the sidelines of the alliance's seventy-fifth summit. Hudson experts sat down with policymakers from the United States and its allies to discuss why restoring NATO's military strength is vital to global security, freedom, and prosperity.



Supreme Allied Commander Europe **Christopher Cavoli** joined **Peter Rough** to discuss methods for strengthening Europe's defense capabilities as the threat of a Russian attack on NATO increases.



**Nadia Schadlow** and Greek Prime Minister **Kyriakos Mitsotakis** reflected on NATO's history and discussed how it can remain the world's most successful military alliance.



**Kenneth Weinstein** sat down with South Korean President **Yoon Suk Yeol** to talk about why the war in Ukraine matters to Indo-Pacific and global security.



**John Walters** and Senator **Roger Wicker** (R-MS) discussed the senator's report on how America can restore peace through strength.



Following remarks from Slovak President **Peter Pellegrini**, **Luke Coffey** joined General **Ben Hodges**, United Kingdom Secretary of State for Defense **John Healey**, and Latvian Defense Minister **Andris Spruds** on a panel examining how the outcome of the war in Ukraine will affect the transatlantic community.



Admiral **Rob Bauer**, NATO's highest-ranking military official, visited Hudson to discuss the alliance's strengths and challenges. Bauer highlighted the need for closer cooperation with the private sector to strengthen NATO's industrial base and adapt defense strategies to meet evolving security threats.



**Bryan Clark** moderated a panel of government and industry leaders to discuss how NATO militaries and defense industries will need to both adapt and scale in response to lessons from the war in Ukraine.



Hudson also set the scene for the public forum by hosting numerous high-level policymakers. As policymakers and elected leaders from across the globe arrived in Washington, Hudson was a leading venue for public and private conversations on the global security environment and the future of economic security.



Hudson Institute partnered with the European Union and Semafor to host EU Defense Night, a high-profile reception held on Hudson's rooftop on the eve of the NATO Public Forum alongside the 2024 summit. The event convened senior leaders including Belgium Prime Minister **Alexander De Croo**, Lithuanian Minister of National Defense **Laurynas Kasčiūnas**, and Ukrainian Minister for Strategic Industries **Alexander Kamyshin**, among other diplomats, industry representatives, and policy experts.

## CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE **Strategy Summit**

Hudson Institute's Center on Europe and Eurasia hosted its second Central and Eastern Europe Strategy Summit, focusing on geoeconomics and featuring senior European and EU officials. The summit addressed key topics including energy, connectivity, manufacturing, finance, and national security, emphasizing the importance of Central and Eastern Europe in the transatlantic alliance and the region's role in the broader geopolitical and economic landscape.







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PROMOTING US INTERESTS

# In the Middle East

Hudson experts continued to draw urgent attention to the Middle East as a principal arena of great power competition that is vital to the United States' interests. Hudson experts worked to guide policymakers in Washington, Jerusalem, and beyond on policies to support Israel, counter Iran, push back against antisemitism, and rebuild a US-led alliance system in the Middle East.

Photo: The guided-missile destroyer USS *Carney* launches a land-attack missile in the US Central Command area of responsibility. (US Navy photo)

## SUPPORTING ISRAEL

# In Its War Against Hamas

Hudson experts argued against the Biden administration's efforts to weaken Israel. Following a visit to Israel, **Nikki Haley** wrote in the *New York Post* that US support for Israel's fight against Hamas and other Iranian-backed terrorist groups is essential for both Israeli and American security. **Haley** criticized the Biden administration for withholding weapons and pushing for a ceasefire, sharing powerful survivor testimonies from the October 7 attack to emphasize that Israel must defeat Hamas and secure the return of all hostages, including eight Americans.

During a Hudson trip to Israel **John Walters** identified three causes for the attack: first, international support for Hamas despite the group's murderous and genocidal tendencies; second, Israeli intelligence failures; and third,

Israel's dependence on defensive measures and passive deterrence measures like the Iron Dome. To keep itself safe, Israel would need to go on offense, he wrote.

**Michael Doran** appeared on CNN, PBS, C-SPAN's *Washington Journal*, and the Council on Foreign Relations' *Open to Debate* chronicling the Biden administration's behind-the-scenes efforts to weaken Israel: sanctioning Israeli individuals to weaken the government

**“Our own security demands  
that we stand with Israel  
to stop Iran.”**

—Nikki Haley





**“If there is a path to peace and stability in the Middle East, it requires enhancing the firepower of America and its allies, not in redoubling the pursuit of ‘de-escalation.’”**

—Michael Doran

in Jerusalem, slow-walking military aid, and telling Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to “take the win” after Iran’s historically unprecedented strike.

Hudson’s Center for Peace and Security in the Middle East also drew attention to the importance of US support for Israel through events and media coverage. Hudson launched *Deep Dive*, a series on TV7 Israel News hosted by **Jonathan Hessen**, featuring Hudson experts **Michael Doran**, **Joel Rayburn**, **Ezra Cohen**, and others, alongside Israeli policymakers and military leaders guiding Israel’s fight to secure its existence. Broadcast from Jerusalem, the show reaches thousands of viewers around the world.

The center hosted events with Representative **Joe Wilson** (R-SC), American Jewish Committee CEO and former Congressman Ted Deutch, and **Mike Pompeo** to discuss the importance of support for Israel and the security paradigm in the Middle East following Hamas’s October 7 attacks.

Opposite: Peter Rough and Ambassador Nikki Haley discuss US support for Israel.

This page, from top: Michael Doran appears on CNN; Peter Rough and American Jewish Committee CEO Ted Deutch discuss the Iran threat; Michael Doran and Mike Pompeo discuss the Israel-Hamas war; Michael Doran and Representative Joe Wilson discuss the state of the Middle East.



## COUNTERING Iran

Hudson experts recommended policies to support Israel in its mission of disarming the terrorist Iranian regime rather than trying to achieve peace through a stalemate between the two nations. **Michael Doran** was the leading voice in favor of American support for Israel as the Jewish state systematically dismantled Iran's network of proxies. In "Operation Grim Beeper," Doran coined the name of Israel's unprecedented operation to dismantle Hezbollah's network—and the terror group's trust in equipment provided by its benefactors in Tehran.

Following Iran's large-scale missile and drone salvo against Israel in April, **Doran** briefed stakeholders on what the attack means and how Israel should respond. In this briefing, which was later released to the public, he leaned on the military intelligence findings of a rapid-response military intelligence report by **Can Kasapoğlu**. Gathering available open-source intelligence, **Kasapoğlu** identified the Iranian capabilities and tactics that made the strike package

**"The healthy alternative to the *Star Wars* paradigm, which has so visibly and spectacularly failed to assure Israel's security, is *Mad Max*. This alternative paradigm states that new and old weapon systems will merge, thanks to innovative concepts of operations."**

—Michael Doran and Can Kasapoğlu



so dangerous—many of which had been developed through Russia-Iran collaboration and honed through Moscow's strikes against Ukraine.

Hudson experts drew connections between conflicts in the Middle East and the war in Ukraine to inform US policymakers of emerging trends in drone and missile warfare. In February, **Kasapoğlu** authored a report titled "How the War in Ukraine Shapes Iran's Strategic Gains and Ambitions." In it, he laid out why the Russia-Iran nexus is so dangerous for US allies in both the Middle East and Europe, namely Iran's ability to overwhelm enemy air defenses.

**Kasapoğlu** and **Doran** expanded on this concept in May. In *Tablet*, they examined Israel's on-the-ground struggles against Hamas terrorists in Gaza to explain why the high-tech *Star Wars* paradigm of military technology that developed nations like the US and Israel have relied on for the past several decades is no longer sufficient to deter and defeat even technologically inferior adversaries.

Photo: Michael Doran and Can Kasapoğlu discuss Israel's military strategy and the evolving threat from Iran.

Opposite: Walter Russell Mead takes part in a Hudson panel.



PUSHING BACK

## Against Antisemitism

Hudson experts worked on both sides of the aisle to fight back against the rise of antisemitism. **Liel Leibovitz** and Congressman **Ritchie Torres** (D-NY) discussed reforming the incentives behind the dangerous spread of antisemitism across academic institutions and social media—especially TikTok—on a *Tablet* podcast. “Our elite academic institutions have become swamps of ideological inflammation and corporate-sponsored obtuseness,” **Leibovitz** warned later in an op-ed for *City Journal*. Exposing this moral rot is the first step to building the political and social momentum to remove it, he wrote.

**Leibovitz** further argued in a series of op-eds that supporting Israel in its war against Hamas terrorists and their backers in Tehran is both morally right and strategically necessary. “America has very real foes taking very real steps to jeopardize our national security interests, Iran first and foremost among them,” he wrote in the *New York Post*. Hudson worked to expose these interconnections between the rise of antisemitism in America and the goals of US adversaries. **Leibovitz**

**“You hardly need to be Jewish, or a political scientist, to realize that the so-called pro-Palestine crowd isn’t really all that interested in Palestine. Their main goal is America, that lone bastion of Western civilization.”**

—Liel Leibovitz

also hosted renowned author **Bernard-Henri Lévy** for a discussion on how the October 7 attack and the subsequent war in Gaza are likely to shape geopolitics for decades to come.

On the anniversary of the October 7 attack, **Walter Russell Mead** wrote that young Americans have been misguided by liberal intellectual elites and now face a world that is much more dangerous than they had been led to believe.

**“What our elites forgot is that the rules-based world order was never more than a consequence of American and allied power, and that without the steadfast maintenance and wise use of that power, the rules by which the world lives will revert to something more like the Law of the Jungle than the Sermon on the Mount.”**

—Walter Russell Mead



## REBUILDING THE US-led Alliance System in the Middle East

Hudson worked to strengthen the US-Israel relationship as the cornerstone of regional security, freedom, and prosperity. **Walter Russell Mead** wrote in *The Wall Street Journal* that Israel's recognition of the hard realities of the region—that kinetic force is often the only way

to achieve geopolitical aims—was essential to defending Western interests.

**Nikki Haley** echoed this sentiment in high-profile media interviews. “They’re not going to stop. And they shouldn’t stop,” she told Brett Baier on Fox News about Israel’s strategic successes against Iran and its proxies. She argued in this October interview that the next administration needs to ensure Jerusalem knows that it has America’s full backing.

**Zineb Riboua** pushed incisive and original analysis of the alliances and influences that shape the region. In a *Jerusalem Post* op-ed, she described an “Abraham alliance”—an anti-Iran coalition of US allies and partners in the Middle East. This framework was a crucial aspect of Prime Minister Netanyahu’s July visit to Washington. **Riboua** also argued in a November op-ed in *National Review*

**“By acting decisively, the United States can reclaim leadership in these critical regions and safeguard its long-term strategic interests. It’s now or never.”**

—Zineb Riboua







that Israel’s military accomplishments give the US a chance to restore deterrence in the Middle East, particularly by destroying the Houthi terror group. Finally, she explained in *The National Interest* that the fall of Bashar al-Assad’s government in Syria would deal a crucial blow to Russian influence in the Middle East and laid out a path for the US, Israel, and other allies to seize the opportunity.

**Mead** argued that Assad’s fall signified an important shift in a region that had, for the last decade, been shaped by Barack Obama’s

soft-on-Iran policies. But the end of Iran’s ascendancy has implications for US security, **Mead** argued. Keeping Turkey on America’s side while promoting the US-Israel relationship and Jerusalem’s ties with its Arab partners will be key for Washington’s policy going forward, he wrote in *The Wall Street Journal*.

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Opposite: Michael Doran and Zineb Riboua discuss the October 7 attacks one year later.

Above: An anti-government fighter tears down a picture of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad in Aleppo. (Getty Images)





The background image shows a US Marine Corps MQ-9A unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) on a runway. The UAV is white with a dark nose and is positioned on the left side of the frame. In the background, there is a large, dark, forested mountain and a small town with buildings and houses. The sky is blue with some clouds. The overall scene is a mix of natural and man-made elements, suggesting a military or defense context.

## RESTORING AMERICAN **Hard Power**

The United States' military dominance, which undergirds American security, freedom, and prosperity, is eroding. In 2024, Hudson's Center for Defense Concepts and Technology identified specific areas where US forces can leverage America's advantages to sustain overmatch against adversaries like China and maintain deterrence.

Photo: A US Marine Corps MQ-9A unmanned aerial vehicle. (US Marine Corps photo)

## DETERRING AND **Defeating China**

The People's Republic of China's numerical and geographical advantages in the Western Pacific mean that it may be able to overwhelm US forces around Taiwan. Hudson experts identified how the US can adapt its force design and regional security ties to deter or defeat this threat.

Taking into consideration America's current force design, global commitments, and industrial shortfalls, **Bryan Clark** and **Dan Patt** pro-

**“Achieving the mass and complexity necessary to disrupt a People's Liberation Army (PLA) invasion will demand low-cost, attritable systems that will likely lack the speed or range to engage PLA forces at scale near China's mainland.”**

—Bryan Clark and Dan Patt

posed a new operational approach to sustain conventional deterrence: a Taiwan-focused “hedge force” that relies primarily on affordable uncrewed systems to complement traditional forces.

**David Alexander**, president of General Atomics Aeronautical Systems, joined **Clark** and **Patt** to discuss the report's key takeaways.

Clark also built on his 2023 report on Pillar Two of the AUKUS technology sharing agreement, which includes Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. He hosted two events with Australian defense officials to discuss how Washington and Canberra can work together to ensure the landmark deal lives up to its high expectations.

The Philippines is one of the main targets of China's rising aggression and promises to be a vital regional ally to the United States. In June, **Timothy Walton** presented at the Philippine Air Force's Symposium and Expo on how the Philippine Air Force can shift from a focus on air sovereignty to integrated air and missile defense.

Below: Timothy Walton hosts a panel of military experts.





## SHAPING THE Future of US Force Design



General **Christopher Mahoney**, the assistant commandant of the US Marine Corps, joined **Bryan Clark** and **Dan Patt** to discuss how the USMC is integrating advanced missiles and artillery alongside unmanned systems, artificial intelligence, and cyber and electronic warfare to prepare the force for future conflicts.

**Clark** hosted Chief Digital and Artificial Intelligence Officer (CDAO) **Radha Plumb**, Deputy CDAO **Margaret Palmieri**, and defense industry representatives from Palantir and Anduril to discuss how the Pentagon can field an adaptable, software-defined force to give US forces a needed advantage against twenty-first-century opponents.

**Clark** and **Patt** brought together experts from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, US Indo-Pacific Command, and the National Defense Industrial Association's Emerging Technologies Institute to discuss new ways to prototype and experiment with joint systems-of-systems that transcend traditional service boundaries.

**Aditi Kumar**, deputy director of the Defense Innovation Unit, joined Hudson for a fireside chat on the Replicator Initiative's progress in its mission to rapidly field and scale existing technologies to address high-priority operational problems.

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Above: Bryan Clark and General Christopher Mahoney discuss the future of the Marine Corps.

Below: Aditi Kumar speaks at a Hudson Institute event.



## COMPETING WITH CHINA IN THE **Commercial Maritime Domain**

A key aspect of China's military buildup is its dominance over the commercial maritime industry, which translates into a massive shipbuilding advantage over the US. In 2024, Hudson experts actively supported Congress's efforts to rebuild America's maritime industry, regularly providing technical advice to Representatives **Mike Waltz** (R-FL) and **John Garamendi** (D-FL), Senator **Mark Kelly** (D-AZ), and other congressional staff and policymakers.

With large increases in defense and infrastructure spending politically unlikely, **Michael Roberts** and **Bryan Clark** gave eight affordable recommendations to shore up US and allied shipbuilding and ship repair. **Roberts** then hosted Representative **Joe Courtney** (D-CT), the ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee's Seapower and Projection Forces Subcommittee.

**“Washington will need to act decisively to restore the US maritime industry’s ability to protect US supply chains, maintain naval forces, and build new vessels to grow or recapitalize the Navy and US flag fleets.”**

—Michael Roberts and Bryan Clark

Below: Michael Roberts hosts Representative Joe Courtney to discuss US shipbuilding.





## REBUILDING THE **Arsenal of Democracy**

Mike Gallagher, Shyam Sankar, Nadia Schadow, and Peter Rough discussed how the second Trump administration can return to hard-power principles and reassert American dominance on the world stage.

Representative Rob Wittman (R-VA) and Korean Ambassador to the United States Hyun-dong Cho joined Schadow to discuss opportunities and challenges in implementing a more unified allied industrial base, with a particular focus on shipbuilding. Policymakers from the Offices of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy and experts from HD Hyundai Heavy Industries, American Rheinmetall Vehicles, Hanwha Defense USA, and Saab then took part in discussions on how the United States can leverage its alliances to fulfill its production and manufacturing needs.

Schadow explained in a series of high-profile op-eds and reports how the United States and its allies can regain the advantage in great power competition against the China-led axis. In *Foreign Affairs*, she laid out a comprehensive security, economic, and diplomatic strategy to achieve “overmatch” against this axis: develop superior military technology and operational concepts, incentivize strategic investments in domestic industry, and lean into America’s diplomatic advantages compared to its authoritarian adversaries.

Then, ahead of the 2024 presidential election, Schadow argued in *The Economist* that



European countries should work toward a pro-growth, pro-freedom partnership with a potential second Trump administration. By rejecting the US, she argued, Europe risks increasing its dependence on China.

These analyses built off the four major geopolitical disruptions she identified in an August policy memo. America’s future will depend on the way policymakers shape and respond to (1) the rise of this authoritarian axis, (2) a return to strategic energy policy as opposed to climate alarmism, (3) a new realism in international trade, and (4) the rise of artificial intelligence. America needs to return to the principles of the Manhattan Project that allowed it to win the nuclear arms race, she argued.

Above: Mike Gallagher and Nadia Schadow discuss how the second Trump administration can reassert American security dominance.

**“A second Trump administration could **redefine America’s industrial future** by focusing on strategic sectors, regulatory reform, workforce development, energy reliability, capital mobilization, and trade.”**

—Nadia Schadow

## DETECTING A NEW ERA OF **Nuclear Threats**

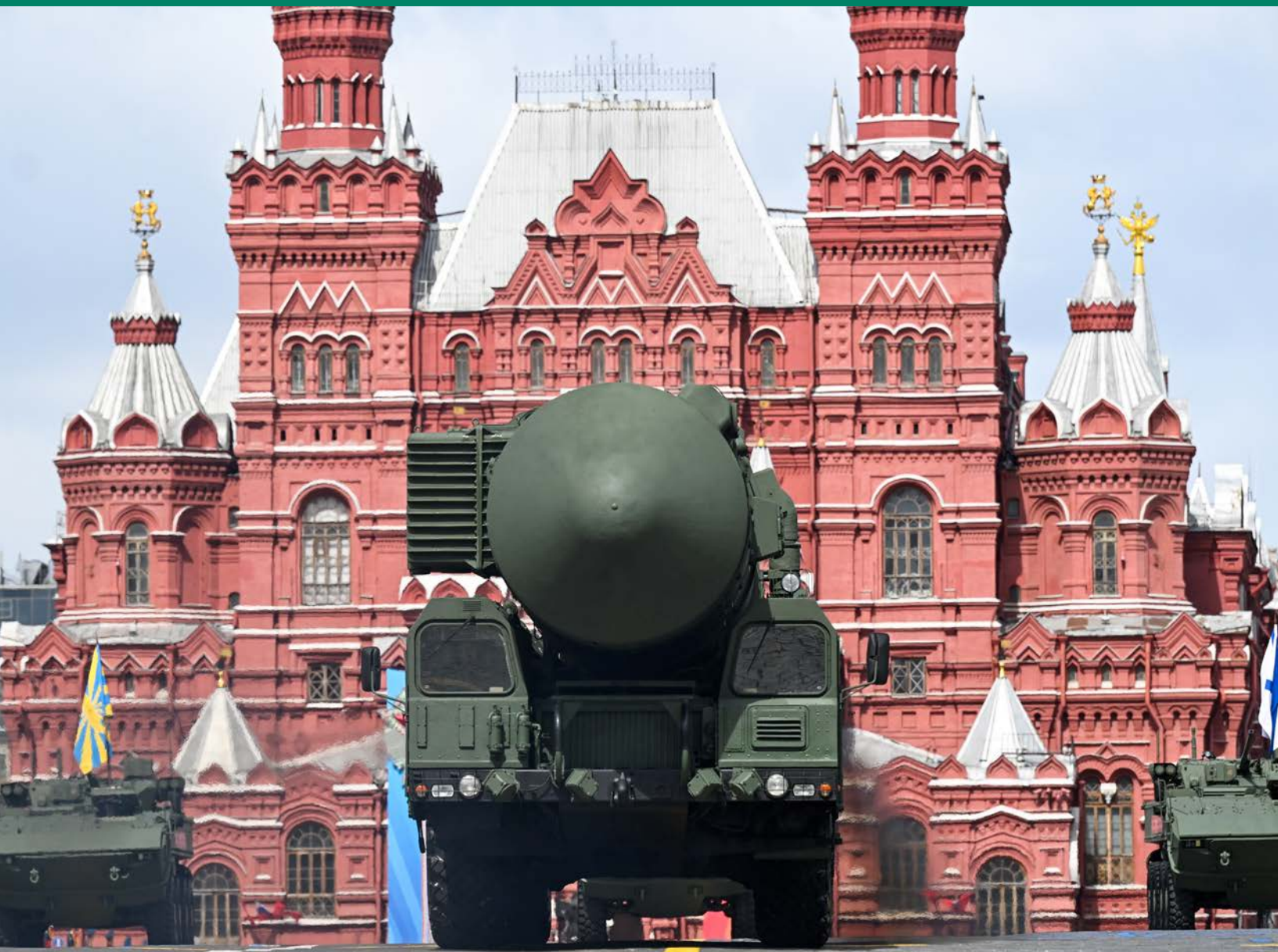
In a Hudson report, **Rebecca Heinrichs** and **Ryan Tully** argued that the United States faces a new era of danger as China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran use nuclear coercion to undermine US alliance credibility rather than engaging in direct military confrontation. **Heinrichs** explained how Russia's use of nuclear threats amid its invasion of Ukraine has demonstrated how American restraint emboldens further escalation. **Tully** explained that the West's failure to deter Russia stemmed from perceived American weakness following the Afghanistan withdrawal, insufficient European defense spending, and misguided concessions to Moscow in pursuit of stable relations. He contended that the Biden administration's subsequent fear of escalation led to delayed and incremental military aid that prolonged the conflict and may embolden future Chinese aggression against Taiwan. To counter these dangers,



**Heinrichs** argued that the United States needs to strengthen its nuclear deterrent capabilities and work more closely with allies to credibly fulfill American military commitments and maintain the international order.







Hudson Institute and Space Foundation co-hosted a bipartisan congressional workshop featuring **Heinrichs**, Representatives **Doug Lamborn** (R-CO), **Vince Fong** (R-CA), and **Donald Norcross** (D-NJ), Admiral **James Winnefeld Jr.**, and former Pentagon officials. The workshop addressed America's hypersonic missile capabilities and defense programs. The participants identified five critical priorities: developing hypersonic weapons as a deterrent against China and Russia; training forces to defend against hypersonic threats through advanced sensors and interceptor systems; scaling the defense industrial base with increased testing and domestic manufac-

turing; removing barriers to allied cooperation with Australia, Japan, and South Korea; and streamlining regulations while empowering private sector partnerships. The workshop emphasized that America faces a "capability race" requiring rapid development of both offensive and defensive hypersonic systems to maintain strategic deterrence.

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Opposite page top: Representatives Vince Fong and Donald Norcross discuss the future of US hypersonic missiles.

Opposite page bottom: Rebecca Heinrichs and Representative Doug Lamborn discuss US nuclear deterrence.

Above: A Russian RS-24 Yars nuclear missile parades through Red Square in Moscow. (Getty Images)







HI

RENEWING AMERICA'S

# Innovation and Energy Base and Promoting Economic Prosperity

Conflicts in Europe and the Middle East and rising tensions in East Asia have brought into acute focus the relationship between economic security, energy security, and national security. As supply chains in critical sectors like semiconductors, advanced batteries, and pharmaceuticals became more dispersed, the United States grew dangerously dependent on other countries for supplies of key components. Moreover, misguided policy decisions hampered domestic energy production, threatened US energy independence, and increased prices for US consumers. As policymakers and the public grapple with how to reduce America's vulnerabilities in strategic industries and bolster US economic growth, Hudson experts worked to reduce America's vulnerabilities in strategic industries, bolster US economic growth, and advance free-market solutions that strengthen America's economic resilience.

Photo: A pumpjack operates in Alberta, Canada. (Getty Images)



## REASSERTING AMERICAN **Energy Dominance**

Hudson experts criticized the Biden administration's energy policies as harming American interests, increasing global carbon emissions, and benefiting other nations. In *The Hill*, **Thomas Duesterberg** and **Brigham McCown** cataloged the folly of Biden's liquefied natural gas (LNG) export restrictions, noting that as the world's largest LNG exporter, the US provides critical energy stability to US allies and partners in Europe and Asia while reducing global emissions by displacing coal. They warned that restricting LNG exports would jeopardize planned industry investments of \$290 billion, undermine decades of progress toward US energy independence, and destabilize markets during a period of global conflict. They recommended maintaining an "all-of-the-above" approach to energy policy that prioritizes market efficiency and regulatory certainty.

**"By learning from the past and adopting strong, stable energy policies, Washington can return to its place as the primary guarantor of global security and prosperity. Failing to do so only helps America's adversaries."**

—Brigham McCown

Following the Biden administration's recommendation that Ukraine desist from attacking Russian oil refineries, **Duesterberg**





wrote in *National Review* that the policy harms American interests while benefiting China and India. He showed how sanctions redirected discounted Russian oil to these countries, enabling them to compete with US exporters in global markets while failing to significantly impact Vladimir Putin's war capabilities. **Duesterberg** recommended increasing US oil and gas production to stabilize global prices, reduce competitors' advantages, strengthen the American economy, and achieve environmental benefits by displacing higher-polluting production.

Hudson Institute, in partnership with the Macdonald-Laurier Institute, gathered leading energy and security experts, industry representatives, and policymakers to discuss how the US and Canada can work together to strengthen North American energy security. In panel events and off-the-record discussions, conference participants discussed how a strengthened US partnership with Canada can help to mitigate US dependency on China

for critical minerals and on Russia for uranium supplies. **Paul Dabbar**, former under secretary for science at the US Department of Energy, delivered keynote remarks.

In March, **McCown** released a report on how US energy policy can strengthen global security. Looking at American policies as far back as World War II—when the US supplied 85 percent of the oil and gas the Allies used to overcome the Axis—he identified four principles for energy dominance: maximize production, restore American credibility, create a stable policy environment, and recognize the reality about greenhouse gas emissions. Then, he gave a roadmap for policymakers to act upon these principles and deal a significant blow to the China-Russia-Iran-North Korea axis.

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Opposite: Brigham McCown moderates a panel on establishing North American energy dominance.

Below: Thomas Duesterberg speaks at the North American Energy Preeminence Forum.

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## TRADE POLICY TO ADVANCE **US Economic Leadership**

Ahead of the 2024 US presidential election, **Thomas Duesterberg** warned that both candidates were missing the mark on trade policy, with Kamala Harris largely avoiding trade discussions and Donald Trump proposing a potential across-the-board tariff on all imports. **Duesterberg** cautioned that these approaches threaten to harm the US economy, weaken the US-led alliance system, and undermine America's ability to counter China's growing economic and geopolitical influence.

*Continued next page*



**“There are two hot wars going on, in Ukraine and now in the Middle East. China has been complicit in aiding our adversaries, and part of the effort is their ability and willingness to launder money to aid the terrorist organizations or to help Putin finance semiconductor purchases.”**

—Thomas Duesterberg

*Trade Policy to Advance . . . continued*

In *The Wall Street Journal*, **Duesterberg** noted that the Supreme Court’s 2024 *Loper Bright* decision overturning *Chevron* deference gives Congress renewed constitutional authority to check executive trade actions, potentially enabling a more balanced approach that could include opening the United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement (USMCA) to other nations, rejoining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), and strengthening intellectual property protec-

tions to effectively counter China’s economic aggression.

Representative **Frank Lucas** (R-OK), the chair of the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee, joined Hudson to discuss legislative, financial, and economic initiatives that could safeguard American interests and contribute to a free and open Indo-Pacific. **Duesterberg** argued that money laundering is a key part of Russia’s and China’s strategies to harm the US by aiding terrorist organizations.

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## ADDRESSING Global Debt Woes

Hudson gathered leading officials to discuss debt crises at home and abroad. **John Walters** hosted economist and former Senator **Phil Gramm** to discuss why American deficit spending is unsustainable and threatens to impose stringent limits on all other discretionary spending. **Thomas Duesterberg** sat down with **Gramm** to discuss creative solutions to the crisis.

Former World Bank President **David Malpass** presented a new paper outlining construc-

tive and cooperative ways to address the debt crisis in the developing world, which China is leveraging to increase its influence. The paper, which included an introduction by **Thomas Duesterberg** and further analysis by **Joshua Meserve**, warned that failing to address this crisis will have severe human and geopolitical repercussions. The experts offered constructive and cooperative ways international organizations like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund can address the issue.



## MAINTAINING AMERICA'S **Innovation Advantage**

Hudson worked to identify the technologies that would shape the future and steer US policy to harness them for the benefit of all Americans. Remaining ahead of adversaries in high technology will be crucial to maintaining America's economic and military advantage. To that end, **Nadia Schadow** identified America's twenty-first-century "moonshot moment": the chance to gain the advantage in fusion energy. To keep China from winning the race to this crucial breakthrough, she recommended that US policymakers include fusion in their vision for a green future, create a regulatory environment that allows for scaled deployment of the technology, and spur development through tax incentives and loan programs.

Meanwhile, as Americans worried about the implications artificial intelligence will have for education, culture, and the spread of information, China steadily moved ahead with its own plan for this advanced digital technology. **Arthur Herman** warned in *Commentary* that the nation that wins the AI cold war will be the one that has the clearest vision for the technology.

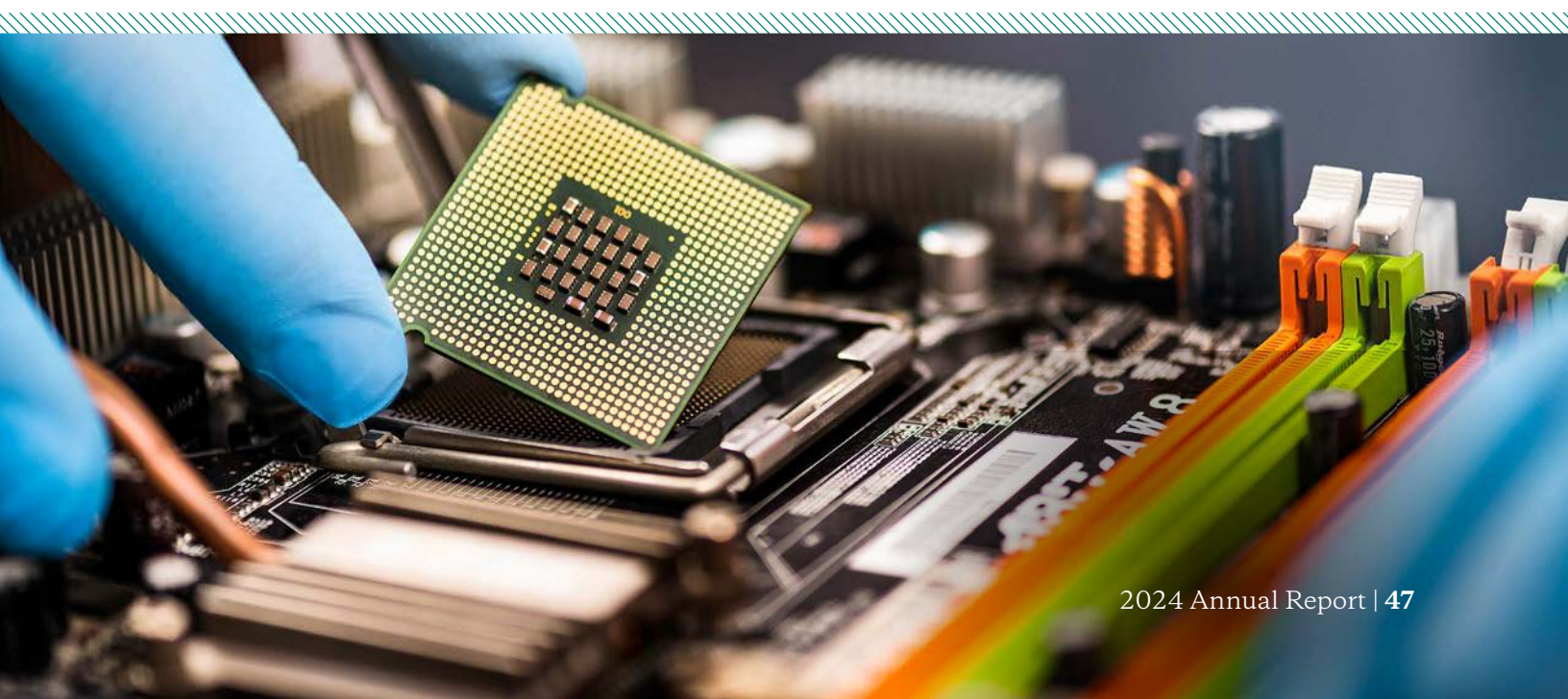
**Adam Mossoff** authored a Hudson report arguing that to maintain the West's innova-

tion edge over China, US and European lawmakers should continue evidence-based policymaking that builds on telecommunications industry successes. **Mossoff** outlined how the West's advantage stems from effective patent rights, rule of law, and courts that resolve disputes through due process.

**Harold Furchtgott-Roth** drew connections between spectrum policy and American national security in testimony before the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. **Furchtgott-Roth** outlined how America's historically market-oriented approach to spectrum allocation generated tremendous economic value and global influence, but recent policy paralysis has allowed competitors like China to gain ground. He endorsed the bipartisan Spectrum Pipeline Act of 2024, which would extend auction authority, identify federal spectrum for commercial transfer, set timelines for auctions, and enhance unlicensed services, contending that restoring US leadership in spectrum policy through market mechanisms rather than centralized control is essential for both economic prosperity and national security.

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Below photo: (Getty Images)







HI

DEFENDING US INTERESTS

# In the Western Hemisphere

As America's adversaries expand their influence in Central and Latin America, many in Washington ignore the region. Hudson experts drew attention to how Russia, China, and Iran are exploiting regional dynamics and recommended policies for the United States to counter these threats and safeguard American interests in the Western Hemisphere.

Photo: Riot police officers stand guard outside the Ecuadorian embassy in Mexico City. (Getty Images)

DEFENDING US INTERESTS

## In the Western Hemisphere

Hudson emphasized these and other policy considerations in a US-Latin America event series led by **Dan Batlle**. To examine the Maduro regime's strategic alliances with rogue states like Iran, **Batlle** hosted **María Corina Machado**, leader of Venezuela's democratic movement. At the event, they discussed the 1,600 political prisoners the Maduro regime holds, opposition leaders forced into exile, and the Venezuelan regime's involvement in illicit activities that threaten regional stability.

In a *Dallas Morning News* op-ed, **Batlle** explained how the US could support the Venezuelan people in their struggle for freedom from Maduro's oppressive regime. He recommended that the Biden administration work with other Latin American leaders to arrive at an agreement and pressure the Maduro regime to produce vote tallies.

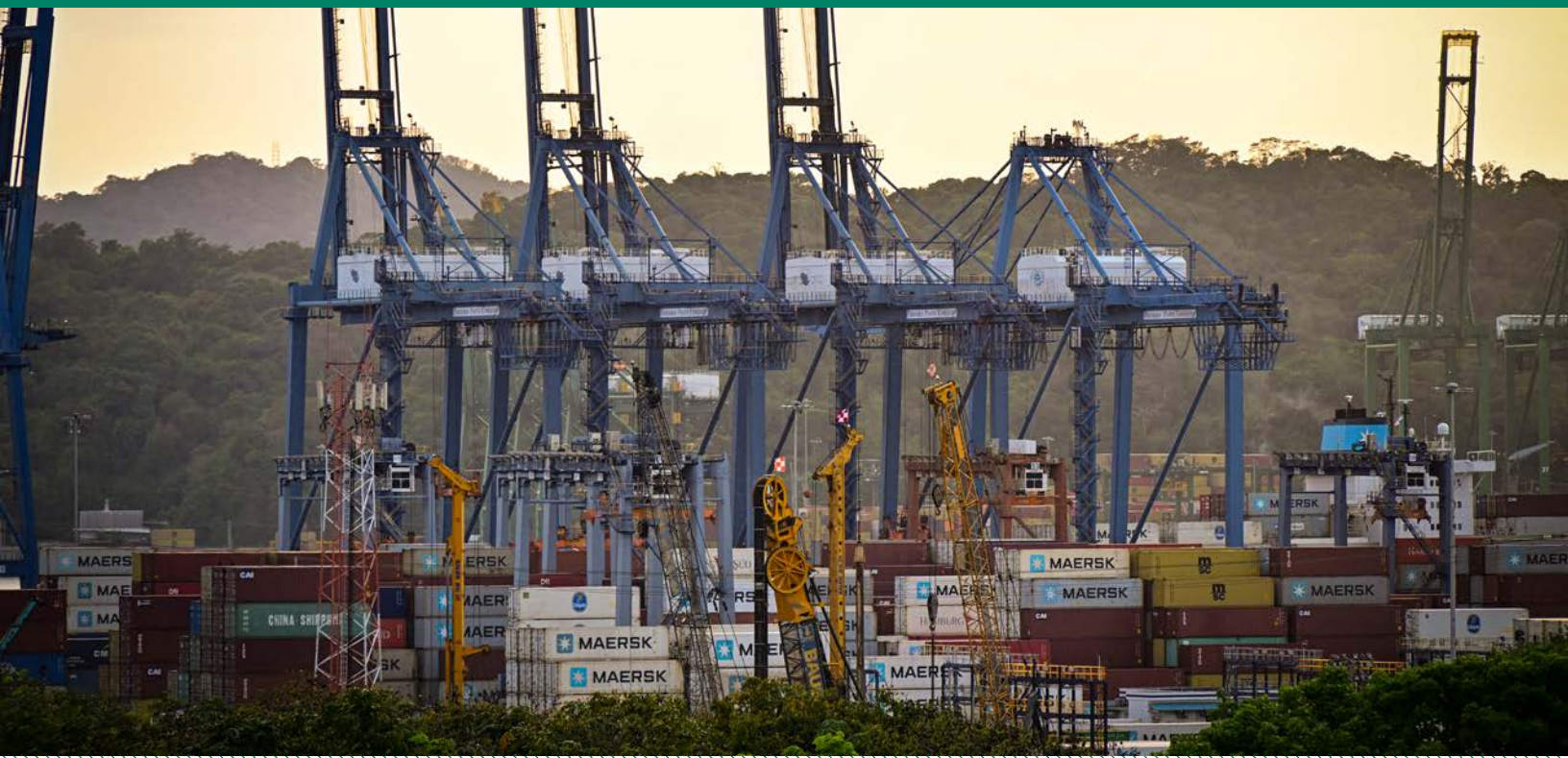
**Nate Sibley** and **Marshall Billingslea** examined the regime's involvement in kleptocratic patronage networks, narcotrafficking, and coverups of brutal gang violence. With other experts on the country, they explored how the US should dispose of the billions of dollars seized during criminal proceedings against members of Maduro's inner circle.

**Sibley** and **Billingslea** hosted two former senior officials from Argentina's financial intelligence unit, **Mariano Federici** and **Maria Eugenia Talerico**, to discuss Iran's involvement in the country's previous administration and how President Javier Milei can restore the rule of law to minimize Moscow's and Beijing's influence.

Hudson also focused on ways to bolster Latin American economic growth. World Bank economists **Elena Ianchovichina** and







William Maloney joined **Batlle** to discuss their organization's findings on how to bolster Latin American economies. In particular, they discussed the need for greater competition to accelerate innovation and increase productivity.

In a Hudson event, former Vice President of Colombia **Francisco Santos** assessed Colombian President Gustavo Petro's efforts to implement his populist vision at the halfway point of his presidency. Part of Petro's vision was a peace agreement with the country's drug cartels, which would have severe implications for Americans' security. **Santos** and **Batlle** laid out potential outcomes for Latin America's third-most-populous country.

**Mike Watson** previewed the Trump administration's strategic opportunity to revitalize the Monroe Doctrine and counter China's growing influence in Latin America. **Watson** contended that incoming Secretary of State Marco Rubio's extensive regional experience positions him well to restore American leadership in the Western Hemisphere, potentially transforming what has become a source of instability into one of America's greatest strategic advantages.

**“Venezuela’s future will be decided by Venezuelans, not by diplomatic efforts. However, for Venezuelans to have a chance of bringing Maduro’s tyranny to an end, the United States must reestablish leadership and ensure that negotiations maintain pressure on Maduro.”**

—Daniel Batlle

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Opposite: Daniel Batlle and Félix Maradiaga discuss US policy toward Latin America.

Above: The Port of Balboa at the entrance to the Panama Canal. (Getty Images)







# GOVERNMENT **Relations**

Hudson Institute research and recommendations are a trusted resource for policymakers dedicated to advancing the security, freedom, and prosperity of America and its allies.

Photo: The US Capitol. (Getty Images)



**H**udson experts testified regularly on Capitol Hill and frequently engaged with senior administration officials, military leaders, and members of Congress on critical policy areas. These include safeguarding critical supply chains and intellectual property, driving defense innovation, sharpening military capabilities and readiness, bolstering the defense industrial base, strengthening alliances across the globe, and promoting a free and open Indo-Pacific.

Influential officials regularly visited Hudson for public events to discuss key issues. Deputy Secretary of State **Kurt Campbell** addressed the future of US-Japan relations. **David Radner** from the Office of the Secretary of Defense discussed the US-Japan economic relationship. Brigadier General **James Wellons**, assistant deputy commandant for programs, addressed security cooperation between the two nations at the same event. Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources **Richard Verma**, the former US ambassador to India, discussed the path forward to deepen the US-India re-

lationship. US Air Force Lieutenant General **Leonard Kosinski**, director for logistics of the Joint Staff, assessed the status of Ukraine's defense. **Aditi Kumar**, deputy director of the Defense Innovation Unit, discussed the Pentagon's efforts to quickly deploy and scale existing drone and counter-drone technologies for field use. **Brian Nelson**, under secretary for terrorism and financial intelligence at the Department of the Treasury, gave remarks on strengthening financial transparency to safeguard US national and economic security. **Thomas Browning**, assistant secretary of defense for mission capabilities, discussed efforts to rapidly integrate joint forces and leverage innovative operational concepts across domains. General **Christopher Mahoney**, assistant com-

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Below: Speaker of the House Mike Johnson gives remarks.

Opposite top: Senator Marsha Blackburn delivers an address.

Opposite bottom: Senator Tom Cotton and Deputy Special Envoy to the Middle East Morgan Ortogus discuss military innovation and defense acquisition reform.







mandant of the US Marine Corps, discussed the USMC's deployment of emerging technologies. US Air Force Chief of Staff General **David Allvin** outlined the service's plans to deliver combat-effective, agile, and adaptive airpower at scale. US Army Lieutenant General **Sean A.**

**Gainey** summarized the future of Army space and missile defense programs. **Steve Brock**, senior advisor to the secretary of the Navy, and **Michael Kuenzli**, deputy to the deputy assistant secretary of the Army for defense exports and cooperation, spoke about opportunities

*Continued next page*

and challenges in implementing a more unified allied industrial base.

From Capitol Hill, Hudson hosted House and Senate members for in-depth policy discussions on issues important to US security and prosperity.

Speaker of the House **Mike Johnson** (R-LA) delivered a major foreign policy address on America's role in the world and its national security priorities. Sen. **Tom Cotton** (R-AR) discussed military innovation and defense acquisition reform, drawing lessons from the Ukraine war and addressing vulnerabilities facing Taiwan. Sen. **Dan Sullivan** (R-AK) laid out the importance of American energy production to national security and America's Indo-Pacific alliances. Rep. **Rob Wittman** (R-VA), a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, spoke on Pentagon reform and strengthening the defense industrial base. Shipbuilding Caucus Cochair Rep. **Joe Courtney** (D-CT) highlighted policies to expand US commercial and military shipbuilding capacity. Reps. **Doug Lamborn** (R-CO), **Vince Fong** (R-CA), and **Don Norcross** (D-NJ) addressed

the development of US hypersonic weapons programs and cruise missile defense. Sen. **Roger Wicker** (R-MS), ranking member on the Senate Armed Services Committee, argued for increased US defense spending and outlined his defense strategy plan, *Twenty-First Century Peace Through Strength: A Generational Investment in the US Military*. Sens. **Jeanne Shaheen** (D-NH) and **Thom Tillis** (R-NC), co-chairs of the Senate NATO Observer Group, discussed the alliance's future, the Ukraine war, and Black Sea security. Foreign Relations Committee Ranking Member Sen. **Jim Risch** (R-ID) joined Hudson for a discussion on US-UK relations. Sen. **Cotton** joined Sen. **Marsha Blackburn** (R-TN) to examine the implications of China's 2005 law against Taiwanese secession. Rep. **Andy Kim** (D-NJ) shared insights on maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific. Rep. **Young Kim** (R-CA), chair of the Foreign Affairs Indo-Pacific Subcommittee, spoke about strengthening bilateral and multilateral relations across the Western Pacific. Foreign Affairs Committee Member Rep. **Darrell Issa** (R-CA) addressed America's







national security interests in the South Asian and Indian Ocean regions. House Intelligence Committee Member Rep. **Dan Crenshaw** (R-TX) addressed countering China and TikTok. Ways and Means Committee Member Rep. **Kevin Hern** (R-OK) shared perspectives on confronting the China challenge. Rep. **Frank Lucus** (R-OK), chair of the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee, addressed the financial and economic measures the US could implement to deter Chinese aggression against Taiwan. Rep. **Joe Wilson** (R-SC), a senior member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, explained how the Foreign Extortion Prevention Act advances the US national interest. Rep. **Rich McCormick** (R-GA), a Foreign Affairs Committee member, discussed restoring US deterrence in the Middle East. Finally, former US Marine Rep. **Seth Moulton** (D-MA) emphasized the importance of public service.

During 2024, Hudson experts testified before several Senate and House committees on topics including modernizing US alliances and partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region to more effectively counter China; altering

spectrum policy to protect US national security; countering drug cartels and stopping the flow of fentanyl precursors from China; accelerating defense innovation through the rapid integration of commercial software into US weapons systems; identifying key national security priorities for the intelligence community; working with European nations to respond to China's malign influence on the continent; and making the Pentagon more efficient.

Hudson hosted dozens of senior foreign officials to discuss a range of regional and global issues and engaged regularly with officials in key overseas capitals—including Tokyo, Taipei, Seoul, London, Berlin, and Jerusalem—to strengthen ties with important allies. Additionally, Hudson led a bipartisan congressional staff delegation to Belgium and Poland, where the group met with senior NATO, Polish, and US government officials to address security challenges posed by Russia and China.

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Opposite: Representative Young Kim takes part in a fireside chat on US Indo-Pacific policy.

Above: Senator Dan Sullivan speaks on a panel with Kenneth Weinstein









EDUCATING

# Future Leaders

Hudson's commitment to strengthening America and its allies is furthered in Hudson's programs devoted to educating the leaders of tomorrow.

Photo: (Getty Images)



## HUDSON INSTITUTE **Political Studies**

Hudson Institute Political Studies offers educational opportunities to exceptional students and young professionals focused on the serious study of politics, history, policy, and strategy.

### **Summer Fellowship**

In 2024, 72 undergraduates convened in Washington, DC, for Hudson's six-week summer fellowship led by **John Walters** and **Rachel Mackey** involving rigorous seminars, workshops, and events with distinguished professors, policy practitioners, and national leaders.

Seminars examined political regimes, America's founding, how political life is sustained,

the Civil War, policymaking, and life beyond politics. Students studied seminal philosophical thinkers and texts, including Plato, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Locke, Montesquieu, the Constitution of the United States, the *Federalist Papers*, Abraham Lincoln, Shakespeare, and the Old and New Testaments.

**“At Hudson I saw a glimpse  
of what an educational  
institution is supposed to do.”**

—Aiden Sheeran-Hahnel, Bowdoin College





Hudson experts including **William Barr, Luke Coffey, Jack David, Michael Doran, Mike Gallagher, Melanie Kirkpatrick, Walter Russell Mead, Mike Watson, and Kenneth Weinstein** led discussions focused on policy and history and engaged students in the policymaking process.

Finally, distinguished speakers, including **Ronna Burger**, Senator **Tom Cotton**, **Harvey Mansfield**, Representative **Seth Moulton**, and **Sarah May Stern** addressed students on current and enduring political questions.

#### **Policy Certificate Program**

Hudson Institute Political Studies' Policy Certificate Program gathers talented early- and mid-career professionals for advanced

study of US public policy. Led by policy experts and experienced government officials, each workshop covers a distinct region or topic and concludes with a capstone simulation exercise.

Program offerings in 2024 included an analysis of US strategy with **Mike Watson, Andrew Krepinevich Jr., and Peter Campbell**; studies of US reindustrialization policy with **Nadia Schadlow, Thomas Duesterberg, and Meg Reiss**; and a course on constitutional law and religious freedom with **Nina Shea, Rachel Mackey, and Murray Dry**.

Photo: Natalia Lopez, University of Florida '26, reads Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

## **Internships**

Hudson Institute's internship program allows students and young professionals to learn from some of the nation's foremost policy experts. The program aids the productivity of the Institute while offering exceptional mentorship and educational opportunities to ambitious students. In 2024, the Hudson Institute internship program received over 2,400 applications across 20 internship opportunities offered each spring, summer, and fall and fielded over 150 interns at Hudson's office and remotely.

In addition to conducting expert-guided research, Hudson interns also attend weekly academic and professional enrichment programming. The highlights of 2024 programming include a private tour of the Pentagon, a tour of the US Capitol, a workshop series focused on writing effective op-eds, a war game simulation, and policy- and career-focused roundtables with Hudson fellows.

**“Whether it was receiving early career advice from DC young professionals or being invited to hear the thoughts of America’s foreign policy decision-makers, I truly enjoyed the diverse programming. In addition, my department provided me with high-quality mentorship and work assignments that helped hone my research skills.”**

—Thomas Rollins, Harvard Law School







HERMAN KAHN

## Award Gala 2024

Hudson presented longtime Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and Secretary Elaine Chao with the Herman Kahn Award in New York City at the Institute's annual gala. Hudson presents this award to individuals who have demonstrated extraordinary leadership in service of the principles at the core of its mission. Past recipients include Ronald Reagan, Henry Kissinger, Shinzo Abe, Rupert Murdoch, Charles Schwab, and other esteemed individuals. Through their many years of government service, Leader McConnell and Secretary Chao have championed America's leadership role and the importance of strengthening relations with key allies. They have both advocated for and advanced policy that has made the United States stronger and safer and the world more prosperous.









H

PEOPLE AND  
**Financials**

H

Betsy and Walter Stern Policy

## HUDSON INSTITUTE

# Board of Trustees

Comprising distinguished individuals from government, business, and philanthropy who generously support Hudson Institute through their time and investment, the Board of Trustees works to advance Hudson's mission and offers leadership and guidance on the Institute's governance and priorities.

Hudson was pleased to announce the appointment of three new trustees in 2024.



### **Michael Kassen**

Michael Kassen was chief investment officer at Neuberger Berman and before that an equity mutual fund manager at Neuberger and Fidelity Investments. He has served on the AIPAC Board of Directors since 2004 and was president from 2012-14. He also sits on the finance and investment committee for the Jewish Federation of Cleveland. He is a graduate of Princeton University and Harvard Business School.



### **Shyam Sankar**

Shyam Sankar is the chief technology officer and executive vice president of Palantir Technologies. A seasoned technologist, he has spent over two decades building and delivering disruptive software and artificial intelligence solutions for both government and private sector institutions. Joining Palantir as employee number 13, Sankar envisaged the role of the forward deployed engineer, pioneering the company's definitional engineering model. Under his leadership, Palantir transformed from a Silicon Valley startup to a global, industry leading software and AI company. He holds a BS in electrical and computer engineering from Cornell University and an MS in management science and engineering from Stanford University.



### **William H. Strong**

William Strong began his career with Price Waterhouse & Co. in Chicago in 1976. Following three years with Price Waterhouse, he embarked upon a 40-year investment banking career with Salomon Brothers and then Morgan Stanley, which had him based in New York, London, Chicago, and ultimately in Hong Kong, where he concluded his full-time career. While in Hong Kong, Strong served as co-CEO of Morgan Stanley's businesses in Asia with responsibility for approximately 5,000 professionals and as a member of Morgan Stanley's Global Management Committee. He is a past chairman of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra Board of Trustees and a past trustee of Indiana University and the United States Military Academy at West Point, among others. He is currently a member of the Board of Directors of the Navy SEAL Foundation and the Port Royal Club Inc.





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Top: Shinya Katanozaka (fourth from right) and All Nippon Airways executives with Hudson management. Middle left: Jack David. Middle center: Richard Emmet. Middle right: Sarah May Stern.

## SUPPORT FOR **Hudson Institute**

Hudson Institute's mission is made possible through a growing network of supporters in the United States and around the world. Generosity from individuals, foundations, and corporations provides the financial backbone that allows the Institute's experts to continue to promote security, freedom, and prosperity for America and its allies. Members of Hudson's Chairman's Advisory Board and President's Circle are individual donors who are our most dedicated and engaged supporters. Hudson's Corporate Advisory Council includes leading global businesses that help us understand and highlight the central role that private industry plays in advancing the interests of the United States and its partners around the world.

Hudson holds bimonthly, off-the-record briefings for Chairman's Advisory Board and Corporate Advisory Council members, with events in Washington, New York, Texas, Florida, and California, as well as exclusive online conversations. In 2024, Hudson also hosted events in Nashville, Aspen, and Nantucket for our growing community of supporters around the country. Chairman's Advisory Board



members also receive invitations to our exclusive study tours and annual policy conference.

In 2024, Hudson supporters received briefings from Distinguished Fellows **Mike Gallagher, Nikki Haley, H.R. McMaster, William P. Barr, Elaine Chao, and Walter Russell Mead**. The directors of several of the Institute's policy centers—**Michael Doran, Bryan Clark, Peter Rough, and Patrick Cronin**—provided additional briefings. Chairman's Advisory Board and Corporate Advisory Council members also heard from Senators **Susan Collins, Tom Cotton, and Bill Hagerty**, Ukrainian Ambassador **Oksana Markarova**, Japanese Ambassador **Shigeo Yamada**, and others.

Hudson Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan 501(c)(3) policy research organization. Contributions are tax-deductible and constitute an investment in world-class policy research that promotes security, freedom, and prosperity. In addition to contributions from our ever-growing network of friends, Hudson receives support from US government grants and contracts, as well as from democratic allies of the United States. Hudson Institute does not accept contributions from nondemocratic governments or their citizens.







Opposite page top: Supporters of Hudson Institute listen to Michael Doran and Matthew Hunter at the Walter P. Stern Policy Conference.

Opposite page bottom: Kenneth Weinstein hosts a panel featuring H.R. McMaster and Japanese Ambassador to the US Shigeo Yamada at a Hudson donor event.

Top: Trustee Michael Santini speaks to Ukrainian Ambassador Oksana Markarova and Peter Rough.

Middle left: Michael Doran speaks with Ginger and Larry Leeds and Russell Pennoyer at the Walter P. Stern Policy Conference.

Middle right: Betsy Stern at Hudson's Summer Reception.

Bottom left: Lucy and Henry Billingsley speak with Walter Russell Mead.

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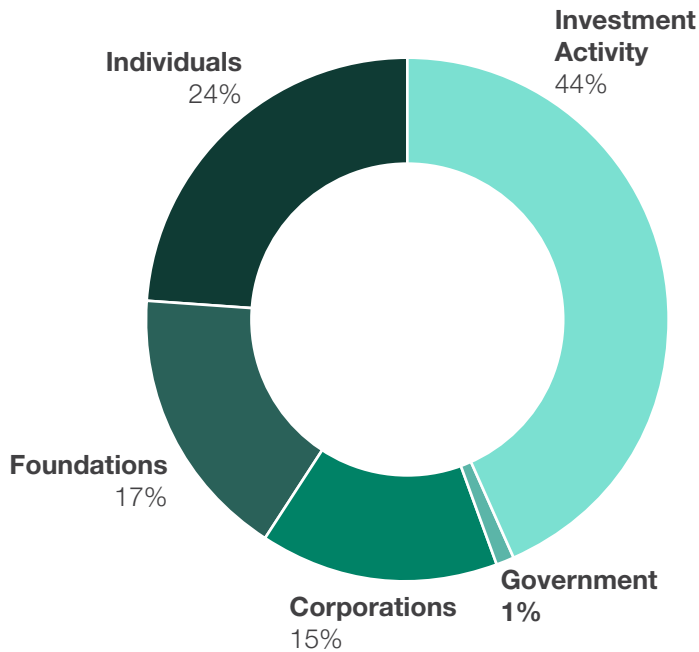
Left to right and top to bottom: Harold Hamm and Jennie Rodgers Idlett; Fletcher Strong, Nikki Haley, and Samantha Strong; Roger and Susan Hertog; Denise Santomero, Camillo Santomero, and Margaret Whitehead; James Lee and Mike Gallagher; John Evangelakos; Russell Pennoyer, Lena Bell, and Lori Hunter; Russ Johnson and Abby Schultz.



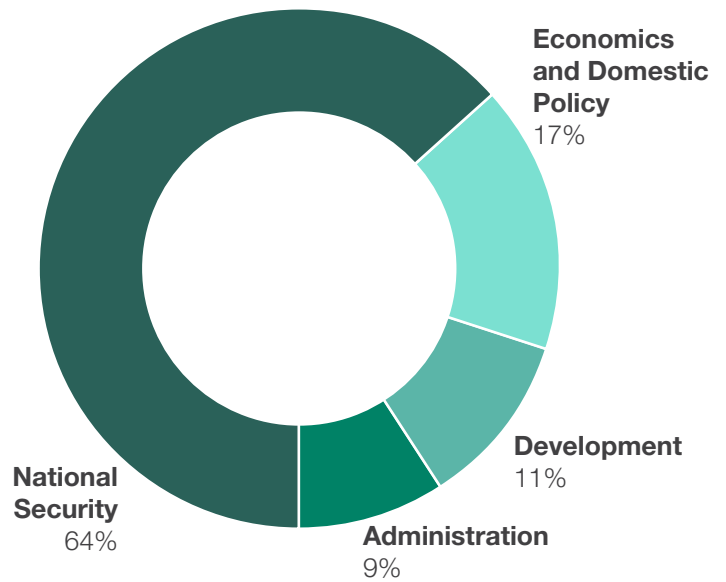
2024

# Financials

## Total Revenues \$32,898,577

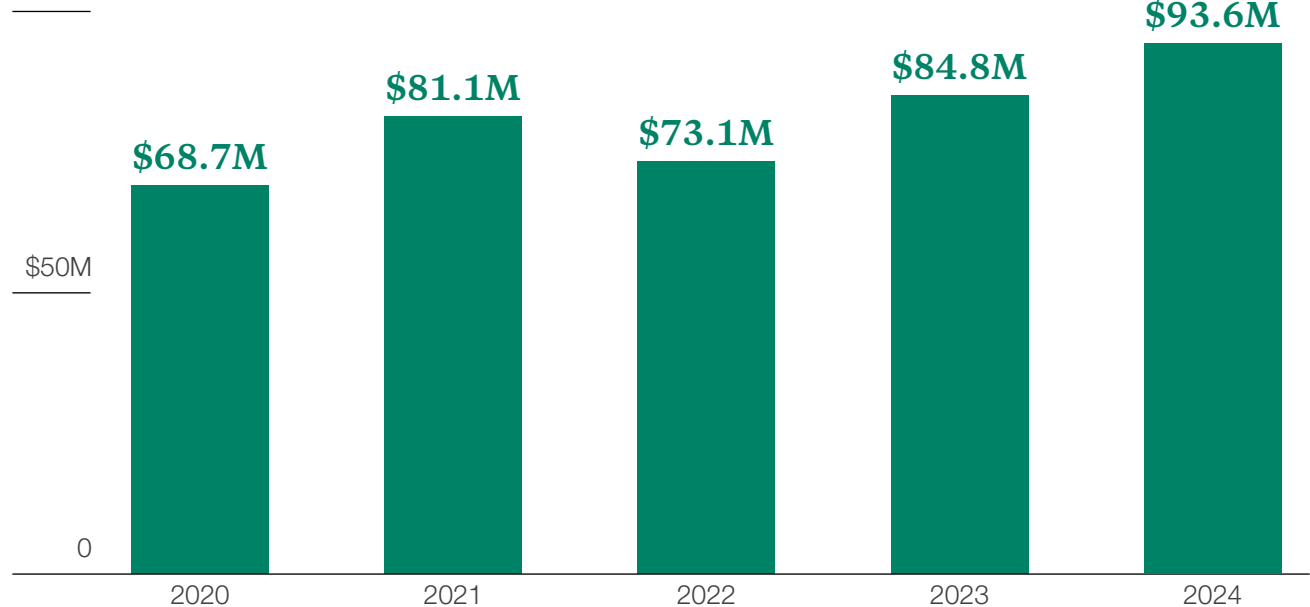


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## NEW TO Hudson Institute



### **Mike Gallagher**

*Distinguished Fellow*

Mike Gallagher is a distinguished fellow at Hudson Institute and head of defense at Palantir Technologies. He represented Wisconsin's Eighth District in the United States House of Representatives from 2017 to 2024. In the 118th Congress, he served as the founding chairman of the Select Committee on Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party.



### **Nikki R. Haley**

*Walter P. Stern Chair*

Nikki Haley is the Walter P. Stern Chair at Hudson Institute. She served as United States ambassador to the United Nations, as a member of President Trump's cabinet, and on the National Security Council. Prior to becoming UN ambassador, she was elected the 116th governor of South Carolina.



### **Jonathan Hessen**

*Senior Fellow, Center for Peace and Security in the Middle East*

Jonathan Hessen is a nonresident senior fellow in the Center for Peace and Security in the Middle East at Hudson Institute and the editor in chief and lead host of Jerusalem-based TV7 Israel. He hosts *Deep Dive Featuring Hudson Institute*.



### **Jason Hsu**

*Senior Fellow*

Jason Hsu is a senior fellow at Hudson Institute, where he focuses on US technological cooperation with allies and partners. He was previously legislator-at-large in Taiwan's Legislative Yuan (the national parliament) where he focused on defense, technology, trade, and foreign policy.



### **Mary Kissel**

*Senior Fellow*

Mary Kissel is a nonresident senior fellow at Hudson, where she focuses on US foreign policy, alliances, and the intersection of politics, business, and finance. She was previously senior advisor to the US secretary of state and editorial page editor for Asia-Pacific at *The Wall Street Journal*.



**Daniel Kochis**

*Senior Fellow, Center on Europe and Eurasia*

Previously at the Heritage Foundation, Daniel Kochis joined Hudson as a senior fellow to analyze transatlantic security issues, with a focus on Europe; NATO, Baltic, and Nordic dimensions of collective defense; and Arctic issues.

**Liel Leibovitz**

*Senior Fellow*

Liel Leibovitz joined Hudson as a senior fellow to analyze antisemitism as a national security threat. He is also editor at large of *Tablet*.

**Aaron MacLean**

*Senior Fellow*

Aaron MacLean is a senior fellow at Hudson Institute and the host of the *School of War* podcast. Previously, he was senior foreign policy advisor and legislative director to Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR). He served on active duty in the United States Marine Corps for seven years, deploying to Afghanistan as an infantry officer in 2009–10.

**Joel Rayburn**

*Senior Fellow, Center for Peace and Security in the Middle East*

A historian of the Middle East and a former diplomat and military officer, Joel Rayburn served as special advisor for Middle East affairs in the office of Senator Bill Hagerty (R-TN) and before that was the US special envoy for Syria.

**Mark Siegel**

*Adjunct Fellow*

Mark Siegel joined Hudson as an adjunct fellow to analyze US-Japan policy and financial markets. His 40-year career in finance has spanned banking, investment banking, management consulting, and portfolio management.

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the Economics of the Internet

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# IN Memoriam



## **Thomas J. Donohue (1938–2024)**

Hudson Institute remembers Thomas J. Donohue, a dedicated patriot and valued trustee of our organization.

Donohue is best known for his 23-year leadership of the US Chamber of Commerce, where he transformed the institution into the nation's strongest advocate for American business. Following his retirement, Donohue remained driven by intellectual curiosity and patriotic duty, generously giving his time and service to several boards, including Hudson's.

A towering figure in business leadership, Donohue was renowned for his boundless energy, eternal optimism, and fearless leadership. Throughout his impressive career, his "Irish toughness," combined with genuine compassion, made him a unique and impactful voice in Washington and around the world.

Prior to leading the chamber, Donohue served as president and CEO of the American Trucking Associations for 13 years. During his tenure at the US Chamber from 1997 onward, he built it into a lobbying and political powerhouse with expanded global influence, always viewing his role as imbued with a larger patriotic purpose—strengthening American business and free enterprise to strengthen our nation.

Donohue earned numerous accolades throughout his life, including honorary degrees from multiple universities and the highest civilian honors from Germany, South Korea, Belgium, and Japan.

He is survived by his sister Frances Demuth, his three sons Thomas Jr., Keith, and John, and his five grandchildren. His wife of 54 years, Liz Donohue, passed away in 2017.





### **John C. Weicher (1938-2024)**

Hudson Institute remembers John C. Weicher, a dedicated public servant, notable economist, and valued colleague who served as senior fellow and director of Hudson's Center for Housing and Financial Markets.

Throughout his distinguished career, Weicher made significant contributions to the field of housing economics and policy. He served in four presidential administrations, holding key positions at the Office of Management and Budget, the General Accounting Office, and most notably as Federal Housing Administration commissioner during the George W. Bush administration.

Weicher's expertise was widely recognized. He chaired the Committee to Evaluate the Research Plan of the Department of Housing and Urban Development of the National Research Council and served on the Millennium Housing Commission, the Census Advisory Committee on Population Statistics, and the Committee on Urban Policy of the National Research Council. He authored or edited 14 books.

Before joining Hudson, Weicher managed research projects at other prominent policy institutes, including the Urban Institute and the American Enterprise Institute. His academic career included teaching positions at the University of California at Irvine and Ohio State University, where he received tenure.

Weicher was a graduate of the University of Michigan and earned his PhD in economics from the University of Chicago in 1965, focusing on housing economics to better understand the changing landscape of his hometown of Chicago.

Beyond his professional accomplishments, Weicher was known for his keen intellect, prodigious memory, and strong ethical principles. He was an active member of Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church for nearly 41 years, serving as an ordained elder.

He was predeceased by his wife of 49 years, Alice Weicher, in 2022. He is survived by his daughter, Jean Weicher; his son and daughter-in-law, John V. L. and Laurie Taylor Weicher; and his grandchildren, Tate and Lucy.



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