



**EastWest**  
INSTITUTE

# Annual Report 2017

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The EastWest Institute works to reduce international conflict, addressing seemingly intractable problems that threaten world security and stability. We forge new connections and build trust among global leaders and influencers, help create practical new ideas, and take action through our network of global decision-makers. Independent and nonprofit since our founding in 1980, we have offices in New York, Brussels, Moscow and San Francisco.

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## Chairman's Letter

The shifting geopolitical and security landscapes of 2017 have led to an escalation of tension levels we have not experienced in decades.

From North Korea's rising nuclear capacity to the resurgence of Taliban control in Afghanistan; from the protracted refugee crisis in Europe to political instability in Iraq following the military defeat of ISIS; it is clear that now, more than ever, the global community needs to become creative and collaborative to de-escalate tensions before they spiral out of control.

This is why the EastWest Institute remains as relevant as ever. The institute has a proven and distinctive ability to bring the right people, offering various and especially opposing viewpoints, to the table in order to help reduce mistrust and find common ground, and to drive innovative solutions.

At the 2017 Munich Security Conference, the institute co-launched the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace (GCSC). This Commission is the first organization of its kind dedicated to developing norms and policies to improve cyberspace stability and security. In March, EWI convened its seventh Global Cyberspace Cooperation Summit in Berkeley, California, which brought together over 200 cyber leaders from 30 countries. These summits illustrate the institute's vigorous commitment to further enhancing public-private sector cooperation.

Recognizing Japan's undeniable role in the East Asia region, the Asia-Pacific program facilitated the inaugural U.S.-Japan Military-to-Military Dialogue bringing together retired four-star generals and admirals from the Japanese and U.S. militaries to come up with policy recommendations that help mitigate friction in East Asia.

In a similar vein, EWI's Middle East and North Africa (MENA) program brought together stakeholders from Iraq, the Gulf Cooperation Council and non-Arab countries to help normalize Iraq's relationship with its Gulf neighbors. This is vital to nation building in a country that has relied heavily on external assistance for too long.

2017 also saw the formal conclusion of our Afghanistan Reconnected Process. Ending on a high note, EWI's Afghanistan Reconnected Process has created platforms for Afghanistan to pursue promising economic opportunities.

Despite low prospects for a significant improvement in U.S.-Russian relations, Russia will remain a key priority for EWI. Over the coming year, EWI will continue to develop and expand its networks in U.S. and Russian policy communities helping to minimize new sources of conflict in the bilateral relationship.

The members of the board and I are deeply grateful to Cameron Munter, CEO and President, and Dr. William Parker, COO, for their continued leadership, as well as our remarkable team around the world who carry our work forward every day. This year we welcomed two new vice presidents to the team: Dr. Wolfgang Klapper, the new director of the Regional Security program and head of EWI's Brussels Center; and Dr. Lora Saalman, the vice president of our Asia-Pacific program. We are also thrilled to announce the election of long-standing EWI supporter Laurent M. Roux to the institute's board of directors.

I would also like to express appreciation to our colleagues who finished their service as directors, for their time, effort and resources, including Ramzi Sanbar, Ronald O'Hanley and Emil Hubinak.

I know that our work would not be possible without your generous support. EWI strives to continue expanding our programmatic and geographic reach in areas that give us the opportunity to do what we do best: forging new connections and driving purposeful dialogue between today's most vital global relationships.

Please join us as we work together to prevent international tensions from escalating into irresolvable conflict.



**Ross Perot, Jr.**  
Chairman of the Board

## President's Report

2018 will be a year of notable anniversaries: the 25th Anniversary of the European Single Market, the 50th Anniversary of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the centennial of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Anniversaries mark the passage of time, a recognition of sacrifices made by many and a stark reminder of what challenges lay ahead. These seminal events, among others, prompted the global community to revisit their values and to translate often lofty principles into practice.

Today, established principles, structures and norms of international relations are under threat, with events becoming even more fluid and new actors appearing on the scene, providing greater scope for misinterpretation.

In broad strokes, one need only observe the emergence of populist sentiment, inward-looking politics in many if not most developed countries, as well as the slow demise of traditional movements like social democracy.

To many, this represents an aggressive challenge of our rules-based international order and the tenets of the global community as we know it. More than ever, it is essential to understand the differing philosophies, competing objectives and overriding economic, security and cultural concerns of countries, regions, groups and leaders. Not engaging is not an option.

The EastWest Institute remains focused on forecasting and tackling these evolving issues before they devolve into conflict around the globe. We accomplish this through a tested methodology emphasizing engagement and frank dialogue, shepherding a process to bridge gaps and engendering understanding between parties who possess widely differing points of view—and getting them to reach a point of common ground.

And we do so by espousing the merits of "new diplomacy"—recognizing the value of varying players in the process—policymakers, business leaders, journalists, pundits—each of whom have input—both conceptual and practical—from their experiences "on the ground" where conflicts are brewing. Conflict resolution is not linear—the right players must be part of the process.

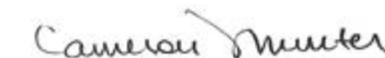
For this reason, we remain engaged with China, acknowledging the country's growth and increasing economic and political influence on the world stage. We ensure that other countries in the Asia-Pacific are engaged in our process, thereby enhancing our ability to address regional security concerns. We continue fostering dialogue and understanding with Russia on issues of shared interest, such as counterterrorism and cybersecurity. The Middle East remains riddled with a host of specific issues that require assessment and calibration. We are privileged to work with various partners in the region examining the future of a post-ISIS Iraq, the risks of unintended incidents at sea in the Gulf region, while continuing to build trust between Saudi Arabia and Iran on a range of topics that concern both countries and their neighbors.

Further afield, the institute will look to expand its engagement with Turkey, India and the Balkans. And of course, cybersecurity continues to profoundly impact all countries and communities—consequently, our global cyberspace work takes on new meaning each day as we search for new, globally accepted norms of responsible state behavior.

While each issue has its own set of attributes, EWI programs continue to overlap. As our world becomes increasingly interconnected, and governments and regions face similar obstacles, we realize that lessons learned in one country may, with careful assessment, provide inroads to solutions in another.

Shared interests matter, and coupled with thoughtful engagement, are the basis for resolving conflicts.

Perhaps 2018 will see the global community set forth new landmark decisions that endeavor to bring peace and prosperity to more areas of the world—worthy of acknowledgement by future generations.



**Cameron Munter**  
CEO and President

## Forecasting and Addressing Conflicts Around the World

EWI continues to hold dialogues, especially among opposing parties, to lend expertise in crafting sustainable and practical solutions and to contribute to policymaking through its research and recommendations addressing global challenges and opportunities.

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A tourist looks out over North Korea from an observation post along the South Korean side of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). Propaganda messages are occasionally broadcast from loud speakers by both North and South Korea.



## Who We Are

The EastWest Institute (EWI) is an independent NGO, recognized and trusted for its unique capacity to bring together key policymakers, experts, business leaders and groundbreaking innovators to develop solutions for today's daunting challenges.

As the institute completes its 37th year of global engagement, it remains a unique and instrumental organization in forecasting and addressing various conflicts around the world.

EWI's mission is to make our world a better and safer

place and to do so in ways that can be measured. Our offices—in New York, Brussels, Moscow and San Francisco—connect a network of experts and influencers around the globe, providing a diverse knowledge base to support our ongoing programmatic work.

## Our Lasting Impact

Although the world has changed dramatically since EWI was founded in 1980, what has remained the same is the institute's commitment to building trust and taking action. EWI continues to hold dialogues among friends and rivals, lends expertise

in crafting sustainable and practical solutions, and contributes to policymaking through its research and recommendations to deal with global challenges and opportunities.

Our work strongly reflects those ongoing global challenges and opportunities. In the past year:

Leveraging its influence in Track 2 diplomacy, EWI's **Middle East and North Africa (MENA) program** brought together participants from Iraq, the Gulf Cooperation Council and non-Arab countries to help normalize Iraq's relationship with its Gulf neighbors. The MENA program also organized more closed-door exchanges among key individuals from Iran and Saudi Arabia to find practical ideas for cooperation between the two rivals. **(1)**

Recognizing Japan's influence in the increasingly volatile region of Asia Pacific, the Asia-Pacific program facilitated the inaugural **U.S.-Japan Military-to-Military Dialogue** to help formulate policy recommendations for the governments in Washington and Tokyo. **(2)**

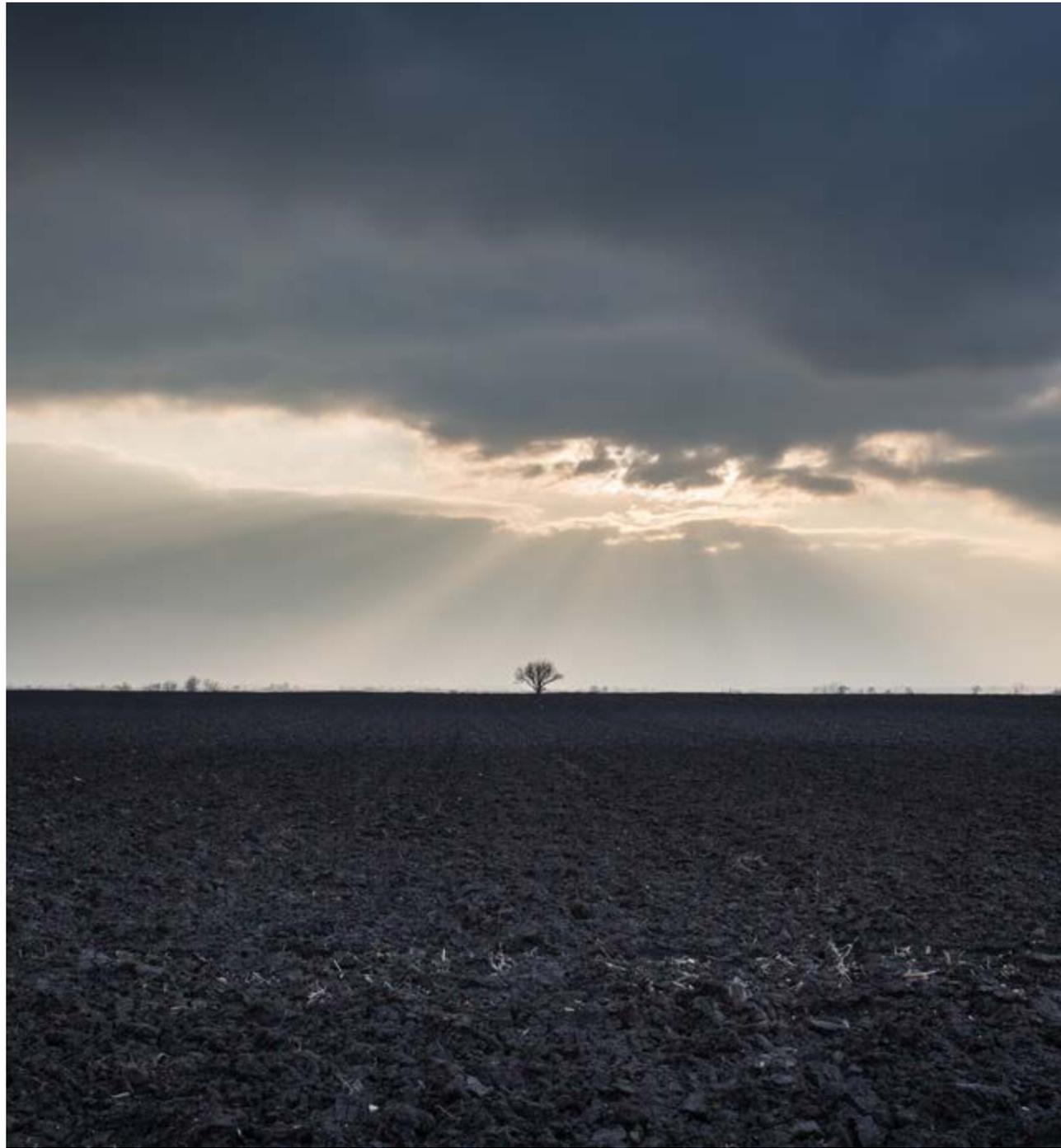
EWI relied on its network of individuals from the public and private sectors to help find common ground within deteriorating **U.S.-Russia ties**. Upon the completion of our six-year-long Joint U.S.-Russia Afghan Narcotrafficking project, EWI convened the first meeting of the Joint U.S.-Russia Working Group on Counterterrorism in Afghanistan. **(3)**

EWI's Peace and Regional Stability Program, identifying **Turkey's** increasingly critical role at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and the Middle East, focuses on priority issues concerning regional relations, as it pertains to security, economics, countering violent extremism, and the refugee crisis and displaced persons. **(4)**

Our **Global Cooperation in Cyberspace program** co-launched a body comprised of 28 prominent experts from around the world to develop proposals for norms and policy initiatives to improve the stability and security of cyberspace. EWI also co-hosted the first Joint China-India-U.S. Trilateral on Cyberspace Cooperation in New Delhi. **(5)**

EWI's **Afghanistan Reconnected Process** helped create platforms for Afghanistan to engage economically with important players amid the fragile security situation. EWI co-organized an international symposium on Afghanistan in Beijing, particularly in relation to China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). **(6)**

The institute is working with partners on addressing threats associated with the **Korean peninsula**, viewing the complex issue as an opportunity for a multilateral solution among the nations of the region to advocate for nuclear non-proliferation, prevent contagion and set forth the principles of stakeholder engagement that may result in a unified Korea. **(7)**



## Who We Are

### EWI Going Forward

The EastWest Institute continues to provide a platform for public discourse, always emphasizing the need for cooperation even—and especially in—periods dominated by intense friction. EWI does not only react to issues as they arise, but also anticipates problems with the potential to flare up into conflict.

Today, the wars that engulfed much of the Balkans are fading from view and yet many of the underlying problems plaguing the region remain unsolved. As geopolitical issues and ethnic tensions start bubbling to the surface in the Balkans once again, EWI is looking for ways it can facilitate dialogue between states in the area to prevent conflict—as it did during the Cold War.

In addition, recent discussions with in-country policymakers are paving the way for a potential new engagement with South Asian nations with a focus on India, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Each day, global events bring challenges and opportunities that affect the present and future welfare of countries, regions and communities. EWI's worldwide staff and experts will continue to find solutions and strengthen relationships that are most critical for a more secure and peaceful future.

Clockwise from above:  
Field outside Sid, a town near the Serbian border with Croatia;  
Pakistani cadets take part in an event to mark the 141st birth anniversary of Pakistan's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Karachi, south Pakistan, on December 25; Men feed seagulls along the Yamuna river on a smoggy morning in New Delhi, India on November 17; "Motion: Reflection" by Gül Yıldız (on the streets of Istanbul, Turkey).

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† Deceased



## Global Cooperation in Cyberspace

The Global Cooperation in Cyberspace program seeks to reduce conflict, crime and other disruptions in cyberspace and promote stability, innovation and inclusion.

Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace (GCSC) chair Marina Kaljurand, Estonia's former foreign minister, and her fellow commissioners at EWI's 2017 Global Cyberspace Cooperation Summit, University of California, Berkeley, March 15.

# Global Cooperation in Cyberspace

## The Challenges

Cyberspace is essential to the daily lives of billions of people across the planet. This international domain is constantly at risk from malicious actors seeking to achieve political goals or steal wealth, from the lack of resilience in Internet-dependent infrastructures and from a dangerous absence of consensus about how states and non-state actors should utilize increasingly potent and available cyber weapons. These threats undermine the delicate equilibrium that global cyberspace requires to deliver the goods, services and connections upon which the world economy and polity rely.

## EWI Action:

1. **Convene**
2. **Reframe**
3. **Advocate**



## 1. Convene

### The Berkeley Summit

From March 14-16, EWI convened 200 cyber leaders from 30 countries at its seventh Global Cyberspace Cooperation Summit in Berkeley, California. Through plenary discussions and working sessions, participants developed action plans to address some of the most pressing issues facing cyberspace today, including the prospects for public-private cooperation in cyberspace, norms of responsible state behavior, global industry collaboration for increased security and the creation of smart cities. In September, 40 members from EWI's international network honed and updated plans developed at the summit at a working roundtable in Palo Alto.



Top left: Katherine Getao, Ministry of Information Communications and Technology of Kenya; Top right: Francis Fukuyama, Stanford University. Participants at the Global Cyberspace Cooperation Summit VII, March 14-16.

## Private Conversations

In 2017, the program hosted a series of focused meetings designed to tackle the most critical cyberspace security issues facing major cyber powers. Among these was the first ever trilateral dialogue on cyberspace among China, India and the U.S. The conference built trust that will lead to security cooperation among the hosts of the world's three largest Internet populations. Second, building on its long-standing work with Russia on cybersecurity matters, EWI hosted a meeting of senior Russian and American officials, academics and industry representatives to discuss information security cooperation amid the fraught bilateral relationship. Finally, EWI regularly engaged with representatives of major governmental and private sector cyber powers to help reduce the risk of miscalculation and unintended escalation in cyberspace that could threaten global peace and stability.



# Global Cooperation in Cyberspace

## 2. Reframe

### Policy Development

EWI's five working groups—called break-through groups—drive our efforts to develop and advocate recommendations for changes in national and corporate cyber policies. The groups' 2017 accomplishments include the following:

#### Systemic Risk and Cyber Insurance

Examined the potential for major losses from large-scale cyber incidents and their effect on the insurance industry.



#### Secure, Resilient Cities and the Internet of Things

Developed a security guide for city managers who are building "smart" cities.

#### Ubiquitous Encryption and Lawful Government Access

Framed a set of balanced approaches to provide law enforcement access to plaintext while minimizing risks to cybersecurity and human rights.



#### Promoting Norms of Responsible Behavior in Cyberspace

Created and supported the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace.



#### Cyber Norms

At the 2017 Munich Security Conference, EWI helped launch the Secretariat of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace (GCSC). The Commission is a unique global body working to develop proposals for norms and policy initiatives to improve the stability and security of cyberspace. Chaired by Marina Kaljurand, Estonia's former foreign minister, and co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff and Latha Reddy, India's former national security adviser, 28 Commissioners bring governmental, industry, technical and civil society perspectives on cyberspace from north and south, east and west. EWI co-directs the GCSC secretariat along with The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies.

A non-governmental body, the GCSC complements other global initiatives such as the work of the United Nations Group of Governmental Experts. Its culminating achievement in 2017 was a "Call to Protect the Public Core of the Internet." This statement urges all stakeholders to avoid any activity that "intentionally and substantially damages the general availability or integrity" of the infrastructure (such as Internet routing, the domain name system, certificate and trust, and communications cables) that the world depends on to make the Internet work every day.

#### Increasing the Global Availability and Use of Secure ICT Products and Services

Promoted EWI's *Secure ICT Buyers Guide* and began work on trade policy guidance that will promote free trade in secure ICT products and services.



**5,000**  
unique online  
viewers of 2017  
cyber summit  
livestream

**340,000**  
views and downloads  
of EWI's cyber policy  
reports on Issuu and  
eastwest.ngo/cyber

## 3. Advocate

Throughout 2017, EWI's cyber staff, cyber fellows and others in their international network advocated for increased security and stability in cyberspace and for adoption of the proposals developed through our convening and reframing. EWI staff appeared at over 50 public and private events, connecting with over 2,500 people.

## Next Steps

The robust work program for 2017 will continue through 2018. The core activities of the Global Cooperation in Cyberspace program will be its five breakthrough groups, focused meetings designed to tackle specific issues among major powers and its enduring support of the GCSC. This effort will include: research on the relationship between systemic cyber risk and cyber insurance; major reports recommending balanced approaches in the encryption debate and ways of safely and securely connecting smart cities; ongoing trilateral dialogue between China, India and the U.S. to build on the success of the 2017 meeting; acting as a trusted bridge between Russia and the U.S. on cyber issues that remain critical to both; and a working roundtable to ensure the program is keeping one eye on the future. The GCSC will meet throughout the year to build support for its 2017 achievements, develop new proposals and continue to complement diplomatic and corporate cyber norms initiatives. To promote its goals, build additional support and encourage feedback, the cyber program will shortly publish its third Action Agenda describing its recent achievements and its plans for the 2018-2019 work cycle.

## Middle East and North Africa

EWI's MENA program is credited with providing a platform and safe environment for experts from the region, the West, Russia, China and India to engage in confidential, complex and constructive dialogues on the multiple crises threatening the region and the globe.



The Louvre Abu Dhabi opened its doors to the public on November 11, drawing thousands of visitors as cosmopolitan as the United Arab Emirates itself, a symbol of the Gulf nation's ambitions on the global stage.

## Middle East and North Africa

A boy rides his bike past destroyed cars and houses in a neighborhood recently liberated by Iraqi security forces, on the western side of Mosul on March 19.



### The Challenges

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region is undergoing historic, complex and rapid transformations and transitions. The results are profound: violent geopolitical shifts, a reshaping of state-society relations, polarization, fragmentation and an ongoing contest for power and influence between the region's main protagonists. It is against this background, and in the absence of a regional security structure—which could manage, prevent and resolve conflicts—that EWI's work is rendered all the more valuable.

### EWI Action

The MENA program monitors and analyses evolving scenarios, and potential conflict triggers and dynamics that could emerge as a consequence of current national, regional and international policies and politics. EWI then facilitates confidential meetings where political and social leaders, organizations, academics and media professionals can engage in constructive dialogues, generate balanced recommendations and innovate ways to defuse tensions and mitigate conflict.

Abu Malek, one of the survivors of a chemical attack in the Ghouta region of Damascus that took place in 2013, uses his crutches to walk along a street in the Ghouta town of Ain Tarma, Syria on April 7.





Factions flags on display after east Mosul was liberated from ISIS by Iraqi Army Forces, Kurdish Peshmerga fighters and Shia militia.

## Middle East and North Africa



Iranian navy conducts the "Velayat-90" naval wargames in the Strait of Hormuz.

### Iran-Saudi Dialogue

Locked in an ever-escalating "Cold War," the Iranian-Saudi contest for influence and power is a major driver of conflict and sectarianism across the region, with both countries backing militant groups and proxy forces in weak and fragile neighboring states. EWI, in partnership with Center for Applied Research in Partnership with the Orient (CARPO), convenes confidential, Track 2 meetings between former Iranian and Saudi politicians, media professionals, academics, columnists, think-tank representatives and influencers to capitalize on shared interests and work on finding practical ideas for cooperation on common security, economic and environmental challenges. EWI and CARPO also hold workshops that aim to deconstruct mutual misconceptions, and curate innovative mechanisms to address negative and inflammatory rhetoric.

### Iraq and its Neighbors

Iraq's strained relations with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) continue to undermine regional, international and developmental efforts to peace and stability. With the rise of jihadi threats, proxy agents and flaring sectarian conflict, the need for dialogue is acute to both further regional security cooperation and to avoid increased polarization and accidental escalation. Furthermore, as Iraq's reintegration involves anti-ISIS efforts and regional sectarian polarization, this project serves as an entry point to broader discussions on effective regional security mechanisms.

In partnership with The Century Foundation (TCF) and Gulf Research Center (GRC), EWI's MENA program focuses on intraregional relations and supports current national and international efforts to normalize Iraq's ties with its Gulf neighbors. Bringing together participants from Iraq, the GCC and, at a later stage, non-Arab countries including Turkey and Iran, this dialogue provides an opportune forum to discuss Iran's prospective interests in the region, and opening the possibility of more constructive engagement between Iran and Arab Gulf governments.

### Maritime Security

Following the example of the 1972 agreement between the United States and the former Soviet Union to prevent negative incidents at sea between their ships and aircraft, EWI and Search for Common Ground aim to build on this exact same model to prevent an inadvertent outbreak of hostilities from taking place, and enhance maritime security for countries of the Gulf region including Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Gulf States, as well as international powers, including the U.S., the UK, France, Russia, China and India. This Track 2 dialogue brings together naval and security specialists from the above-mentioned countries to develop norms and determine the factors required to develop and put into effect an incidents at sea document, and engage Gulf countries and other nations with navies in the region to endorse, support and sign such a document.

### Next Steps

In 2018, EWI will continue to provide a platform for Track 2 dialogue between major regional stakeholders and rivals to minimize further tensions in key areas of competing interest. EWI will also focus more on undiscussed issues that have the potential of becoming catalysts for geopolitical conflicts in the future, most prominently, the negative effects of climate change and the future of energy security.

EWI will also aim to capitalize on the geopolitical momentum generated by international and regional efforts to improve relations between Iraq and its neighbors through initiation of discrete Track 1.5 and Track 2 conferences between key, influential Iraqi, regional and international stakeholders and experts. The overall objective will be to lay the foundation for a new and inclusive regional security regime focused on the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq—politically and economically—reducing regional tensions and enhancing economic development and regional cooperation.



The first cargo train departs from China's Jiangsu province bound for Afghanistan's Hairatan, marking the start of rail connectivity between the two countries.

## Afghanistan Reconnected Process

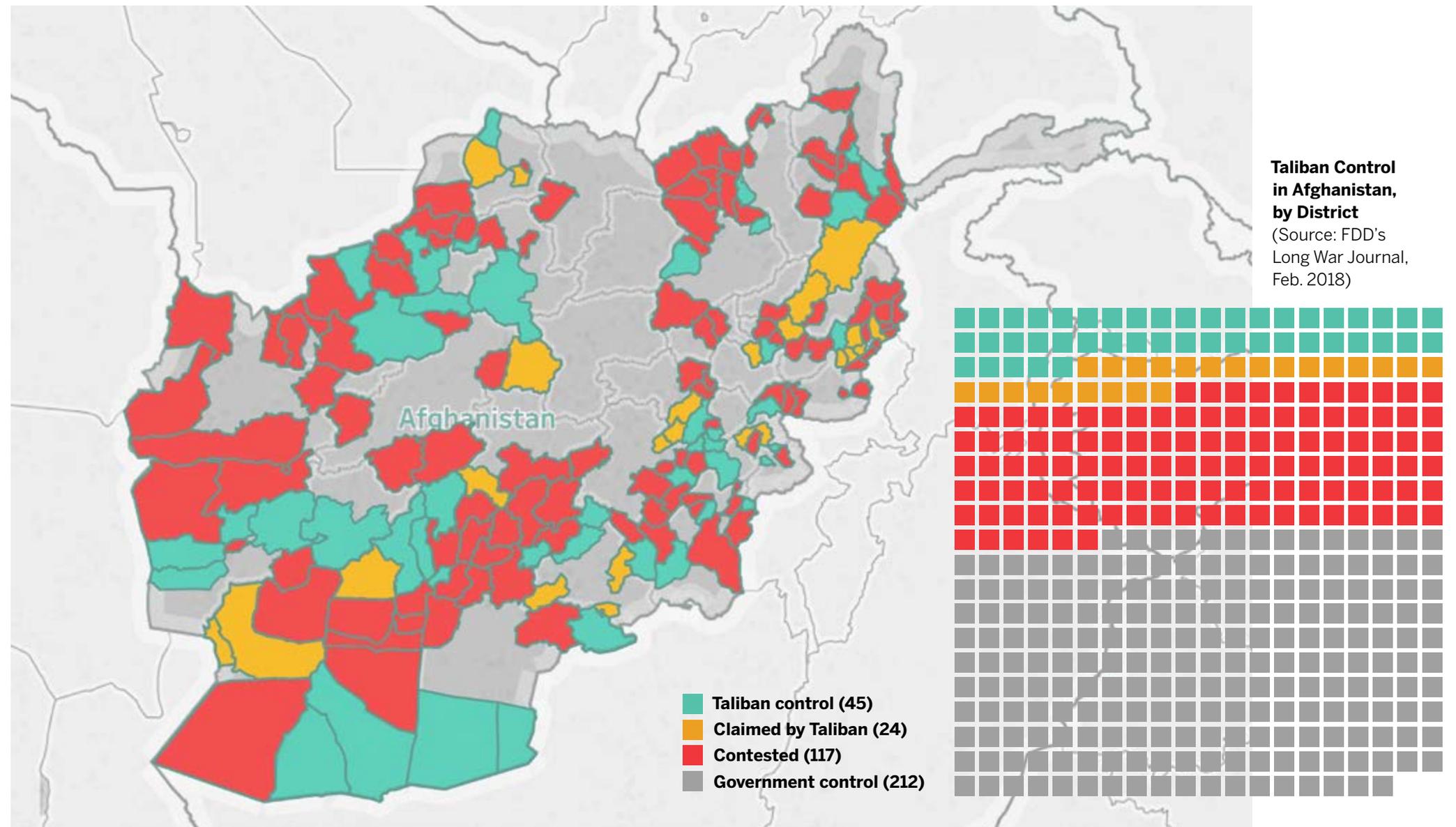
EWI provides a platform for businesses and governments to identify obstacles to regional trade and transit and formulate actionable recommendations to address them.

# Afghanistan Reconnected Process

## The Challenges

2017 saw an already fragile security situation in Afghanistan deteriorate further. Heavily present in large swathes of the Afghan countryside, the Taliban now control more land than they ever have since U.S. military invasion in 2001. On top of this, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani has continually warned that up to 20 terrorist groups operate in the country. In late May, the terrorist attacks, which occurred in the heart of Kabul's heavily-secured Green Zone, suddenly translated this statistic into a somber reality for the international community. Furthermore, as international efforts against the Islamic State (IS) begin to drive the group out of Iraq and Syria, there are real concerns they may regroup and expand their presence in Afghanistan. The Trump administration's decision to target IS fighters in Afghanistan's Nangarhar province using the largest non-nuclear bomb in the U.S.'s arsenal, coupled with continued U.S. anti-IS operations in the country throughout the latter half of 2017, exemplified the gravity of these concerns.

Taken alongside endemic corruption and worsening relations with its neighbor Pakistan, the current security situation in Afghanistan cripples the country's economy and persistently undermines the Afghan government's attempts to fashion a feasible, outward looking and cooperative economic vision. Moreover, the serious lack of economic opportunities in the country leads to the constant outflow of migrants to neighboring countries and Europe, exacerbating the country's decades-long "brain drain."



When confronted with these challenges, it is easy to overlook signs of the progress that has taken place under the stewardship of the National Unity Government (NUG). Both President Ashraf Ghani and Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah have endeavored to implement comprehensive reforms in the hope of making Afghanistan a stable, viable and self-reliant economy. Most notably, the development of infrastructure projects, which rely on the cooperation of regional neighbors, has been at the forefront of the NUG's objective to reposition Afghanistan as a central trade and transit hub in the heart of Asia. In this vein, the progress on the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Natural Gas Pipeline (TAPI); Iran's Chabahar

Port; the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-500 (TAP-500) and Central Asia-South Asia-1000 (CASA-1000) power projects; plans for several multi-national railways; signing of agreements pertaining to the five-nation Lapis Lazuli Corridor; and growing partnerships with China are evidence of the advancement which is underway despite pervasive instability.

## EWI Action

From 2012-2017, EWI's Afghanistan Reconnected Process strived to assist the country to fulfill its ambition to be a trade conduit linking East and West Asia. Utilizing its unique position as a

respected, neutral broker, EWI created a platform to actively promote the mutual benefits of economic cooperation in specific areas such as energy, infrastructure and investment. By locating mutual areas of interest, the institute's Afghanistan Reconnected Process sought to bypass individual political disputes with the aim of fostering an economic peace based on increased regional connectivity.

To provide impetus to this ambitious objective, EWI has composed multiple policy recommendations with feasible, realistic means of implementation. Drawing on the institute's vast network of contacts in the region, from both the public and private sector, EWI has been

## Afghanistan Reconnected Process



Freshly painted houses on a hillside in Kabul on May 11. The Kabul city administration started a project to improve the mood of its citizens, and is having 2,000 clay houses colorfully painted.



able to locate specific avenues for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in fields related to regional economic connectivity.

As a conclusion to this work, 2017 saw EWI successfully engage China in the Afghanistan Reconnected Process by hosting an international symposium in Beijing. Along with representatives from several Chinese ministries, the event was notable for bringing together several delegates from EWI's previous advocacy missions to Iran, India and Pakistan. Private and public-sector delegates from across the entire region convened to discuss possibilities for cooperation within China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). EWI's work in economic cooperation also includes its participation in the Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan (RECCA) process, its presentation at the RECCA Academic Forum in October and its attendance at the RECCA-VII ministerial meeting in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan in November. EWI's recommendations presented at the RECCA Academic Forum were reflected in the report launched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan at the RECCA-VII ministerial meeting, representing a fitting

conclusion to the Afghanistan Reconnected Process by escalating EWI's recommendations from a Track 2 to a Track 1 level.

### Next Steps

Positively engaging a rising superpower like China in the economic future of Afghanistan and escalation to the RECCA-VII forum presented a satisfying conclusion to the 2012-2017 Afghanistan Reconnected Process. In 2018, EWI will seek to branch out into new areas of thematic focus in Central and South Asia and explore issues related to its previous work. The Regional Security Initiative will develop new initiatives within a broader South Asian context, based on the understanding that Afghanistan's future is holistically connected to the current security complex in the region. As the government of Afghanistan pivots its focus to strengthening its relations with its neighbors, EWI will look to engage relevant stakeholders in regional dialogues on pressing issues, such as transboundary water-sharing, environmental protection and extremism and counter-radicalization.

Fraidoun Haji Bari arranges a hand-woven carpet at Xinjiang International Grand Bazaar in Urumqi, China on May 2. He has run a carpet business in China for 11 years, buying goods from his Afghan hometown.

## Russia and United States

EWI has been rebuilding strategic trust between Russia and the United States, seeking to broaden the scope of cooperation between the two former Cold War rivals.

U.S. President Donald Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin during their bilateral meeting at the G20 summit in Hamburg on July 7.

Former Afghan Taliban fighters carry their weapons before handing them over as part of a government peace and reconciliation process at a ceremony in Jalalabad.



### The Challenges

Following Donald Trump's election in 2016, many anticipated a marked improvement in the U.S.-Russia relationship. As the events of 2017 make clear, however, mistrust and disagreement between the two countries remain deeply entrenched.

Allegations of Russia's interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election dominated national headlines, prompting the creation of congressional investigative committees and the imposition of additional sanctions on Russia. Escalating diplomatic tit for tat and reciprocal restrictions imposed on media outlets of both countries further fueled tensions.

In this particularly fractious climate, EWI's Russia and United States (RUS) program continues to bridge the divide by facilitating dialogue, rebuilding trust and delivering policy impact on critical issues affecting the bilateral relationship.

### EWI Action

In 2017, the RUS program focused its efforts on promoting U.S.-Russia cooperation in Afghanistan as an area of significant common interest. The Joint U.S.-Russia Working Group on Afghan Narcotrafficking successfully sustained dialogue on Afghanistan's illicit drug trade at a time when bilateral cooperative engagement on this issue had all but ceased at the official level. The Working Group formally concluded this year with the publication of the final two consensus-based reports in the series: *Afghan Narcotrafficking: Illicit Financial Flows* and *Afghan Narcotrafficking: A Joint Policy Assessment*. Both reports were disseminated widely in the U.S. and Russian policymaking and expert communities, as well as to officials in key stakeholder countries and in relevant international and regional organizations.

Building on the successful foundations of the Afghan narcotrafficking project, EWI also established a new Joint U.S.-Russia Working Group on Counterterrorism in Afghanistan with the generous support of Carnegie Corporation of New York. From October 30-31, U.S. and Russian technical and policy experts convened

for the first meeting in Moscow to assess the state of security in Afghanistan and the various dimensions of counterterrorism challenges in the country and region. Participants discussed, among other matters, the threats posed by the Islamic State and the Taliban to Afghanistan, the efficacy of U.S. strategy in the country and prospects for the Afghan reconciliation process. U.S. and Russian experts also had an opportunity to consult with officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation on these topics.

Leveraging its reputation as a trusted convenor, EWI continued to forge new connections with policymakers and influencers in U.S. and Russian governments, multilateral organizations and other sectors. EWI also established an institutional partnership with the Russia Matters project of Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, which will provide opportunities for thought leadership and collaboration in the year ahead.

### Next Steps

Given the politics and policies of each country, U.S.-Russia relations are unlikely to improve

significantly in the short-term. Ongoing investigations into campaign collusion and Russian elections interference in the United States will continue to exacerbate the impasse. Russia's 2018 presidential elections will also raise questions as to how this new political cycle might impact the country's domestic and foreign policy going forward.

Despite the widening bilateral rift, Russia will remain a key priority for EWI. The Joint U.S.-Russia Working Group on Counterterrorism in Afghanistan will help fill the void in disrupted governmental challenges by providing a forum for constructive cooperation. To that end, Working Group experts will continue assessing this critical threat at plenary sessions in Washington, D.C. and Brussels and interim workshops in EWI's New York and Moscow offices.

In 2018, EWI will also continue to develop and expand its networks in U.S. and Russian policymaking communities. It will aim to generate positive momentum by engaging media and business leaders to address the enduring mistrust and misperceptions in the U.S.-Russia bilateral relationship.

Money changers in the bazaar of Mazar-I-Sharif, Afghanistan.

## Asia-Pacific

The institute engages with political, military and academic leaders across the region, facilitating highly constructive official and semi-official dialogues between China, the United States and other key Asia-Pacific nations.

North Korean leader Kim Jong-un watches the launch of a Hwasong-12 missile in this undated photo released by North Korea's Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) on September 16.

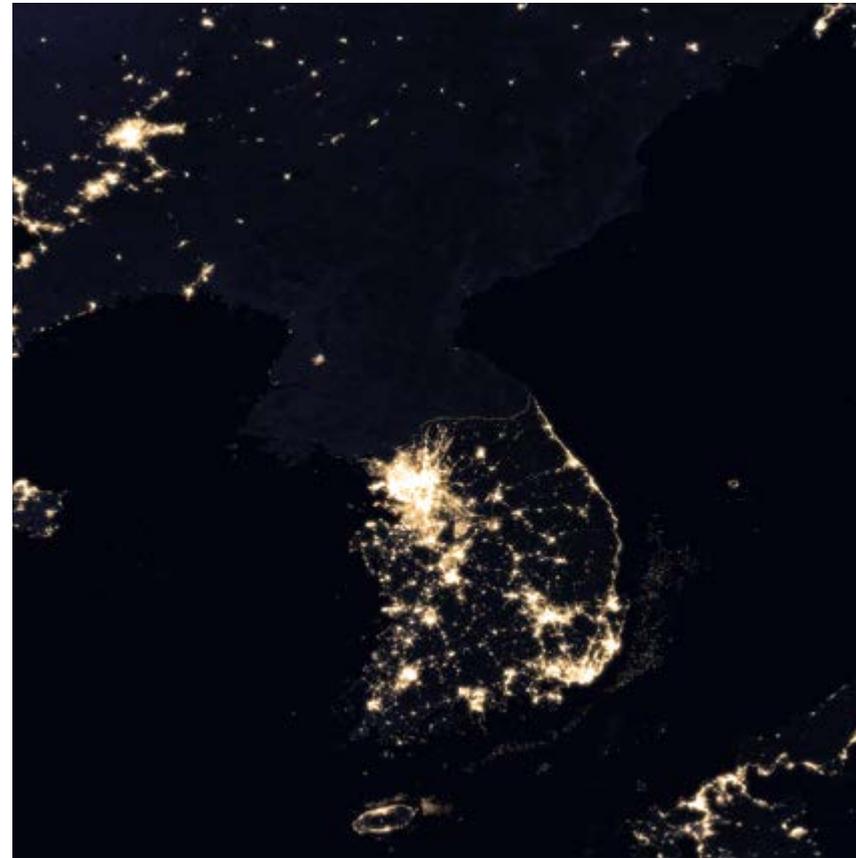
## Asia-Pacific

Clockwise from left: Imagery of the Korean Peninsula at night, showing that North Korea is in almost complete darkness due to a lack of electricity, with the one bright spot being Pyongyang; President Xi Jinping delivers a speech at the opening ceremony of the 19th Party Congress, October 18; President Donald Trump shakes hands with an opera performer at the Forbidden City, November 8; North Korean soldiers march during a parade for the “Day of the Sun” festival in Pyongyang, April 15.

### The Challenges

The year 2017 was rife with challenges to regional security in the Asia-Pacific, foremost, the rapidly intensifying tensions on the Korean Peninsula. Political transitions also injected uncertainty into the region. Some governing parties renewed their mandates, while others opted for a new direction entirely. In October, the Communist Party of China’s (CPC) 19th National Congress cemented President Xi Jinping’s political status and laid out the CPC’s plans for China’s future development. Likewise, Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), headed by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, renewed its governing mandate through snap elections.

In contrast, the ouster of South Korean President Park Geun-hye and the election of President Moon Jae-in represented a sharp change in South Korean politics. In the United States, the Trump administration’s first year in office gave rise to non-traditional rhetoric and departures from past administrations’ foreign policies. Striving to combat these uncertainties, EWI’s Asia-Pacific (AP) program has continued to leverage its reputation as an honest broker, bringing together key stakeholders for constructive dialogue.



# Asia-Pacific

## EWI Action

In 2017, the AP program convened **two new initiatives**, expanding EWI's substantive and geographic reach.

The **three flagship U.S.-China dialogues** enhanced the platform for candid exchanges. Each dialogue engaged new participants from the United States and China.

### Dialogue on U.S.-China Infrastructure Cooperation (I2I)

In March, EWI hosted the first-ever conference in Beijing on prospects for U.S.-China infrastructure cooperation. The U.S. delegation, comprised of investment and infrastructure experts, met with Chinese counterparts from both the public and private sectors to develop proposals for Chinese investment in U.S. infrastructure projects, U.S.-China infrastructure cooperation in third-party markets and on infrastructure of the future.

### U.S.-China Political Party Leaders Dialogue (P2P)

The timing of the 10th P2P was especially propitious, shortly following China's 19th Party Congress and President Trump's first visit to Asia. U.S. Democratic and Republican Party leaders, senior CPC officials and global business leaders engaged in frank discussions on domestic governance, foreign policy issues and the U.S.-China commercial and trade relationship. P2P participants also participated in the "CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-Level Meeting," enhancing opportunities for exchange with top Chinese leadership, as well as delegates from over 120 countries.

### U.S.-China Sanya Initiative

The AP program held two smaller-scale meetings bringing together retired U.S. and Chinese flag officers. The first meeting, held in May in Jilin, China, focused on developments on the Korean Peninsula and mitigating the risk of miscalculation between Beijing and Washington. The second meeting, convened in December in Beijing, produced tangible policy proposals for tackling the North Korea nuclear and missile crisis and enhancing bilateral cooperation on regional counterterrorism. Participants conveyed these policy recommendations to the highest levels of leadership in Washington and Beijing.

### U.S.-Japan Military-to-Military Dialogue

The inaugural meeting in Honolulu facilitated exchanges among retired flag officers from the Japanese and U.S. militaries on issues of critical concern to both countries. Participants discussed security challenges in air, maritime and cyberspace and opportunities to enhance cooperation among the militaries of Japan, the United States, China and the Republic of Korea. This new initiative integrated additional perspectives from the Asia-Pacific region into EWI's Track 2 dialogue processes.

### U.S.-China High-Level Security Dialogue (HLSD)

The AP program convened the 11th HLSD in June. U.S. and Chinese academics, former and current military and government officials and business leaders engaged in a series of discussions on the impact of domestic factors on U.S.-China relations, the North Korea nuclear crisis as well as trade and economic issues. U.S. delegates met with officials at the embassy of the Republic of Korea in Beijing to enrich understanding of security issues on the Korean Peninsula—marking the first inclusion of third-party perspectives in the HLSD process.

## Other Engagement

Throughout 2017, EWI initiated a range of programmatic activities and media appearances that addressed North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons. EWI not only co-sponsored major events in Seoul and Washington, but also served as a conduit of negotiations among major players at the highest levels on peace and lasting security on the Korean Peninsula.

The AP program released a new report "*Alternative Strategic Perceptions in U.S.-China Relations*," revealing differing U.S.-Chinese strategic perceptions on key issues challenging bilateral relations. These stark contrasts often impact official policy, fueling mistrust and mutual, strategic suspicion. By exposing these diverging views, this report's direct and concise analysis creates the foundation for more honest, constructive and mutually beneficial dialogues.

## Next Steps

In 2018, EWI will initiate a new series of roundtables that will convene public and private stakeholders on U.S.-China strategic and trade relations, as well as Southeast Asia and South Asia business ties with the United States. The seminars will develop innovative ideas and solutions, enhance communication among disparate parties and anticipate new challenges and solutions. From these discussions, EWI will generate policy briefs to impact long-term U.S. strategic and economic planning in the Asia-Pacific region.

The AP program will advance its dialogue processes by:

- > Bringing together a delegation of retired U.S. four-star generals and admirals to engage with their Chinese counterparts to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the U.S.-China Sanya Initiative;
- > Convening the eleventh round of the U.S.-China Political Party Leaders Dialogue in the United States, which will directly follow U.S. midterm elections and will diversify dialogue participants and corporate engagement; and
- > Holding the second and third rounds of the U.S.-Japan Military-to-Military Dialogue, seeking to expand future participation by other Asia-Pacific countries.

## Thank You!

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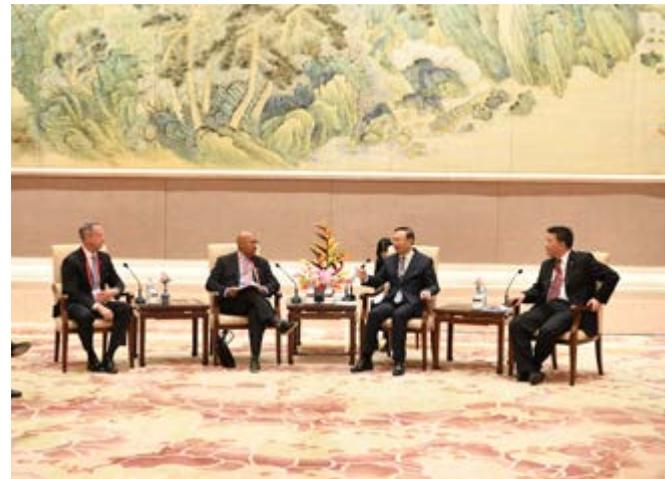
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|  | TOTAL<br>(USD)    |
|--|-------------------|
| <b>Revenue</b>                                       |                   |
| Donor contributions                                  | 4,975,049         |
| Grants   | 145,162           |
| Investment gain                                      | 1,306,115         |
| In-kind contributions                                | 121,123           |
| Net revenue from special events                      | 362,705           |
| Other  | 300,004           |
| <b>Total public support and revenue</b>              | <b>7,210,158</b>  |
| <b>Expenses</b>                                      |                   |
| Program services                                     | 6,216,519         |
| Management and general expenses                      | 1,473,374         |
| Fundraising  | 894,857           |
| <b>Total operating expenses</b>                      | <b>8,584,750</b>  |
| <b>Net assets</b>                                    |                   |
| Change in net assets before foreign translation loss | (1,374,592)       |
| Foreign translation loss                             | (5,545)           |
| Change in net assets                                 | (1,380,137)       |
| Net assets, beginning of year                        | 26,496,878        |
| <b>Net assets, end of year</b>                       | <b>25,116,741</b> |

# The Year in Pictures

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(1) Tony Parker and President Xi Jinping; (2) Cameron Munter and Foreign Minister Wang Yi; (3) General (ret.) Kiyofumi Iwata (left) and Gen. (ret) T. Michael Moseley ; (4) Gov. Martin O'Malley, Gov. Alphonso Jackson, Yang Jiechi and Guo Yezhou; (5) Admiral (ret) William A. Owens; (6) Inaugural "U.S.-Japan Military Dialogue" in Honolulu; (7) Delegates at the 10th U.S.-China Political Party Leaders Dialogue; (8) 11th U.S.-China High-Level Security Dialogue in Beijing.



EWI is a unique institution and does immense good in the world. The U.S.-China High-Level Political Party Leaders Dialogue (P2P) is just one example of the direct impact that this organization has on enhancing mutual understanding and diminishing the chances of miscalculation among U.S. and Chinese senior officials, representing all political parties.

— **Tony Parker, Treasurer, Republican National Committee**

Serving as an EWI delegate for the 10th P2P Dialogue was a valuable opportunity for me to share in the discussion on the importance of pursuing dialogue and mutual understanding between China and the United States.

— **Alphonso Jackson, 13th U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development**

The EWI P2P Dialogue promotes open, candid discussions and long-term governmental partnership opportunities. This process is unprecedented and is a great service to our country and our long-term strategic interests.

— **Governor Bob Holden, Chairman of the Midwest-U.S. China Association and 53rd Governor of Missouri**

EWI's sponsorship of the P2P Dialogue adds an invaluable dimension to the critical challenge of promoting understanding, managing differences and facilitating cooperation, where possible, in the most consequential bilateral relationship of the 21st century.

— **Jim Steinberg, Professor, Syracuse University and former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State**

# The Year in Pictures

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(1) Haifa Al Kaylani and F. Francis Najafi; (2) Ross Perot, Jr.; (3) Dr. Anousheh Ansari; (4) Dean Kamen; (5) Karen Linehan Mroz and Addison Fischer; (6) Edward F. and Penny Glassmeyer; Janice and Matt Bross; (7) Dr. Anousheh Ansari and Betty Liu delivering keynote discussion at the 2017 Awards Gala; (8) Jasbeena and Ralph Layman (9) Kevin Taweel; (10) MTBC representatives at the 2017 Awards Gala; (11) David Webb, Astrid Marten, Gen. (ret) T. Michael Moseley and Ross Perot, Jr.; (12) Ralph Isham (second from left) and guests at the 2017 Awards Gala; (13) Dr. Hu Yuandong.



# The Year in Pictures

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(1) John Hurley and Anurag Jain; (2) Amb. Wolfgang Ischinger; (3) EWI board members at the spring board meeting; (4) Bob Foresman, Amb. Alexander Kramarenko, Dr. Sergei Guriev and Col. (ret.) Oleg Kulakov; (5) Cameron and Anna Munter, Darcy Anderson (right); (6) Maria Livanos Cattau; (7) Ross Perot, Jr., Ambassador Alexander Yakovenko and Cameron Munter; (8) Sir Peter Bonfield; (9) ; R. William Ide III and Amb. Zhou Wenzhong (10) Zuhail Kurt; (11) Sezgin Baran Korkmaz; (12) Haifa Al Kaylani and Sarah Perot.



# The Year in Pictures

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(1) William J. Parker III appearing on Bloomberg TV; (2) H.E. Dr. Armen Sarkissian; (3) Ikram ul-Majeed Sehgal; (4) Joel H. Cowan, Ginny Jackson and A. Steven Raab; (5) Tewodros Ashenafi; (6) EWI board members at the fall board meeting; (7) Hamid Ansari (right); (8) Amb. Kanwal Sibal; (9) Cameron Munter and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; (10) Bruce W. McConnell, Michael Chertoff, Greg Nojeim, Anna Renard-Kostysh, Vladimir Ivanov and Anneleen Roggeman; (11) Mary McInnis Boies and Addison Fischer; (12) Robert N. Campbell III and R. William Ide III.



# The Year in Pictures

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(1) Mike Sarimsakci; (2) Stephen B. Heintz and Suzanne DiMaggio; (3) Peter Altabef; (4) David Cohen, Lori C. Roux and Smadar Cohen; (5) EWI staff at awards gala; (6) Alexander Voloshin; (7) Gen. (ret) James L. Jones; (8) Hon. Steven S. Honigman and Mary Springer; (9) Ross and Sarah Perot, Jr.; Nouneh and H.E. Dr. Armen Sarkissian; (10) Ross Perot, Jr., Megyn Kelly and Cameron Munter; (11) George Kadifa, John Hurley and Kevin Taweel; (12) Dr. Afnan Al-Shuaiby ; (13) Laurent M. Roux and Najam Abbas; (14) Vladimir Ivanov (left) at the Joint U.S.-Russia Working Group on Counterterrorism in Afghanistan in Moscow.



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A photograph showing a person in silhouette looking out from a window into a scene of complete destruction. The view outside is filled with rubble, twisted metal, and the skeletal remains of a multi-story building. The sky is clear and blue. The person is in the foreground, looking towards the center of the frame. The window frame is dark and appears to be made of metal. The background is a bright, clear sky.

A member of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) looks out from a building at the frontline in Raqqa on October 16, as the former Islamic State stronghold stood on the verge of capture.

EWI always takes a refreshingly direct approach.

— **Mohamed ElBaradei**

This institute is distinguished by its effective multinational dialogue work as well as its success in integrating business in the public policy debate. Its results speak for themselves.

— **Condoleezza Rice**

I marvel at how EWI is able to make a difference, consistently.

— **Martti Ahtisaari**

EWI is one of the most effective institutions working in the foreign affairs field.

— **Madeleine Albright**

For 35 years, the EastWest Institute has served as a go-to place for solving seemingly intractable international security problems. It has discreetly convened officials, experts and the business community to tackle some of the most difficult issues of our time.

— **Frank-Walter Steinmeier**

A dedicated fighter for the cause of freedom; a tireless and subtle organizer of dialogues in the pursuit of peace; a bridge between groups that needed a means of working together.

— **Henry Kissinger**

The EastWest Institute is challenging each of us to rethink our international security priorities in order to get things moving again. As your slogan so aptly puts it, you are a “think and do tank.”

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