



U.S. GOVERNMENT AND DEFENSE CONTRACTOR FUNDING OF AMERICA'S TOP 50 THINK TANKS

Foreign Influence
Transparency Initiative
BEN FREEMAN



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The Center for International Policy (CIP) is an independent nonprofit center for research, public education and advocacy on U.S. foreign policy. CIP works to make a peaceful, just and sustainable world the central pursuit of U.S. foreign policy. CIP was founded in 1975 in the wake of the Vietnam War by former diplomats and peace activists who sought to reorient U.S. foreign policy to advance international cooperation as the primary vehicle for solving global challenges and promoting human rights. Today, we bring diverse voices to bear on key foreign policy decisions and make the evidence-based case for why and how the United States must redefine the concept of national security in the 21st century.

About the Foreign Influence Transparency Initiative (FITI)

While investigations into Russian influence in the 2016 election regularly garner front-page headlines, there is a half-billion-dollar foreign influence industry working to shape U.S. foreign policy every single day that remains largely unknown to the public. The Foreign Influence Transparency Initiative is working to change that anonymity through transparency promotion, investigative research, and public education.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Despite largely flying under the public's radar, think tanks have long played a critical role in shaping United States (U.S.) public policy. Yet, most Americans outside the Washington establishment have little, if any, understanding of what a think tank is or does. Think tanks conduct in-depth research on public policy, help write laws, testify before Congress, are a go-to source for media on political issues of the day, serve as springboards for future government officials, and give former government officials a channel to express their views.

Think tanks vary considerably in terms of their objectives and organization, but many think tanks in Washington D.C. share a common trait: they receive substantial financial support from the U.S. government and private businesses that work for the U.S. government, most notably defense contractors. In a variety of instances, the public has learned that this funding can significantly influence the work of think tanks. It can lead to a think tank producing reports favorable to a funder, think tank experts offering Congressional testimony in support of a funder's interests, or its scholars working closely with a funder's lobbyists.¹

Yet, we only have anecdotal examples of the impact U.S. government and defense contractor capital has on think tanks for a simple reason: think tanks are not required to publicly disclose their funding sources. Without a legal requirement for disclosure, many think tanks are reluctant to reveal the full scope of their funding or give details on specific donors. They often fail to mention potential conflicts of interest in their published reports or commentary, and think tank experts often fail to report on their organization's financial ties to the U.S. government and defense contractors when testifying before Congress. Hiding these potential conflicts of interest leaves the public and policymakers with the impression that they're hearing from a truly objective expert, when in fact they may be listening to someone that is, effectively, funded by the Department of Defense or a weapons contractor.

In an effort to move towards greater transparency of think tank funding in America, this report analyzes U.S. government and defense contractor funding at the top fifty think tanks in America, as ranked by the University of Pennsylvania's Global Go To Think Tank Index, based on criteria like the quality and reputation of the think tank's research and the reach of its publications.² The analysis includes all U.S. government and defense contractor funding received by these think tanks from 2014-2019. The data collected for this analysis comes primarily from think tanks' publicly available information, supplemented by media reports of funding not publicly disclosed by think tanks themselves, and through voluntary disclosure

1. For example, see FITI's previous report, "Foreign Funding of Think Tanks in America," https://static.wixstatic.com/ugd/3ba8a1_4f06e99f35d4485b801f8dbfe33b6a3f.pdf.

2. James G. McGann, "2019 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report," TTCSP Global Go To Think Tank Index Reports (University of Pennsylvania, June 18, 2020), https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1018&context=think_tanks.

by think tanks after FITI's requests. From this analysis we found:

- At least \$1 billion in U.S. government and defense contractor funding went to the top fifty think tanks in America;
 - The top recipients of this funding were the RAND Corporation, the Center for a New American Security, and the New America Foundation;
- At least 600 different donations were given to these think tanks from the U.S. government or defense contractors;
- Donations to these think tanks came from 68 different U.S. government and defense contractor sources;
 - The top funders from the U.S. government were the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Air Force, the Army, the Department of Homeland Security, and the State Department;
 - The defense contractors contributing the most to these think tanks were Northrop Grumman, Raytheon, Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and Airbus;
- There were widely varying levels of transparency about funding sources at America's top think tanks, ranging from full disclosure of all funders and exact amounts donated, to think tanks that disclose absolutely no information about funders.

This analysis builds upon a previous report released by FITI in early 2020, "Foreign Funding of Think Tanks in America," and points towards a simple policy recommendation: think tanks should be required, by law, to publicly disclose their funders.³ This report demonstrates why transparency is especially important when think tanks are making recommendations about the policies of the U.S. government, while simultaneously being funded by the U.S. government and large businesses whose revenue is derived primarily from the U.S. government. Disclosing funding sources is essential for the public, the media, and policymakers to better identify potential conflicts of interest when consuming information provided by think tanks.

INTRODUCTION

Think tanks serve a specialized niche in the American political system. In theory, they're a bridge between academia and government. In practice, they can literally write our nation's laws and fill positions within the federal government. Think tanks are the political expert you see on TV and the author of that op-ed in your favorite paper. They are one of the key drivers of political discourse in America. Yet, despite this immense influence on government and policy debates in the U.S., think tanks are largely unknown to most Americans. This

3. Ben Freeman, "Foreign Funding of Think Tanks in America," Foreign Influence Transparency Initiative (Center for International Policy, January 2020), https://static.wixstatic.com/ugd/3ba8a1_4f06e99f35d4485b801f8dbfe33b6a3f.pdf.

introduction seeks to remedy that by providing a brief explanation of what think tanks are and do, how that work is driven by their financiers, and thus why it's critical for the public to have unfettered access to information about a think tank's funders.⁴

■ The Role of Think Tanks in the U.S. Political System

Most Americans outside D.C. have little, if any, understanding of what a think tank is. The idea that there are organizations who pay people to “think” is, in fact, an absurd concept to many. While think tank scholars do more than just think — they also write and speak about all that thinking — the fact remains that outside of D.C., few realize the extraordinary impact think tanks have on the American political system.

Despite largely flying under the public's radar, think tanks have long played a critical role in shaping U.S. public policy. When Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States in 1980, the prominent conservative think tank, the Heritage Foundation (Heritage), provided the president-elect's transition team with a more than 1,000 page set of recommendations called the “Mandate for Leadership” covering everything from taxes to national defense.⁵ By Heritage's counting, the Reagan administration ultimately adopted or attempted to adopt fully two-thirds of Heritage's recommendations.⁶ In 2003, on the other side of the aisle, after serving as Chief of Staff to President Bill Clinton, in 2003 John Podesta founded perhaps the most prominent liberal think tank in Washington D.C., the Center for American Progress (CAP). CAP has since worked extremely closely with Democratic Members of Congress, the Obama administration, and presidential candidates. Podesta himself was Chairman of the 2016 Hillary Clinton Presidential campaign.

Just as think tanks can directly shape public policy and elections, they play a large role in shaping the public narrative about U.S. government policies. Many of the experts discussing the most pressing political issues of the day on TV networks, like CNN and Fox News, work at think tanks. The op-ed pages of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are filled with the musings of think tank scholars. Most of the astute political analysts you hear on National Public Radio and other radio outlets also work at think tanks. In short, think tanks are the engine driving public debate about public policy.

In a different sense, think tanks are directly connected to the federal government in that they're filled with former and future government officials. Many think tanks pride

4. This section is taken, largely verbatim, from FITI's “Foreign Funding of Think Tanks in America.”

5. Andrew Blasko, “REAGAN HERITAGE: A Unique Partnership,” The Heritage Foundation: Conservatism, June 7, 2004, <https://www.heritage.org/conservatism/commentary/reagan-and-heritage-unique-partnership>.

6. Ibid.

themselves on employing former government officials, including Senators, Representatives, and their staff, as well as former Executive Branch employees. The oldest think tank in D.C., the Brookings Institution, for example, is headed by retired four-star General John Allen and amongst its more than 300 experts are two former Chairs of the Federal Reserve—Janet Yellen and Ben Bernanke.⁷

Just as importantly, think tanks are filled with future government officials. In this role, think tanks serve as incubators for scholars and bureaucrats looking to make the leap into public service. Think tanks, particularly those with an ideological leaning, are also fertile ground for new presidential administrations looking to fill political appointments in the Executive Branch. They also can serve as something of a waiting room where prominent officials go to work when an administration of the opposing party comes to power, biding time until they rejoin a future administration more in line with their ideological leaning.

In brief, while think tanks may not be widely understood, they play an enormous role in shaping the U.S. government and public policy in America.

Perhaps because of this extraordinary influence, we are living in something of a heyday for U.S. think tanks. The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania, which tracks and ranks think tanks annually, found that there are now 1,872 think tanks in America, more than double the number of think tanks in existence in 1980 when the Heritage Foundation provided its recommendations to Ronald Reagan.⁸ These think tanks have distinct issue sets, differing objectives, individual organizing structures, and, most importantly for this analysis, have different funding streams.

Those working at think tanks often argue that funding doesn't impact their work and that their scholars' "[i]ndependence is sacred," as the president of the prominent Middle East Institute (MEI) has publicly proclaimed.⁹ Yet, it's naïve, to say the least, to actually believe that funding sources have no impact on the work a think tank does. Most funding comes with explicit strings attached, like writing research reports or hosting public events about specific topics. While the public may or may not agree with funders' objectives, these funders nevertheless place explicit or implicit constraints on what a think tank can and cannot do.

At a basic level, funders are unlikely to continue funding an organization that advocates for positions they oppose. In this case, funders give money to ideologically aligned organizations. Think tanks that don't compromise their positions for this funding thus simply have

7. "Experts," Brookings, n.d., <https://www.brookings.edu/experts/>.

8. McGann, "2019 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report."

9. Paul Salem, The Role of Think Tanks in Shaping Middle East Policy, Video recording of panel discussion event, Events (Middle East Institute, 2019), <https://www.mei.edu/events/role-think-tanks-shaping-middle-east-policy>.

more resources to advance those positions. This avenue of influence need not be explicit and is often simply a Darwinian process — think tanks doing work counter to a funder's interests shouldn't expect that funding stream to survive long. But collectively, this gives the positions of the largest funders of think tanks a larger voice in Washington.

Funders directing what think tanks do is an obvious form of influence, but funders can also wield considerable power by paying for what think tanks don't do. In fact, one of the most valuable commodities funders buy is a think tank's silence.

The Importance of Transparency in Think Tank Funding

Think tanks have an immense impact on the U.S. political process and funders have considerable sway in determining what think tanks do (or don't do). This extraordinary influence on the U.S. political system is coupled with an extraordinary lack of transparency of think tank funding. In fact, think tanks, like most non-profit organizations, aren't required to disclose any of their donors. For most think tanks, this information is included in IRS forms called Schedule B's, which are not made publicly available. The result is that think tanks can keep their funding sources secret.

Despite the lack of a legal requirement, some think tanks voluntarily disclose information about their funders. Amongst those that disclose funding sources, there is considerable variation in what information they provide to the public. Reporting ranges from think tanks that simply provide the names of some funders, to think tanks that provide the names of all funders, the precise amounts of their donations, and any specific projects or areas of work the funding helped to finance.

Most think tanks that do disclose information fall somewhere in between, typically providing the names of funders and listing them in rather broad ranges of financial support.

Unfortunately, most consumers of think tank expertise aren't afforded the opportunity to understand how a think tank's funding might bias the information they're receiving. It's incredibly rare for media outlets quoting or interviewing think tank experts to bring up their potential conflicts of interest. Even more troubling, think tank experts testifying before Congress often fail to disclose potential conflicts of interest as required by

This extraordinary influence on the U.S. political system is coupled with an extraordinary lack of transparency of think tank funding.

law in the House (though) not for Senate testimony).¹⁰

The Roadmap

In an effort to move towards greater transparency of think tank funding in America, the remainder of this report analyzes U.S. government and defense contractor funding at the top 50 think tanks in America, as ranked by the University of Pennsylvania's Global Go To Think Tank Index, based on criteria like the quality and reputation of the think tanks research and the reach of its publications.¹¹ The analysis includes all accessible funding received by these think tanks from 2014-2019. The data collected for this analysis comes primarily from think tanks' publicly available information, supplemented by media reports of funding not publicly disclosed by think tanks themselves, and through voluntary disclosures by think tanks after requests from the Center for International Policy. This analysis found:

- At least \$1 billion in U.S. government and defense contractor funding went to these top think tanks;
 - The top recipients of this funding were the RAND Corporation, the Center for a New American Security, and the New America Foundation;
- At least 600 different donations were given to these think tanks from the U.S. government or defense contractors;
- Donations to these think tanks came from 68 different U.S. government and defense contractor sources;
 - The top funders from the U.S. government were the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Air Force, the Army, the Department of Homeland Security, and the State Department;
 - The defense contractors contributing the most to these think tanks were Northrop Grumman, Raytheon, Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and Airbus;
- There were widely varying levels of transparency about funding sources at top think tanks, ranging from full disclosure of all funders and exact amounts donated, to think tanks that disclose absolutely no information about funders.

This analysis points towards policy recommendations that could help improve transparency of funding at think tanks and allow the public and policymakers to better identify potential conflicts of interest when consuming information provided by think tanks. These recommendations are outlined in the report's conclusion.

10. Lydia Dennett, "Foreign Influence at the Witness Table? Loopholes and Lax Enforcement Water Down Funding Transparency Rule," Project on Government Oversight (POGO), September 12, 2018, <https://www.pogo.org/investigation/2018/09/foreign-influence-at-the-witness-table/>.

11. McGann, "2019 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report."

U.S. GOVERNMENT AND DEFENSE CONTRACTOR FUNDING AT THE TOP 50 THINK TANKS IN AMERICA

This section lays out the findings from an analysis of U.S. government and defense contractor funding at the top 50 think tanks in America from 2014 to 2019. It first discusses the methodology we used to acquire the more than 600 different contributions to think tanks that we analyzed, and then lays out the results of that analysis—highlighting the top recipients of U.S. government and defense contractor money and the government agencies and contractors who contributed the most.

While this was a labor intensive effort that yielded an expansive database of think tank funding, we have no illusions that this is the entire universe of U.S. government and defense contractor money flowing to these think tanks during this time period. This is true for at least two reasons. First, as discussed in much greater detail in the next section, think tanks aren't required to disclose their donors and many don't. Intrepid journalists have been able to fill in some of these blind-spots, but there undoubtedly remains a sizable amount of funding that hasn't been publicly disclosed or reported. Second, most think tanks that disclose funders don't list the amount of funding received or list the amounts in ranges (e.g. \$25,000 to \$100,000). Because we can't determine the precise amount of these contributions, we report only the minimum amounts of these ranges (e.g. \$25,000 instead of \$100,000) to provide the most conservative funding estimates possible. Thus, all of the figures listed in this report are a floor, not a ceiling, for the amount of U.S. government and defense contractor money that flowed to America's top 50 think tanks from 2014 to 2019.

■ Methodology

While analyzing the funding profiles at all of the more than 1,800 think tanks operating in America would have been ideal, this analysis focused on the more manageable (though still sizable) pool of the top fifty think tanks in America, as ranked by the University of Pennsylvania's 2019 Global Go To Think Tank Index, based on criteria like the quality and reputation of the think tanks research and the reach of its publications.¹² This list is topped by the Brookings Institution—which was voted the top think tank in both America and the world—and other staples of the Washington think tank scene, including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and the Heritage Foundation. A full list of the top 50 think tanks, sorted alphabetically, is in Table 1.

12. McGann.

Table 1: The Top 50 Think Tanks in America

Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty	Heritage Foundation
American Enterprise Institute	Hoover Institution – Stanford
Asia Society Policy Institute	Hudson Institute
Aspen Institute	Human Rights Watch
Atlantic Council	Independent Institute
Belfer Center for Science & International Affairs - Harvard	Information Technology and Innovation Foundation
Bipartisan Policy Center	Inter-American Dialogue
Brookings Institution	James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy - Rice
Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs	Manhattan Institute for Policy Research
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	McKinsey Global Institute
Cato Institute	Middle East Institute
Center for a New American Security	Migration Policy Institute
Center for American Progress	National Bureau of Asian Research
Center for Climate and Energy Solutions	National Bureau of Economic Research
Center for Global Development	New America Foundation
Center for Strategic and International Studies	Peterson Institute for International Economics
Center for the National Interest	Pew Research Center
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	Rand Corporation
Chicago Council on Global Affairs	Resources for the Future
Council on Foreign Relations	Stimson Center
Earth Institute - Columbia University	The Mercatus Center
East West Institute	United States Institute of Peace
Economic Policy Institute	Urban Institute
Freedom House	World Resources Institute
German Marshall Fund of the United States	Worldwatch Institute

FITI took these 50 think tanks and first searched for all publicly available information the think tanks themselves provided about their funders. Most of this information came from think tanks' Annual Reports and through disclosures on their websites. We then conducted rigorous searches for any publicly available information about these think tanks funding, which consisted primarily of documenting any journalistic accounts of previously undisclosed funding sources at these institutions. Finally, when information on each think tanks' funding could not be obtained through either of these channels, the information was requested via email. While several think tanks responded and provided the requested information, some did not respond to multiple requests, keeping their funding sources hidden.

The amounts documented here include general support funding, project support funding, and grants based on specific requirements. For example, the Department of Homeland Security may be seeking specific research on counter-terrorism, release a request for proposals to conduct that research, and a think tank may win the contract to do that specific work. These different funding mechanisms have varying impacts on transparency and the level of influence they can exert on a think tank's work.

This analysis focused only on funding from U.S. government sources and defense contractors. Specifically, the analysis focused only on the top 100 defense contractors as listed in Defense News "Top 100 for 2020."¹³ Once again, the data is limited to a certain number of contractors and represents only some of the defense industry's influence wielded in the top 50 think tanks.

Appendix A provides a complete breakdown of each think tank's U.S. government and defense contractor funders, and Appendix B provides a complete breakdown of which think tanks were financed by each organization.

Amongst think tanks that disclose their funders there were widely varying levels of transparency, as the law doesn't require them to disclose any of this information. As noted in Table 4 below, several think tanks reported the exact amount received from U.S. government and defense contractor donors. The much more common practice, however, was for think tanks to report that funders fall into one of many ranges of funding amounts. CSIS, for example, lists donors in categories of \$5,000-\$99,999, \$100,000 to \$449,999, and \$500,000 and up.¹⁴

Without knowing the precise amounts of these donations, and to provide conservative estimates of funding, we use the low end of these ranges for think tanks that report funding in this manner. Thus, unless otherwise noted, all of the figures reported here should be

13. "Top 100 for 2020," Defense News, n.d., <https://people.defensenews.com/top-100/>.

14. "Government Donors," Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), n.d., <https://www.csis.org/government-donors>.

viewed as the minimum amount of reported funding from these sources. Even with this conservative approach, we were able to track more than \$1 billion in funding from the U.S. government and defense contractors going to these top think tanks in just six years.

■ Think Tanks Receiving the Most U.S. Government and Defense Contractor Funding

This analysis identified more than \$1.078 billion in U.S. government and defense contractor funding going to the top 50 think tanks in America. The breakdown of that funding for each of the top 10 recipients, is provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Top 10 Think Tanks by Amount Received from the U.S. Government and Defense Contractors

RAND Corporation	\$1,209,100,000
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	\$8,946,000
Atlantic Council	\$8,697,000
New America Foundation	\$7,283,828
German Marshall Fund of the United States	\$6,599,999
CSIS	\$5,040,000
Council on Foreign Relations	\$2,590,000
Brookings Institution	\$2,485,000
Heritage Foundation	\$1,375,000
Stimson Center	\$1,343,753

The RAND Corporation received, by far, the most funding from U.S. government and defense contractors of the 50 think tanks we analyzed, raking in a whopping \$1.029 billion between 2014-2019 and accounting for approximately 95% of all the funding we tracked. Nearly all of this came from U.S. government sources; specifically, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (\$110 million), the U.S. Army (\$245,880,000), the U.S. Air Force (\$281,400,000), and the rather broad category described as “Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense and other national security agencies,” (\$391,720,000).¹⁵ RAND is overwhelmingly reliant on U.S. government funding. For example, In fiscal year 2019, \$295 million of RAND’s

15. “How We’re Funded,” RAND Corporation, 2019, https://www.rand.org/about/clients_grantors.html.

\$357 million in total revenue came from federal agencies.¹⁶ This high reliance on the U.S. government could dampen criticisms of the agencies RAND receives revenue from.

A full list of all U.S. government and defense contractor funders to RAND, and the rest of the 50 think tanks we analyzed, can be found in Appendix A.

The Center for a New American Security (CNAS) was the second highest recipient of funding from the U.S. government and defense contractors, with nearly \$9 million coming from these sources. The top donors to CNAS were Northrop Grumman (\$2.36 million), Boeing (\$960,000), and the Department of Defense (\$600,000). Most of this funding came from defense contractors, with the top five defense contractors in terms of 2019 revenue—Lockheed Martin, Boeing, General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, and Raytheon—accounting for approximately half of all the contributions that U.S. government and defense contractors made to the organization in the time period analyzed here.¹⁷

CNAS is notable for both its depth of support from defense contractors—having received more funding from defense contractors than any other think tank analyzed here—and the breadth of its support from the defense industry with more than two dozen defense contractors contributing to the organization.

The Atlantic Council was the third highest recipient of U.S. government and defense contractor funding. The nearly \$8.7 million they received came primarily from defense contractors, including top donations of: \$1.485 million from Saab, \$1.25 million from Airbus, \$800,000 from Raytheon, \$750,000 from Lockheed Martin, and \$600,000 from United Technologies. On defense contractor funder diversity, the Atlantic Council was top amongst the think tanks analyzed here, with contributions to the organization coming from twenty-seven different defense contractors. It's well worth noting that, when it comes to revealing information about its donors, the Atlantic Council is more transparent than most. The think tank reveals precise funding amounts for its donors and provides information on even relatively small \$1,000 donations. This level of transparency (which will be discussed in greater detail below), understandably, contributed to the larger number of defense contractor donations we were able to track at the organization.

Behind the Atlantic Council, the New America Foundation was the next highest recipient of contributions from the U.S. government and defense contractors. The New America Foundation is noteworthy because — unlike the other think tanks mentioned here — it received nearly all of its U.S. government and defense contractor funding (\$7.28 million total) from just one source: the State Department, which gave the think tank nearly \$6.5 million during

16. "How We're Funded."

17. "Top 100 for 2020."

the time period analyzed here. Other, smaller donors included Northrop Grumman, Raytheon, and Boeing.

Rounding out the top five highest grossing recipients of U.S. government and defense contractor donations was the German Marshall Fund (GMF) of the United States. GMF received just under \$6.6 million from these donors with most of that amount coming from the U.S. Agency for International Development (\$4,000,000) and the State Department (\$2,005,000). The think tank did, however, receive sizable contributions from some defense contractors, including Airbus (\$305,000) and Boeing (\$209,999).

The Top U.S. Government and Defense Contractor Donors to U.S. Think Tanks

Another way to look at the data we've amassed on funding at think tanks is from the funders' perspective. Specifically, we can track how much funding came from each of the 25 government agencies or 45 defense contractors who we identified as having contributed to these top think tanks between 2014 and 2020. The top five government agencies, ranked based on amount donated, are listed in Table 3 and a complete list of all the think tanks each U.S. government agency or defense contractor donated to is in Appendix B.

Table 3: The Top 5 U.S. Government Donors to U.S. Think Tanks

Security of Defense (and other national security agencies)	\$391,720,000
U.S. Air Force	\$281,400,000
U.S. Army	\$246,321,000
Department of Homeland Security	\$111,192,255
Department of State	\$9,090,478

As Table 3 indicates, the vast majority of U.S. government funding at the top 50 think tanks in the U.S. came from the U.S. military. In fact, the State Department's \$9 million in total contributions to these think tanks is less than 10% of what the Department of Homeland Security doled out, and less than 1% of what U.S. military agencies gave to these top think tanks. As previously mentioned, most of this military funding went to just one think tank: RAND. Smaller amounts of military money did, however, find its way to other think tanks, including CNAS, the Brookings Institution, the Atlantic Council, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Stimson Center.

The Department of Homeland Security, similarly, provided most of its funding to the RAND

Corporation. But, notably, DHS made \$1.15 million in contributions to the Urban Institute in a series of grants between 2016 and 2018.

The State Department is something of an anomaly here, and not just in terms of the incredibly small level of financial support it provides to think tanks compared to the other national security agencies. The State Department was one of the few agencies we analyzed that did not give most of its think tank contributions to RAND. Instead, the State Department doled out most of its contributions to the New America Foundation (\$6.49 million) and the German Marshall Fund (\$2 million).

Table 4: The Top 5 Defense Contractor Donors to U.S. Think Tanks

Northrop Grumman	\$4,551,252
Raytheon	\$2,830,000
Boeing	\$2,746,075
Lockheed Martin	\$2,670,000
Airbus	\$2,140,000

Table 4 lists the five defense contractors that contributed the most to America's top 50 think tanks. Northrop Grumman was, by far, the most generous donor, giving these think tanks more than \$4.5 million from 2014-2019. More than half of this amount (\$2.36 million) went to just one think tank: CNAS. Northrop Grumman's support of CNAS has been high and consistent, as exemplified by the defense contractor being listed in CNAS's top tier of donors that provide, "[s]upport of \$500,000 and above," in each of the last four years.¹⁸

CNAS has, perhaps not coincidentally, been publicly supportive of Northrop Grumman's biggest weapon system--the B21 stealth bomber. For example, a 2018 CNAS report argues that the Air Force's current plan to acquire 100 B-21's will be inadequate to fight a great power and the U.S. will need "a minimum of 164 B-21 bombers."¹⁹ The report doesn't mention, however, that Northrop Grumman is one of the top-tier donors to CNAS or that every one of

18. For example, see: "CNAS Supporters," Center for a New American Security (CNAS), September 30, 2019, <https://www.cnas.org/support-cnas/cnas-supporters>.

19. "Filling the Seams in U.S. Long Range Penetrating Strike," Center for a New American Security, 2018, <https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/CNASReport-Penetrating-Strike-4.pdf?mtime=20180906151753&focal=none>.

these additional stealth bombers would cost taxpayers well over half-a-billion dollars.²⁰

However, CNAS is far from the only recipient of donations from Northrop Grumman. Twelve of the top 50 think tanks that we analyzed received contributions from the defense

contractor, with notably high levels of support also going to CSIS (\$1,000,000) and the New America Foundation (\$475,000). Notably, CSIS, unlike CNAS, declares its support from Northrop Grumman in specific reports, not just on its website.²¹

Raytheon, the defense contractor which contributed the second highest amount of money to the top think tanks in America also spread its support to twelve of the top 50 think tanks in the U.S. Most notably, Raytheon contributed at least \$800,000 to the Atlantic Council and \$550,000 to CNAS.

Boeing ranked third amongst defense contractors in terms of donations to America's top think tanks, with at least \$2,746,075 in contributions since 2014. Boeing led all defense contractors in terms of breadth of think tank connections, providing support to fifteen of the nation's leading think tanks. As with Northrop Grumman, CNAS was the largest recipient of Boeing's generosity, receiving at least \$960,000 in support.

Rounding out the top five most generous defense contractors donating to America's top think tanks were Lockheed Martin — with \$2.67 million in contributions going to the Atlantic Council (\$700,000), CNAS (\$450,000), CSIS (\$400,000) and ten other think tanks; and Airbus — with \$2.14 million in total contributions and \$1.25 million of that total going to the Atlantic Council.

Notably absent from this list of top defense contractor donors to think tanks is General Dynamics. Despite being one of the largest defense contractors in the U.S., with \$29 billion in defense revenue in 2019 — which trailed only Boeing and Lockheed Martin — General Dynamics contributed just over half a million dollars to the top think tanks analyzed here, far less than any of its competitors.²²

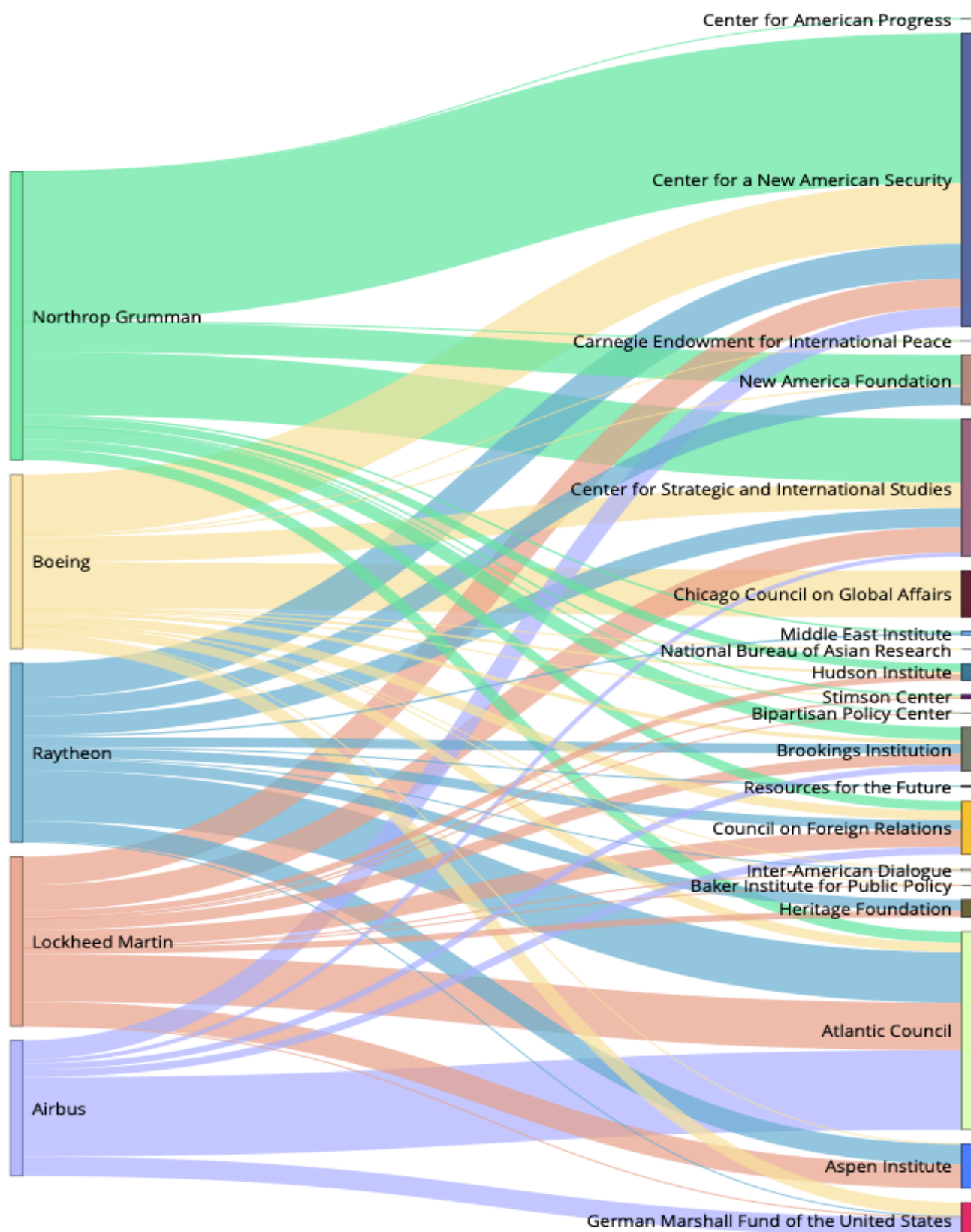
To demonstrate the complex web of these top defense contractors contributions to think tanks, Figure 1 plots all of their contributions to the think tanks analyzed here.

20. "Air Force B21 Raider Long Range Strike Bomber," Congressional Research Service, 2019, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/weapons/R44463.pdf>.

21. For example, see: "Acquisition of Software-Defined Hardware-Based Adaptable Systems," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2019, https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/190807_AdaptableSystems_final.pdf.

22. "Top 100 for 2020."

Figure 1: Contributions from Five U.S. Defense Contractors to America's Top Think Tanks



While Figure 1 reveals a considerable amount of information about which think tanks the top defense contractors are donating to, it is important to note that this is based only on analysis of the top 50 think tanks in America. Focusing solely on this top-tier omits other think tanks, like the hawkish Lexington Institute, that receive considerable funding from some of these contractors.²³

VARYING LEVELS OF DISCLOSURE

While understanding what think tanks do can be a bit tricky, it's downright daunting to learn precisely how think tanks are funded to do that work. That is by design in many cases. Some funders prefer to remain anonymous. Some think tanks prefer to keep funders anonymous to avoid political blowback or questions about funding biasing their work. Regardless of the reason, many think tanks simply don't provide information about their funders and are reluctant to do so even when prompted.

The barrier to transparency begins with the fact that think tanks have no legal obligation to reveal their funders. Think tanks typically operate as tax-exempt non-profit organizations and, according to the Internal Revenue Service, "a tax-exempt organization is generally not required to disclose publicly the names or addresses of its contributors set forth on its annual return."²⁴ This exemption from disclosure does not apply to private foundations or "political organizations," but most think tanks, despite doing a considerable amount of political work, aren't registered as political organizations with the IRS.

Because the law doesn't require think tanks to disclose any of this information, there's considerable variance about what think tanks do reveal. In Table 5 we attempt to group the varying approaches of the think tanks analyzed here into five basic categories, those that: 1) don't disclose information about their donors; 2) list funder names without providing information about contribution amounts; 3) list funder names in ranges of contribution amounts; 4) list funder names and exact contribution amounts; 5) did not accept donations from the U.S. government or defense contractors.

23. "Lexington Institute," Lexington Institute, n.d., <https://www.lexingtoninstitute.org/>.

24. "Public Disclosure and Availability of Exempt Organizations Returns and Applications: Contributors' Identities Not Subject to Disclosure," Internal Revenue System (IRS), September 19, 2020, <https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/public-disclosure-and-availability-of-exempt-organizations-returns-and-applications-contributors-identities-not-subject-to-disclosure>.

Table 5: The Top 50 Think Tanks in America Labeled According to Type of Funder Disclosure

Funders Not Disclosed	
Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty	Information Technology and Innovation Foundation
American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research	Mercatus Center
Cato Institute	Manhattan Institute for Policy Research
Center for the National Interest	McKinsey Global Institute
Earth Institute	Pew Research Center
Hoover Institution	United States Institute of Peace
Funders Listed Without Contribution Amounts	
Asia Society Policy Institute	Freedom House
Baker Institute for Public Policy	Migration Policy Institute
Bipartisan Policy Center	National Bureau of Asian Research
EastWest Institute	Resources for the Future
Funders Listed With Ranges of Contribution Amounts	
Atlantic Council	Economic Policy Institute
Brookings Institution	German Marshall Fund of the United States
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Heritage Foundation
Center for a New American Security	Hudson Institute
Center for American Progress	Inter-American Dialogue
Center for Climate and Energy Solutions	Middle East Institute
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	National Bureau of Economic Research
Center for Strategic and International Studies	Peterson Institute for International Economics
Council on Foreign Relations	World Resources Institute

Funders Listed With Exact Contribution Amounts

Aspen Institute	New American Foundation
Center for Global Development	RAND Corporation
Chicago Council on Global Affairs	Stimson Center

Did Not Accept Donations From Contractors or U.S. Government

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs	Human Rights Watch (HRW)
Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs	Independent Institute
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	Worldwatch Institute (No longer operating)

We were unable to obtain donor information for nearly a quarter of the think tanks we analyzed, the twelve think tanks listed in the “Funders Not Disclosed” category. FITI staff requested donor information from each of the top 50 think tanks whose donor information was not publicly available. Seven of the think tanks did not respond to requests for this information and continue to conceal donor information: the Acton Institute, the Center for the National Interest, the Earth Institute, the Hoover Institution, the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation, the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, and the McKinsey Global Institute.

Others in this category did respond to requests for donor information, providing clarification about their organization’s policies surrounding this issue. A spokesperson for the Cato Institute, for example, explained that Cato is “broadly-funded (by nearly 15,000 donors),” and “[does]not accept any type of donation from government entities, foreign or domestic, and [does] not do any type of contract work for government entities.” Similarly, a spokesperson for AEI explained that “AEI does not accept any money from the US government or any foreign governments. AEI also takes no institutional positions, does not do contract research, and our scholars have academic freedom to follow their own research to conclusions without interference.”

A spokesperson for the Mercatus Center confirmed the organization does not publish a list of donors, but clarified that, “We do not receive money from any federal, state, local, or foreign governments. Mercatus is committed to meeting the highest standards of academic quality, and our policy regarding independence of research is available on our website.”

Other organizations in this category were in something of a gray area, as huge swaths of

their organization's funding was known — like the Pew Charitable Trusts considerable funding of the Pew Research Center and the United States Institute of Peace's funding from the federal government — but the organizations declined to reveal their other, smaller, donors. A spokesperson for the Pew Research Center explained, "We respect the privacy of our funders. Our founders valued humility and often contributed to the common good anonymously. We provide that same opportunity to our philanthropic partners today." A spokesperson for the United States Institute of Peace said, "While donors' identities are confidential in accordance with normal tax-exempt entity practice, many donors are acknowledged in the names of rooms or facilities around the USIP campus or on signage in the building."

Amongst the organizations we contacted, whose donor information was not publicly available, the most common response was either no response or clarifications of the organization's policy, like those previously mentioned. However, one organization — the Asia Society Policy Institute — provided us with donor information and has since made it publicly available. The organization provides a list of all donors without contribution amounts, just like the other seven think tanks listed in the "Funders Listed Without Contribution Amounts" category in Table 5.

Of the think tanks analyzed here, eighteen take the next step beyond this basic level of transparency and place their funders in ranges of contribution amounts. These think tanks are listed in the "Funders Listed With Ranges of Contribution Amounts" category. These ranges can vary considerably, from, say, \$25,000 to \$100,000 or, in the case of the Brookings Institution, "\$2,000,000 and above."²⁵ As previously mentioned, because we can't determine the precise amount of these contributions, we recorded only the minimum amounts of these ranges in all figures listed in this report to provide the most conservative funding estimates possible.

While providing lists of funders in ranges of contribution amounts remains the most common approach to think tanks' donor disclosure, there appears to be a growing trend for think tanks to disclose the precise amount of funding they receive from donors. We identified six think tanks that now adhere to this pinnacle of donor disclosure: the Aspen Institute, the Center for Global Development, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, the New America Foundation, the RAND Corporation, and the Stimson Center, all listed in the "Funders Listed with Exact Contribution Amounts" category in Table 5. At a time when many organizations still hide their funding sources from the public and no donor disclosure is required, these think tanks should be commended for their extraordinary transparency. For the Center for Global Development, this exemplary level of disclosure is by design, as its website notes, "CGD is committed to transparency and accountability, publishes all

25. "Brookings 2018 Annual Report," Annual report (Brookings Institution, 2018)..

funding sources on our website, and does not accept funding that seeks to impose limits or restrictions on our independence.”²⁶

Our final category, “Did Not Accept Donations From Defense Contractors or U.S. Government,” includes the five think tanks we identified that disclose their donors and did not accept contributions from the U.S. government or defense contractors. For some, not accepting U.S. government or defense contractor funding was not the result of a policy to prohibit accepting these types of funding. But for others — like Human Rights Watch and the Independent Institute — this was by design. A spokesperson for the Independent Institute said, “we accept no government funding, conduct no work-for-hire, and are supported by a wide variety of foundations and individuals who share a commitment to our mission.” Human Rights Watch was even more forceful in explaining why the organization doesn’t accept money from the U.S. government or defense contractors. “Human Rights Watch doesn’t take money from governments because we report on them and it could create the perception of bias or that our independence was compromised. In a similar vein, we work to prohibit land mines, cluster munitions, and killer robots, so we wouldn’t want to take money from companies that make these types of weaponry,” according to a Human Rights Watch spokesperson.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Many think tanks in Washington D.C. receive substantial financial support from the U.S. government and defense contractors. This analysis of just the top 50 think tanks in America found more than \$1 billion in funding coming to them from the U.S. government and defense contractors. Yet, think tanks are not required to publicly disclose their funders and many choose not to. Even amongst many of those that do disclose their funders, there is limited transparency and they rarely mention any potential conflicts of interest in their published reports or speeches. Think tank experts often fail to report financial ties when testifying before Congress. As a Project On Government Oversight report found, many witnesses testifying before Congress were not disclosing their think tanks financial ties to foreign governments, and this lack of transparency keeps “Congress and the public in the dark about the extent of foreign governments’ financial relationships with Congressional witnesses.”²⁷

Hiding potential conflicts of interest in Congressional testimony or in think tanks’ published work leaves the public and policymakers with the impression that they’re reading unbiased research or hearing from a truly objective expert, when in fact they may be listening to

26. “About GCD,” Center For Global Development (CGD), n.d., <https://www.cgdev.org/page/about-cgd>.

27. Dennett, “Foreign Influence at the Witness Table?”

someone whose work is being financed by an organization with an immense financial stake in the topic of that research. This is particularly pertinent when think tank scholars working at think tanks that receive millions from the DoD or defense contractors, are talking up the over \$700 billion defense budget or international arms sales that could bring billions in revenue to defense contractors. While this money may not actually influence a think tank's work, the public and Congress have a right to know about at least the potential for a conflict of interest.

Fortunately, there's a simple solution to this problem: require think tanks to publicly disclose any funding they receive from the U.S. government or businesses whose revenue is derived heavily from the U.S. government. IRS Form 990 Schedule Bs require think tanks, and all non-profits, to disclose all donors contributing more than \$5,000 to the organization.²⁸ So, think tanks already have funder information and are already required to report it to the IRS. The IRS

simply does not make it publicly available and doesn't require think tanks to disclose it either. That should be changed and the IRS should make all think tanks' Schedule

Hiding potential conflicts of interest in Congressional testimony or in think tanks' published work leaves the public and policymakers with the impression that they're reading unbiased research or hearing from a truly objective expert, when in fact they may be listening to someone whose work is being financed by an organization with an immense financial stake in the topic of that research.

Bs publicly available. If not, ideally, the entire Schedule B, at least any contributions from the U.S. government and government contractors should be made publicly available. This information should include the name of the funder and the exact amount of funding the think tank received from them. It's fair to say this is not unnecessarily burdensome as several of the largest and most prominent, diversely funded think tanks are already doing this and making the information publicly available, as noted in Table 4 above. Those think tanks that choose not to make this information publicly available are already providing it to the IRS.

Beyond this basic level of transparency, it's also important for the public to know when donor funding is explicitly tied to certain research projects. Clearly acknowledging when funding has made possible specific reports or research should become the norm, not the

28. "Schedule B: Schedule of Contributors" (Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service, 2019), <https://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-pdf/f990ezb.pdf>.

exception, in the think tank community.

The information made available through these reforms can then be used by a number of others, including the media and Congress, to understand any potential conflicts of interest in the information they're receiving from think tanks. If think tanks are truly maintaining their intellectual independence from funding sources as many told us they were, they'll be able to prove it when there is full transparency of their funding sources.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF THINK TANKS AND THE DEFENSE CONTRACTORS AND U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES THAT HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THEM

Asia Society Policy Institute (ASPI)	
General Electric	
Aspen Institute	
Boeing	Raytheon
Lockheed Martin	
Atlantic Council	
AECOM	Leidos
Airbus	Leonardo
BAE Systems	Lockheed Martin
Boeing	National Intelligence Council
Cubic	NATO
Department of Defense	Northrop Grumman
Department of Energy	Raytheon
Department of State	Rolls-Royce
DynCorp	Saab AB
Elbit Systems	Safran
Fincantieri	SAIC
Fluor	Textron
General Aviation Manufacturers Association	Thales
General Dynamics	U.S. Air Force
General Electric	U.S. Army
Hensoldt	U.S. Navy
Huntington Ingalls	United States Army War College

Kongsberg	United States Marine Corps
L3/Harris	United Technologies
Baker Institute for Public Policy	
Bechtel	KBR
Boeing	Lockheed Martin
Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)	
General Dynamics	Lockheed Martin
Huntington Ingalls	Northrop Grumman
Brookings Institution	
Airbus	Minerva Research Initiative
BAE Systems	Northrop Grumman
Boeing	Raytheon
Booz Allen Hamilton	ST Engineering
Central Intelligence Agency	U.S. Air Force
Huntington Ingalls	U.S. Army
Indra	U.S. Coast Guard
Itochu	U.S. Navy
Lockheed Martin	
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	
Boeing	Northrop Grumman
Defense Intelligence Agency	U.S. Air Force
Department of Defense	U.S. Navy
General Electric	United States Pacific Command (PACOM)
NATO	United Technologies
Center for a New American Security	
Airbus	National Defense Industrial Association
BAE Systems	National Intelligence Council
Boeing	NATO

Booz Allen Hamilton	Northrop Grumman
CACI	Office of the Director of National Intelligence
Cubic	Raytheon
Department of Defense	Rheinmetall
DynCorp	Rolls-Royce
Elbit Systems	Saab AB
General Dynamics	Safran
General Electric	SAIC
Honeywell	Textron
Huntington Ingalls	U.S. Air Force
Itochu	U.S. Army
L3/Harris	U.S. Coast Guard
Leidos	U.S. Navy
Leonardo	United States Government
Lockheed Martin	United States Marine Corps
Center for American Progress (CAP)	
BAE Systems	Leonardo
General Electric	Northrop Grumman
Center for Climate and Energy Solutions (C2ES)	
AECOM	Jacobs Engineering Group
Center for Global Development (CGD)	
General Electric	
Chicago Council on Global Affairs	
AAR CORP.	General Dynamics
Boeing	Honeywell
Dassault	United Technologies

Council on Foreign Relations

Airbus	Honeywell
Boeing	Itochu
Booz Allen Hamilton	Lockheed
DynCorp	Northrup Grumman
Fluor	Raytheon
General Electric	United Technologies

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Airbus	L3/Harris
BAE Systems	Leonardo
Bechtel	Lockheed Martin
Boeing	Northrop Grumman
Booz Allen Hamilton	Raytheon
Fluor	Rolls-Royce
General Dynamics	Saab AB
General Electric	Safran
Hanwha	Textron
Huntington Ingalls	Thales
Hyundai	United States Government
Itochu	

Freedom House

Department of State	USAID
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German Marshall Fund of the United States

Airbus	NATO
Boeing	Raytheon
Department of Defense	Saab AB
Department of State	SAIC
European Union	U.S. Embassy

Lockheed Martin	USAID
Heritage Foundation	
Hanwha	Raytheon
Lockheed Martin	
Hudson Institute	
Boeing	Lockheed Martin
Huntington Ingalls	Northrop Grumman
Inter-American Dialogue	
Bechtel	Lockheed Martin
Boeing	Raytheon
Department of State	United Technologies
Middle East Institute (MEI)	
Northrop Grumman	Raytheon
Migration Policy Institute (MPI)	
Booz Allen Hamilton	U.S. Department of Homeland Security
National Bureau of Asian Research	
Boeing	U.S. Army
Huntington Ingalls	
New America Foundation	
Boeing	Raytheon
Department of State	Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE)
Northrop Grumman	Itochu
RAND Corporation	
Department of State	U.S. Air Force
Federal Aviation Administration	U.S. Army
General Electric	U.S. Coast Guard
Leonardo	U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Office of the Director of National Intelligence

U.S. Navy

Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense and other national security agencies

Resources for the Future (RFF)

L3/Harris

U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Raytheon

United Technologies

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

Stimson Center

Boeing

National Intelligence Council

Department of Defense

Northrop Grumman

Department of Energy

RAND Corporation

Department of State

Saab AB

General Dynamics

U.S. Air Force

Itochu

U.S. Navy

Lockheed Martin

Urban Institute

Department of State

U.S. Department of Homeland Security

General Electric

United Technologies

SAIC

World Resources Institute (WRI)

AECOM

Department of State

APPENDIX B: DEFENSE CONTRACTORS AND U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND THE THINK TANKS THEY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO

AAR CORP.

Chicago Council on Global Affairs

AECOM

Atlantic Council	Center for Climate and Energy Solutions (C2ES)
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Airbus

Atlantic Council	Council on Foreign Relations
Brookings Institution	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	German Marshall Fund of the United States

BAE Systems

Atlantic Council	Center for American Progress (CAP)
Brookings Institution	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	

Bechtel

Baker Institute for Public Policy	Inter-American Dialogue
CSIS	

Boeing

Aspen Institute	CSIS
Atlantic Council	German Marshall Fund of the United States
Baker Institute for Public Policy	Hudson Institute
Brookings Institution	Inter-American Dialogue
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	National Bureau of Asian Research
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	New America Foundation
Chicago Council on Global Affairs	Stimson Center

Council on Foreign Relations

Booz Allen Hamilton

Brookings Institution

CSIS

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Migration Policy Institute (MPI)

Council on Foreign Relations

CACI

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Central Intelligence Agency

Brookings Institution

Cubic

Atlantic Council

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Dassault

Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Defense Intelligence Agency

Carnegie Endowment for International
Peace

Department of Defense

Atlantic Council

Department of Energy

Carnegie Endowment for International
Peace

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Stimson Center

Department of State

Atlantic Council

RAND Corporation

Freedom House

Stimson Center

German Marshall Fund of the United States

Urban Institute

Inter-American Dialogue

World Resources Institute (WRI)

New America Foundation

DynCorp

Atlantic Council	Council on Foreign Relations
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	

Elbit Systems

Atlantic Council	Center for a New American Security (CNAS)
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European Union

Atlantic Council	German Marshall Fund of the United States
Federal Aviation Administration	RAND Corporation
Fincantieri	

Fluor

Atlantic Council	CSIS
Council on Foreign Relations	

General Aviation Manufacturers Association

Atlantic Council	
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General Dynamics

Atlantic Council	Chicago Council on Global Affairs
Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Stimson Center

General Electric

Asia Society Policy Institute (ASPI)	Center for Global Development (CGD)
Atlantic Council	Council on Foreign Relations
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	RAND Corporation
Center for American Progress (CAP)	Urban Institute

Hanwha

CSIS	Heritage Foundation
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Hensoldt

Atlantic Council	Chicago Council on Global Affairs
Honeywell	Council on Foreign Relations
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	

Huntington Ingalls

Atlantic Council	CSIS
Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)	Hudson Institute
Brookings Institution	National Bureau of Asian Research
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	

Hyundai

CSIS

Indra

Brookings Institution

Itochu

Brookings Institution	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE)
Council on Foreign Relations	Stimson Center

Jacobs Engineering Group

Center for Climate and Energy Solutions (C2ES)
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KBR

Baker Institute for Public Policy

Kongsberg

Atlantic Council

L3/Harris

Atlantic Council	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Resources for the Future (RFF)

Leidos

Atlantic Council	Center for a New American Security (CNAS)
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Center for American Progress (CAP)
Leonardo	CSIS
Atlantic Council	RAND Corporation

Lockheed Martin

Aspen Institute	CSIS
Atlantic Council	German Marshall Fund of the United States
Baker Institute for Public Policy	Heritage Foundation
Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)	Hudson Institute
Brookings Institution	Inter-American Dialogue
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Stimson Center
Council on Foreign Relations	

Minerva Research Initiative

Brookings Institution

National Defense Industrial Association

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

National Intelligence Council

Atlantic Council	Stimson Center
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	

NATO

Atlantic Council	Center for a New American Security (CNAS)
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	German Marshall Fund of the United States

Northrop Grumman

Atlantic Council	Council on Foreign Relations
Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)	CSIS
Brookings Institution	Hudson Institute

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Middle East Institute (MEI)
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	New America Foundation
Center for American Progress (CAP)	Stimson Center

Office of the Director of National Intelligence

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	RAND Corporation
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Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense and other national security agencies

RAND Corporation

Raytheon

Atlantic Council	Heritage Foundation
Brookings Institution	Inter-American Dialogue
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Middle East Institute (MEI)
Council on Foreign Relations	New America Foundation
CSIS	Resources for the Future (RFF)

Rheinmetall

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Rolls-Royce

Atlantic Council	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	

Saab AB

Atlantic Council	German Marshall Fund of the United States
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Stimson Center
CSIS	

Safran

Atlantic Council	CSIS
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	

SAIC

Atlantic Council	German Marshall Fund of the United States
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Center for a New American Security (CNAS) Urban Institute

ST Engineering

Brookings Institution

Textron

Atlantic Council CSIS

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Thales

Atlantic Council CSIS

U.S. Air Force

Atlantic Council Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Brookings Institution RAND Corporation

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Stimson Center

U.S. Army

Atlantic Council National Bureau of Asian Research

Brookings Institution RAND Corporation

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

Resources for the Future (RFF)

U.S. Coast Guard

Brookings Institution RAND Corporation

Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Resources for the Future (RFF)

RAND Corporation Urban Institute

U.S. Embassy

German Marshall Fund of the United States Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

U.S. Navy	Center for a New American Security (CNAS)
Atlantic Council	RAND Corporation
Brookings Institution	Stimson Center
United States Army War College	
Atlantic Council	
United States Government	
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	CSIS
United States Marine Corps	
Atlantic Council	Center for a New American Security (CNAS)
United States Pacific Command (PACOM)	
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	
United Technologies	
Atlantic Council	Council on Foreign Relations
Brookings Institution	Inter-American Dialogue
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Resources for the Future (RFF)
Chicago Council on Global Affairs	Urban Institute
USAID	
Freedom House	German Marshall Fund of the United States



2000 M Street, NW Suite 720
Washington, D.C. 20036

Phone: +1 (202) 232-3317

Email: info@internationalpolicy.org

www.internationalpolicy.org

