



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE
PRESIDENCY & CONGRESS

America at a Crossroads

Applying the lessons of history to the challenges of today



2020

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America at a Crossroads

In 2020 America faces a decisive inflection point. As a new great power competition takes shape, the race is on to establish standards in advanced computing and communications technologies, and to establish competitive strengths in these critical arenas. The outcomes of decisions and moves made this year will determine how well positioned the United States and its allies are to protect our national security and way of life in the decades ahead.

At the same time our country must navigate a complex era characterized by deep political divisions and historically low confidence in the institutions charged with executing our national strategy and keeping us safe. As the American people confront an impeachment drama and head into a divisive presidential election, they will be bombarded by the efforts of our adversaries to sow further confusion and discontent with our democratic system. It is vitally important that we resist those efforts and not become distracted at this critical moment. We must maintain our focus on national strategic objectives.

The work of the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) is shaped by that imperative, and in the year ahead we will focus on convening stakeholders from the Executive Branch, Congress, and private business to ensure the strategic conversation and national focus remain sharp.

Our Work in 2020

In the coming year we will continue to help shape a national security strategy for space, while increasing our focus on advanced technologies that hold the key to future security and prosperity, from artificial intelligence and machine learning to 5G communications. In each case we must leverage America's core strengths of innovation and entrepreneurship in order to win the global competition now underway. We will promote U.S. relationships and dialogue with key allies, including Japan, "Five Eyes" partners (Canada, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand), NATO and others democracies in order to strengthen our global position. CSPC will employ our convening power to bring together counterparts from allied countries to share best practices in cybersecu-



rity as a key underlying issue cutting across all advanced technologies. As a new great power paradigm takes shape, we will help create mechanisms for dialogue on vital issues such as arms control to counter the very real threat of a nuclear arms race.

This year will also bring the 50th anniversary of the CSPC Presidential Fellows program, and we are very excited to continue strengthening one of our most valuable func-

tions—preparing the next generation of American and global leaders of integrity and inspiring them to careers of civic leadership. As we bring our Presidential Fellows to Washington and help them understand and navigate the policy-making world, we are emphasizing the science and technology issues that will drive some of the most important public policy debates in the coming decade. We are also seeking out Fellows who have focused their studies on technology.

Our experience for over 50 years has shown us that efforts to convene stakeholders on important national security questions and promote bipartisan action to move the country forward can be difficult in a highly polarized political environment. The Center is thus working with all of its partners, and in coordination with the "Fix the System" coalition of reform-minded organizations, to change the incentive structure in our politics to promote bipartisanship, consensus-building and a more effective federal government capable of delivering timely budgets and common sense solutions to the challenges facing the nation. Implementing such reforms in today's hyper-partisan political environment is admittedly a challenge, but helping to fix our broken political and electoral systems remains a critically important mission for the Center, one where we believe our policy work can act as a force multiplier.

On behalf of the Trustees of the Center, we are deeply grateful for your interest in and support of the mission of CSPC as we rededicate ourselves to the important work ahead in 2020.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Glenn Nye". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Glenn C. Nye III, President and CEO
Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress

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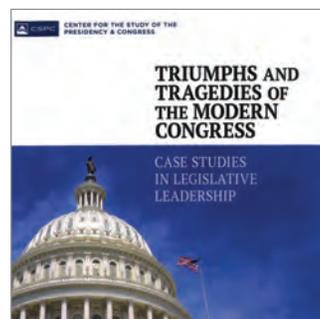
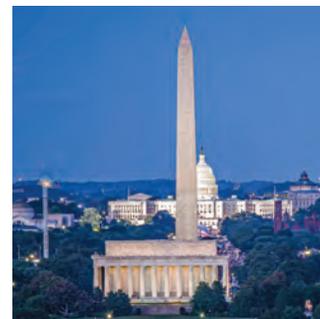
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Section One

Promoting Bipartisanship & Informed Debate



IN THE PAST YEAR Americans have witnessed the longest shutdown of the federal government in our history, a historic House impeachment over the president's alleged abuse of power, and some of the most vitriolic rhetoric to ever coarsen our political discourse. Evidence continues

to mount that our domestic politics have entered a sustained period of hyper-partisanship and gridlock, even as challenges to our interests and security continue to mount overseas.

The late Ambassador David M. Abshire, the long-time president of the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC), and a former adviser to numerous presidents, warned in his memoirs that we were heading into these dangerous waters largely because of a great deterioration in civility in our political debates. Today too many of our political leaders claim to revere the Constitution, and yet they reject the spirit of consensus-building and compromise that created it in the first place.

At CSPC we have always viewed it as part of our core mission to promote bipartisanship and civility in our politics, the better to find the common ground necessary to move our nation forward. To advance that cause, last year former Representative Mike Rogers, R-MI, became the inaugural David M. Abshire Chair at the Center. Rogers' spirit of bipartisanship, reputation for reaching across the political aisle, and deep expertise on matters of national security were all on prominent display during his many years as Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. As his record over the past year and following essay make clear, Rogers has brought all of those attributes to bear in his important work as the David M. Abshire Chair.

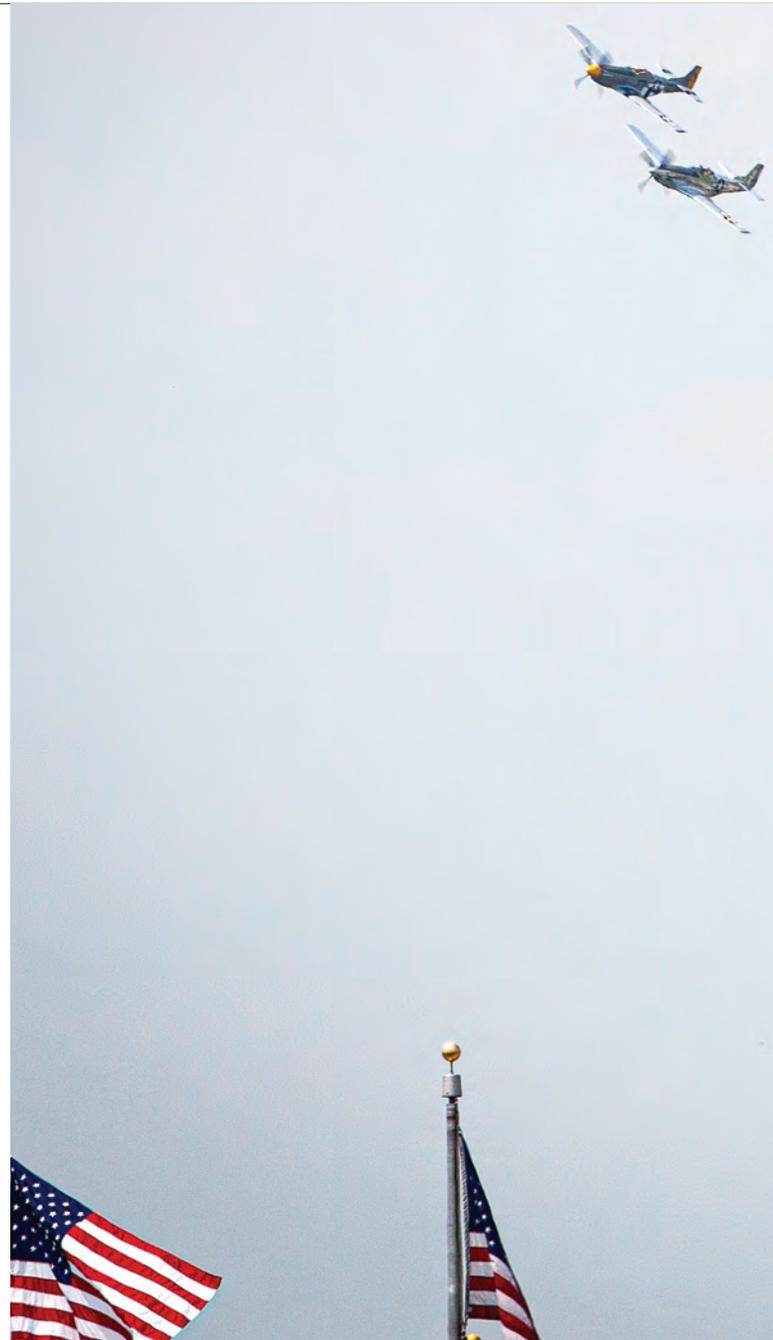
A New Era of Great Power Competition

Reflecting back on 2019, one marvels at how much has happened in such a short time. How much the rules-based international order constructed under U.S. leadership following World War II, for instance, has been challenged, stressed, and strained in ways both unforeseen and yet unsurprising. Who would have thought that at the end of 2019 we would need to reaffirm basic tenets of diplomacy, foreign relations, and indeed democracy? Yet, as we turn to 2020, we find ourselves doing just that.

Take the United States' leadership of, and dependence on, a globe-spanning network of alliances. Alliances may be challenging, they may be frustrating, and they may be both labor and time-intensive. Yet they still matter. This year we witnessed the erosion of long established norms of international diplomacy and grave challenges to American foreign relations. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) celebrated its 70th anniversary amid questions about the alliance's value to its members and to the international order writ large.

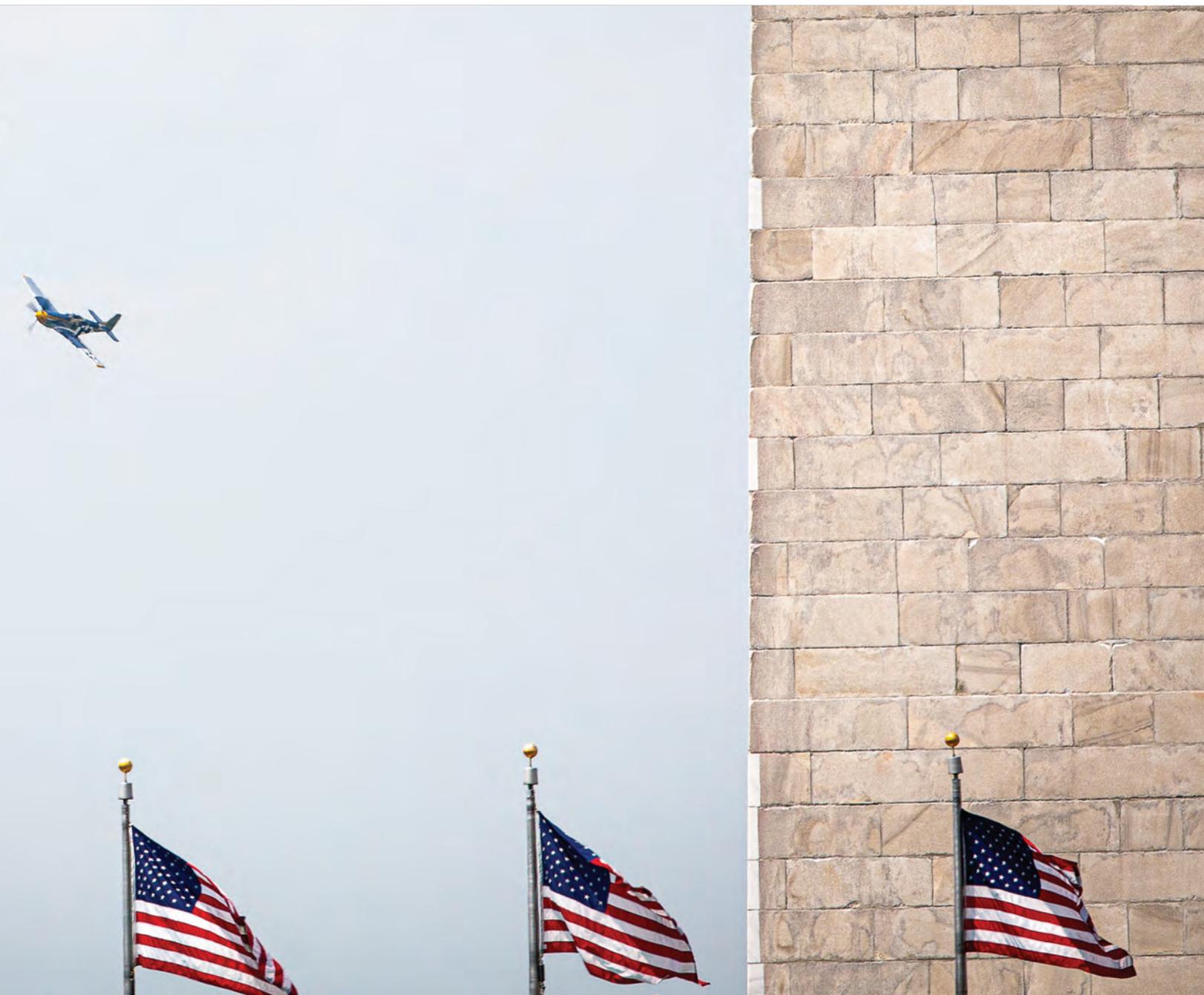
For 70 years NATO has represented the collective will of the Western alliance, ensuring security and maintaining stability in Europe. Yet President Trump has questioned NATO's utility, seeing it only through the prism of a faulty financial calculus. Should our NATO partners do and contribute more? Certainly. But that is a matter calling for a civil conversation among partners, not a reason to question the fundamental value of the alliance itself. Let us not forget that NATO has invoked its Article 5 pledge of collective defense only once in its history—in response to the 9/11 attacks against the United States.

Our alliances matter especially when we are witnessing a resurgent Russia, a rising China, and an aggressive Iran. In Eu-



rope it seems not a day goes by without Moscow trying to disrupt the established order, provoking unease and uncertainty, and bullying its neighbors across all domains. From Beijing we see an aggressive flexing of economic and military muscles, expansions of its sphere of influence in East Asia and the Pacific region through intimidation, all designed to create doubt among America's traditional allies and partners. In Tehran we confront a fundamentally destabilizing player, one that arms proxies, launches barely concealed covert action against its neighbors, and ultimately undermines the regional order.

All of this destabilizing activity is occurring at a time when



World War II-era U.S. warplanes fly by the Washington Monument during military airshow.

the current discourse among our political leaders seems to question the value of the United States' outsized role in the world. In Washington, D.C. politicians have taken to wondering aloud whether it is a public good or even in the national interest to remain a part of venerable alliances and the world writ large. We should all be concerned that erstwhile allies are expressing doubts about whether America would have their backs in the event of a crisis, or whether we can be counted on to honor our commitments and support our friends.

The costs of this confusion and doubt about the United States' role in the world are not abstract. They are incredibly

consequential. When the world witnesses the United States' wholesale abandonment of the Kurds in Northern Iran and Syria to the aggressive designs of Turkey, know that a price in lost trust and confidence will be exacted. The Kurds who, mind you, sacrificed their lives to aid the U.S. military's campaign against the Islamic State—a campaign that was wildly successful at comparatively low cost. Who could blame the Kurds or any other regional partner—nation-state or otherwise—for questioning America's commitment in light of such a rash and impactful decision?

We cannot now, nor could we ever have successfully

“gone it alone” on the world stage. Confronting the challenges posed by Russia, China, and Iran, to say nothing of transnational violent extremist groups, requires partners and alliances at all levels if we are to be successful.

Winston S. Churchill said it best: “There is only one thing worse than fighting with allies, and that is fighting without them.”

Return of Great Power Competition

At the beginning of 2018, then-Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis noted:

“The world, to quote George Shultz, is awash in change, defined by increasing global volatility and uncertainty with Great Power competition between nations becoming a reality once again. Though we will continue to prosecute the campaign against terrorists that we are engaged in today, Great Power competition, not terrorism, is now the primary focus of U.S. national security.”

Secretary Mattis was both right and prescient. For the last 18 years, the United States has waged counterterrorism and counterinsurgency campaigns against extremist groups such as Al Qaeda, the Taliban and the Islamic State, and their affil-

iated franchises and networks. Our defense, intelligence and law enforcement agencies shifted to meet that challenge, and did so admirably.

Yet while we focused intently on violent extremist groups, wishing that great power competition had ended with the Cold War, other major powers filled the vacuum. Nation-state conflict and the clash of spheres of interest never actually went away, even if we chose to look the other way. China with its “One Belt, One Road” initiative and hegemonic aspirations; Russia with its yearning for lost empire; and Iran with its arsonist instincts and revolutionary pursuit of power—all seized upon America’s inattention.

Today, a revisionist Russia poses a significant challenge to U.S. leadership, not by offering a competitive worldview, but rather by its determination to subvert the order that the Western Alliance created from the ashes of World War II. Russia produces little beyond energy and regional instability. Its population is ill and aging. Yet Moscow still possesses one of the two largest arsenals of nuclear weapons in the world, and it can start fires where it wants, forcing others to respond to its provocations. From Syria to Ukraine, Venezuela to the Arctic, Russia supports those that would challenge the Western order.

By contrast, China does offer an authoritarian alternative to the rules-based, liberal international order, even if it is

U.S. allies are questioning whether the torch of Western leadership still burns in the “shining city on a hill,” and whether America can still be counted on in a crisis.





“We must recognize that while there are things that divide us, such as policy solutions or perspectives on issues, we are still Americans who share the same core values and enjoy the same freedoms.”

—Congressman Mike Rogers, (ret.)
David M. Abshire Chair, CSPC

hollow and unappealing to free peoples. Beijing is using economic largess and military coercion to bend the Indo-Pacific region to its will, and it is just getting started. China seeks to dominate data by 2025, win at artificial intelligence and advanced technology, and govern the international order by fiat from Beijing. The Communist Party is using every available tool to achieve this end, in ways we have yet to fully grasp or appreciate. China is gaming the capitalist system in a manner that Lenin would have marveled at. Beijing is using the allure of cheap consumer goods to increasingly dominate global markets, and it has a strategy to own the digital networks of the future. Unfortunately, the debate about Huawei’s attempts to dominate advanced 5G networks only scratched the surface of this challenge. China is playing three-dimensional chess at a time when our government seems unable to put the right pieces on the board, or find the board for that matter.

Iran may aspire to reclaim its Persian heritage and attain great power status, but its instincts are for destabilization, not empire building. That is enough, however, to warrant our concern and attention. Along with Russia, Tehran has backed the murderous Assad regime in Syria, enabling a war criminal and the unchecked slaughter of the Syrian people. Backing the Houthi rebels in Yemen, it further contributes to what has been called the world’s greatest humanitarian disaster. Tehran is also pursuing advanced ballistic missiles and it yearns to acquire nuclear weapons, an effort enabled by the administration’s withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Program of Action.

Bipartisanship is Critical

One of the reasons I joined the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress as the David M. Abshire Chair is respect for the Center’s approach to national challenges. These are not, nor have they ever been, Republican chal-

lenges or Democratic challenges—these are American challenges. Throughout 2019, the Center, under the leadership of its president and my colleague Rep. Glenn Nye, gathered smart people from diverse backgrounds and perspectives to address national challenges—from space and cybersecurity to the frontiers of geo-technology, and onto political reform to help heal our partisan divides.

The spirit of cooperation and consensus-building is alive and well at CSPC, even if it is lost on too many of our former colleagues in Congress, the White House, and elsewhere. If we are to truly address the challenges our country faces, we must reinvigorate that spirit of bipartisanship and cooperation. We must recognize that while there are things that divide us, such as policy solutions or perspectives on issues, we are still Americans who share the same core values and enjoy the same freedoms.

I believe we must put aside our ideological blinders and work together in a bipartisan manner. While we argue and bicker, focusing on our differences rather than our commonalities, Russia, China, Iran, and others are taking advantage of our distraction and successfully pursuing their interests at the expense of our own.

The post-World War II international order may have been imperfect, but it produced the most peaceful and prosperous epoch in human history. Our alliances may be flawed, but they have ensured our collective security through the Cold War and right up until today. Our democracy was imperfect by design and will always be a work in progress, but it is still the best hope for ensuring our freedoms and advancing prosperity.

I am proud to be part of an organization that embraces bipartisanship and cooperation as core values, and I am excited to see what the Center accomplishes in 2020. I hope you will join us in this effort. □

Friday News Roundups

In the past year CSPC launched the new “Friday News Roundup,” which offers cogent analysis of the week’s news by our experts and researchers who dig deep behind the headlines to provide insight and historical context. Diverse issues we have covered in the last year range far and wide, including China’s race to achieve technological superiority over the West; the House’s impeachment inquiry into President Trump’s alleged abuses of power; the long-term implications of the Trump administration’s strategy of defying Congressional subpoenas seeking testimony and documents in the inquiry; and the United States’ institutional response to the surge of populism at home and abroad.

Impeachment and What Comes After



Historian and biographer Jon Meacham noted that impeachment arrives at the most tumultuous periods in American history. President Andrew Johnson escaped

removal from office by just one vote in the Senate, as our politics were torn asunder over reconstruction and the fate of freed slaves. Though not formally impeached, as he resigned beforehand, President Nixon’s Watergate downfall came in an era marked by the trauma of the Vietnam War and the cultural sea change of the late 60’s and early 70’s. President Clinton’s impeachment would come at a time when the Baby Boomer generation was entering center stage on the political scene. Today, American politics is at a similar crossroads.

Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President—September 27, 2019

Abandoning the Kurds, and Our Credibility



There is no strategic calculus in this decision. There is no basic math, let alone calculus. There is nothing to be gained, only things to be lost—international credibility,

future partners on the battlefield, the moral high ground, and regional power to Russia and Iran. By pulling out and allowing a Turkish incursion into Syria against the Kurds, the United States has effectively given up any say in the final outcome of the anti-Islamic State campaign and the final disposition of forces, political power, and energy resources in the Syrian

Civil War. Moscow will have a say, Ankara will have a say, Damascus will certainly have a say, but Washington will not.

Joshua Huminski, Director, Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence and Global Affairs—October 11, 2019

Brexit a Tragedy and Farce



We are now entering the phase of this story in which everyone looks bad. The European Union looks obstinate while the United Kingdom looks incoherent. The

Prime Minister looks powerless, the government looks too divided to govern, the opposition looks too weak to bring down the government, and the Labor leader looks out of touch. This equilibrium has shown itself to be remarkably stable over the last two years, but there is growing recognition that the stability masks the catastrophe that awaits. Every party is expecting another to blink to get them out of the crisis. Just as with the government shutdown in the United States, that is a dangerous way to negotiate

Michel Stecher, CSPC Senior Advisor—January 18, 2019

The Challenge of the “China Choice”



For too long, the West has believed that economic engagement would change the Chinese political structure. One could easily see there being some truth in the

quote apocryphally attributed to Lenin, “the capitalists will

sell us the rope with which to hang them.” This becomes evident when presented with the quiescence of U.S. companies when faced with evidence of Chinese intellectual property theft, as they did not want to risk their access to the Chinese market. As much as our capitalists were happily selling said rope, our politicians also share the blame, as they [were distracted] while China invested in infrastructure, sought to reshape the global order, and looked to cement its dominance in key industries and supply chains.

Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President—April 26, 2019

The Institutional Response to Populism

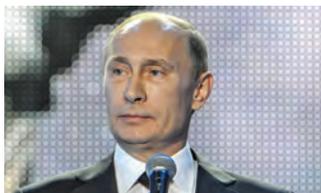


A key aspect of the turmoil that we have seen in western politics is the pressure that populist political movements—and the leaders they elect—place on our institutions of governance. This pressure follows a familiar pattern.

First, a range of factors—political, economic, and, increasingly, cultural—drive populist movements to challenge existing institutions. The challenged institutions are decry as outdated, “controlled by elites,” or even “rigged,” and these denunciations are then echoed by populist leaders and partisan media. Then, as populists ignore how our political institutions are designed to deliver legitimate political outcomes, they direct the blame towards institutions and “the establishment,” rather than their own failure to govern.

Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President—September 6, 2019

Russia’s Strategy of Psychological Unease



But the greater benefit is the simple fact that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (all NATO members), and others like Finland and Sweden (NATO allies) are put on

edge, unsure of what Moscow is doing, wary of its activities in the region, and forced into a tense posture. Concurrently, it allows Moscow to push back on what it views as encirclement from NATO. Russia would view Finland or Sweden joining NATO as a further encroachment on its borders. By introducing this strategic unease, Moscow is able to communicate, indirectly (in addition to its direct and overt statements) the consequences of such an activity.

Joshua Huminski, Director, Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence and Global Affairs—November 15, 2019

Staying the Hand of Death



In the wake of cases such as *Bucklew v. Precythe* and *Madison v. Alabama* earlier this year, all Americans should reevaluate the usefulness of the death penalty in the

scheme of justice. Each case reveals a serious concern with capital punishment at its core. Although it may just seem like squabbling between the judicial and executive branches, these rulings are worth contemplation. If government cannot even be trusted to find an appropriate way to carry out capital punishment, why should it be trusted to execute its own citizens? If it wasn’t for an outpouring of concerned citizens [in one case, the defendant] may have been executed despite possible innocence. It is not impossible to draw the conclusion that many innocent people have been murdered by the state even just over the past decade.

Chris Condon, CSPC Policy Analyst—November 22, 2019

Iran Remains Outlier in Middle East



Iran has been engaged in a proxy conflict with its geopolitical rival Saudi Arabia for decades, and an incident like overt nuclear weapons development that could

ignite an international conflagration is incredibly unlikely. Iran is not suddenly going to start churning out a nuclear arsenal, they are simply utilizing clever tactics to upset the balance of power, knowing full well that western rhetoric will do the bulk of upsetting for them.

Ethan Brown, CSPC Military Fellow—November 8, 2019

Making NATO Great Again



For its own sustainability and longevity, both in terms of American support and operational relevance, NATO must reevaluate its mission and strategic priorities.

It must do the hard work of sorting out tensions amongst member states to focus on areas of common interests. NATO’s thinking and strategic planning must reflect the world it occupies today, not the Cold War dynamics that triggered its creation.

Erica Ngoenha, CSPC Director of External Affairs—December 6, 2019

Timely Commentary on National Challenges

“While the House’s impeachment inquiry to date has focused largely on the overseas activities of Trump’s personal lawyer Rudy Giuliani and State Department officials, it is the close involvement of Attorney General William Barr that many intelligence experts find far more troubling.”

James Kitfield,
CSPC Senior Fellow
Yahoo News, October 15, 2019



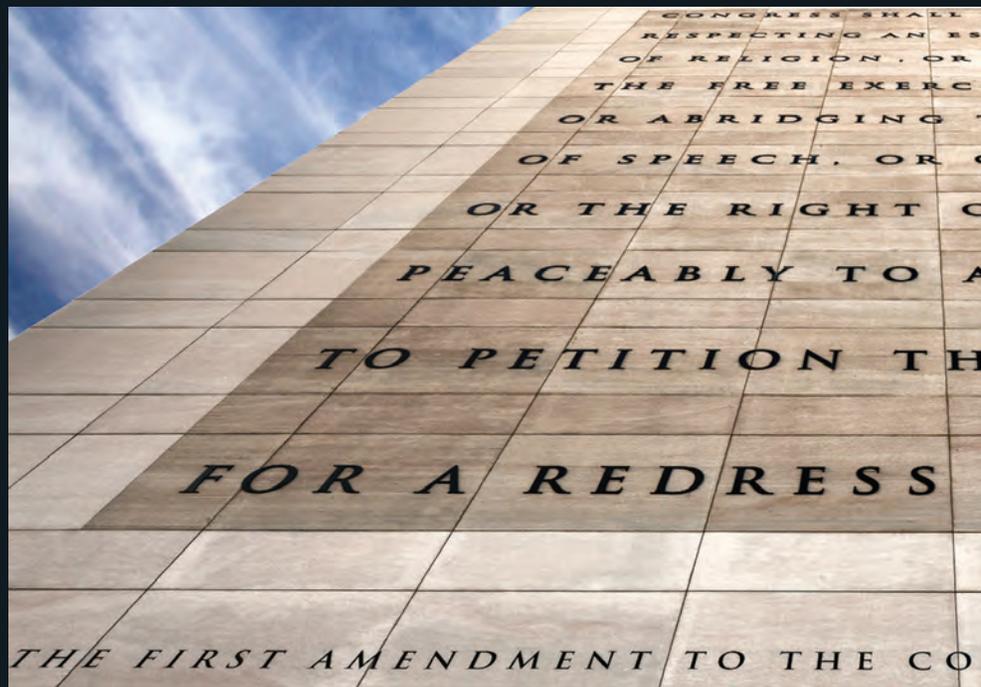
Competition in geopolitics and technology, or Geotech, is the contest that will shape the 21st century. The explosive growth of Chinese technology company Huawei Technologies, its growing share of the 5G equipment marketplace, and the pushback by U.S. and allied governments, is the latest bout in this competition.”

Glenn Nye & Frank Cilluffo,
CSPC President & Senior Fellow
Nikkei Asian Review,
June 04, 2019



“Republicans may be tempted to dismiss Congressional retirements as unimportant to their prospects, but looking to the historical record, it would be a terrible mistake to do so. In the past 30 years, there have been three cases in which landmark numbers of representatives have retired in one cycle, and all of these cycles produced a political wave.”

Chris Condon,
CSPC Policy Analyst
The Hill, September 13, 2019



“The hypocrisy charge comes down to our expectations of our politicians.” If a politician is measured by loyalty to his or her party, then it shouldn’t be a surprise when that person plays a political role in the impeachment of someone from the other side. But if the emphasis of impeachment is on the constitutional process and politicians are expected to uphold their oath to the Constitution, “it would be fair to call them hypocrites.”

Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President,
ABC 7 WJLA, October 25, 2019



“I think it will be a stain on our national character if we walk away from the women of Afghanistan after we asked them to come and help, and participate, in the security strategy of that country. I am completely dismayed that we made this decision as a country.”

Mike Rogers, CSPC David M. Abshire Chair
The Michigan Daily,
April 14, 2019



“I’m not sure if President Trump was paying attention, but for the last few years Americans have been pretty disturbed by the notion that Russia did and will continue to interfere in U.S. elections. So [Trump’s comments] seem completely out of tune with where the country is in terms of politicians accepting foreign help.”

Mike Rogers,



CSPC David M. Abshire Chair
CNN, June 13, 2019

“The president’s tweets are an important window into his communications with other politicians, his supporters and the public. Whether you support the president or not, this is similar to how Franklin Delano Roosevelt approached fireside chats or how John F. Kennedy used television to relate to his supporters and the American people.”



Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President
WAMU Radio, October 25, 2019

“The Iraq experience strongly suggests that under such conditions, a premature U.S. troop withdrawal will create a power vacuum that the Taliban and fellow travelers in the global jihadist movement will be only too happy to fill, undermining the progress achieved over nearly two decades.”



Joshua Huminski, Director
Mike Rogers Center for
Intelligence & Global Affairs
Defense One, September 10, 2019

Privately funded space companies are pouring billions of dollars into the development of satellites, sensors and launch vehicles that the Pentagon needs to modernize its own capabilities to stay ahead of space rivals China and Russia, but the government is not taking advantage due to bureaucratic inertia. “The environment is ripe for change in the national security space arena,” said former Congressman Mike Rogers, R-MI.

Mike Rogers, CSPC David M. Abshire Chair
Space News, April 1, 2019



“Defense Secretary Jim Mattis’ resignation is notable for the critique of the commander-in-chief that accompanied it, and the belief by many stewards of U.S. national security that it largely explains why America and the alliance of free peoples that it professes to lead feel so dangerously unstable right now, with worse very likely to come.”

James Kitfield,
CSPC Senior Fellow
The Daily Beast,
March 11, 2019



“Americans’ lack of faith in our political institutions is a deeply troubling challenge to the success of our democracy and serves as an undercurrent in American politics, overshadowing and poisoning our ability to process every other question in Washington. Left unaddressed, this disillusionment will continue to disrupt all efforts to move our country forward.”



Glenn Nye, CSPC President
The Fulcrum, November 22, 2019



Fact-based Analysis & Reporting on National Defense

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has a long pedigree operating at the intersection of strategy and national security. Our continuing focus on national security issues includes regular analysis and media commentary by CSPC's experts, including David M. Abshire Chair Mike Rogers, former chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and a regular CNN commentator; Dan Mahaffee, Vice President and Director of Policy and lead on CSPC's "Geotech" project; Joshua Huminski, Director of the Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence and Global Affairs and lead on CSPC's National Security Space Program; Senior Fellow and journalist-in-residence James Kitfield, a three-time recipient of the Gerald R. Ford Award for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense; and Ethan Brown, CSPC Senior Military Fellow.

"Playing political games with the leadership of the intelligence community is setting a dangerous precedent for the future, where this and successive administrations will only be told what they want to hear or what the intelligence community believes they want to hear. That is something we cannot afford."

— Mike Rogers, CSPC David M. Abshire Chair
The Hill, August 15, 2019

"Beyond the Beltway, there must be a bridging of the gap between government and technology innovators to ensure that government, the national labs, universities, and the private sector push together for cutting-edge research and technology deployment. Finally, we must work with our allies to ensure that open societies lead the way in technological innovation and setting the standards of the future."

Dan Mahaffee, Vice President
Defense One, April 10, 2019

"Getting the Space Force right means getting the mission and culture of the service right. What things are named, what ranks and uniforms are adopted, and how things are structured matter. This is not the time for sardonic memes about the Space Marines. It is critical for Washington to look at the threat and the opportunity space presents and that which the Space Force



A member of the U.S. Army Honor Guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

seeks to address, and establish the right culture to respond to the former and to seize upon the latter."

Joshua Huminski, Director Mike Rogers Center
The Hill, December 12, 2019

"President Trump constantly berates allies over burden-sharing, routinely ignores their counsel, and publicly questions the value of the United States' treaty commitments. When asked in an interview why he would risk dismantling an alliance structure that has underwritten unprecedented peace and prosperity for more than half a century, Trump succinctly summed up his worldview. 'I mean, what is an ally?'"

James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow
Breaking Defense, August 20, 2019

"When the members of the Armed Services are identified as 'killing machines,' it undermines the legitimacy of the whole endeavor. It reduces the men and women of service as mindless, automatons incapable of discretion or reason. It paints the camouflage uniform patterns with a grey, savage and soulless veneer, devoid of the ability to promote trust throughout the rest of the world. The men and women of the United States Military are not and should not be labeled in a manner that compares them to the tools of tyrants."

Ethan Brown, CSPC Senior Military Fellow
Friday News Roundup, November 22, 2019

Section Two

Restoring Political Civility & Healing Divisions



AS WE CONTEMPLATE the year ahead, Congress is enmeshed in an historic impeachment drama. With the impeachment debate predictably split along the nation's bitter partisan divide, it is inflaming the hyper-partisanship in the nation's capital, just as the Founding Fathers predicted when they crafted the ultimate check on the abuse of presidential power. As Alexander Hamilton noted, impeachment "will seldom fail to agitate the passion of the whole community, and to divide it into parties more or less friendly or inimical to the accused."

Yet the downward spiral in our political discourse that led to this constitutional crisis has been many years in the making, and its origins are primarily structural. The American people constantly read stories of a political system awash in dark money, pay-to-play politics, and gerrymandered electoral maps that unfairly advantage one party over the other.

The hallmark of the American political experiment, however, is an instinct for continual self-improvement and national renewal, which are core values at the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC). To address our current challenges, CSPC has teamed with like-minded reform groups to form a "Fix the System" coalition driven not by fear and partisan loathing, but rather by a bipartisan spirit of reform and national renewal. We seek to build on a "reform wave" in the 2018 mid-term election that saw campaign and election reform initiatives win in more than two dozen states and localities. The Center has also launched a Commission on Civility & Effective Governance that has traveled around the country to identify drivers of political incivility, the lessons learned from past successful reform movements, and the individuals and groups driving needed change.

Renewing the Promise of American Democracy

When Benjamin Franklin walked out of Independence Hall following the Constitutional Convention, a bystander eagerly attempted to get his attention.

“Well, Doctor,” the woman said, “what have we got—a republic or a monarchy?” Franklin turned to her and responded without missing a beat: “A republic, if you can keep it.”

With this famous quip, Franklin highlighted an essential feature of our government—it cannot endure without the support and constant nurturing of the American people. Our institutions, the foundation of the intricate structure of power crafted by the Founders, derive their just power from the trust and faith of the citizenry. In modern times this faith has begun to falter. While new challenges continue to arise overseas, many long standing problems have weakened us from within, creating deep fissures among the citizenry while eating away at the public’s faith in their own system of government.

The Challenge at Hand

Even as competition from adversaries threatens us from abroad, hyper-partisan competition within our own borders tears at our common fabric. U.S. politicians are highly incentivized to stoke domestic divisions for electoral gain in the high stakes competition for majority power. Their efforts to rig the system for their own political gain, and their resistance to

Americans are fed-up with hyper-partisanship and political gridlock in Washington, D.C. that allow serious national problems to fester.





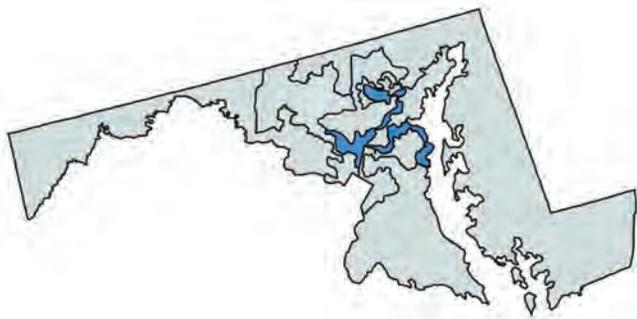
WHAT EVER
HAPPENED
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WE
THE PEOPLE

calls for reforms that may threaten their dominance, have corrupted our system of politics and made the compromises necessary for basic good governance elusive. Given this unfortunate state of affairs, one conclusion is clear: to reform our politics we must realign the incentives that drive extreme partisanship and incivility and orient them instead towards cooperation and effective governance. Three particular structural reforms have been the primary focus of CSPC's political reform work this year.

The Fight for Fair Districts

Gerrymandering, the practice of purposefully drawing legislative districts to the advantage of one political group over another, has been present in our society for centuries. In the information age, however, the problem has deepened profoundly. The use of computers and extremely detailed data on voting habits has allowed those in power to manipulate electoral maps more effectively than ever before. Even in states where the electorate is divided roughly equally between the two parties, the one fortunate enough to be in the majority during redistricting often draws the map to rob the minority of adequate representation in legislative bodies, creating districts where electoral dynamics highly encourage hyper-partisan behavior.

On the federal level, there are proposals that would reduce the damaging effects of partisan gerrymandering. The John Tanner Fairness and Independence in Redistricting Act has been introduced in the last eight congresses, and would be a vast improvement over the current hodgepodge

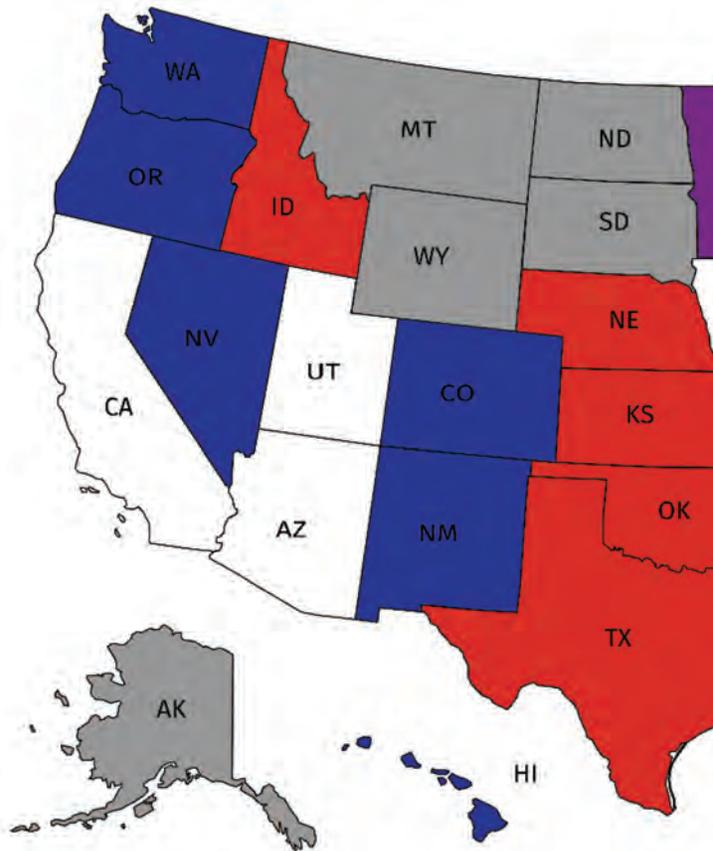


Partisan gerrymandering creates grossly distorted districts like the 3rd district in Maryland (highlighted in blue), creating "safe seats" that encourage hyper-partisanship and political extremism.

of partisan lines resulting from politicians having the power to draw their own districts and choose their own voters, rather than the other way around. However, the legislation has died in committee each time it has been introduced, lacking adequate bipartisan support. This stalemate demon-

One Nation, Gerrymandered

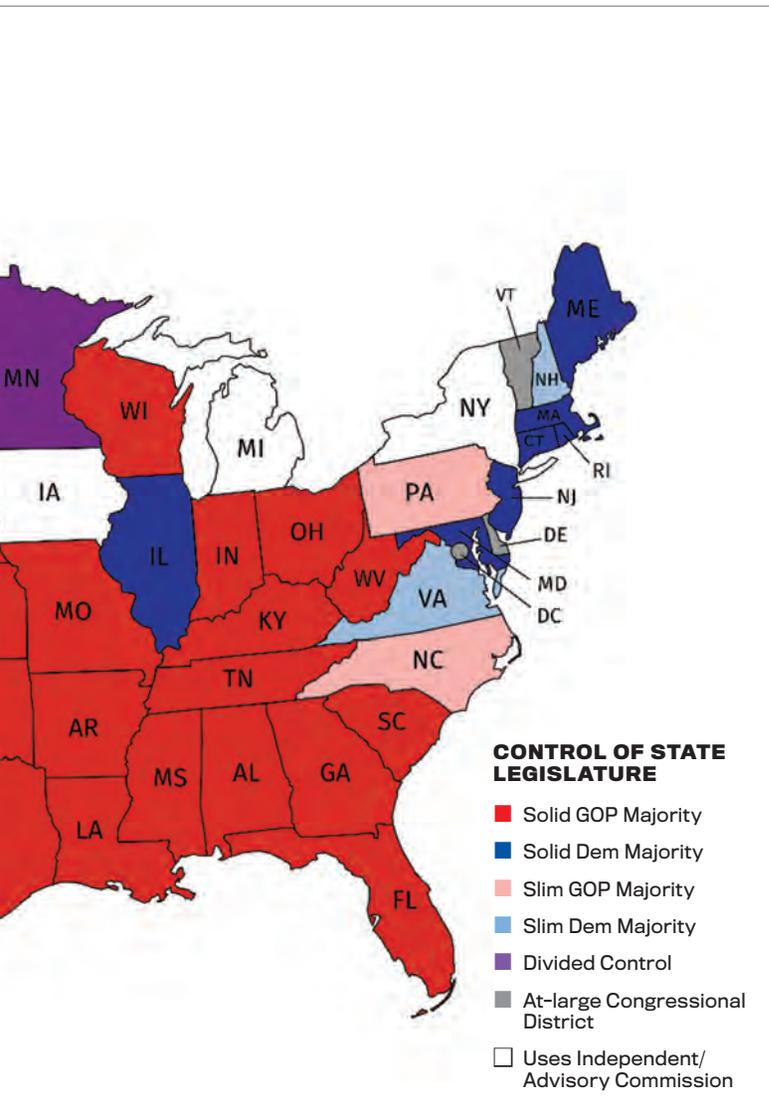
States where the Republican or Democratic majority is slim are ripe for gerrymandering reform, as neither party is assured of controlling redistricting after the 2020 census.



strates the necessity of state level reform efforts, until sufficient bipartisan momentum can be achieved in Congress.

Virginia: Case Study in State-Level Reform

In its 2019 session, the Virginia General Assembly voted in favor of a constitutional amendment creating an independent redistricting commission, which would eliminate partisan gerrymandering in the commonwealth. Virginia's state legislature was narrowly controlled by Republicans when it initially passed the amendment, which attracted bipartisan support. What made Virginia's case unusual was its off-year elections for General Assembly. Since the Republican majority in each house was extremely narrow, party leaders knew there was a significant likelihood Democrats could capture control of the body in the subsequent elections, just in time to control redistricting in 2021 following the 2020 census.



Democrats did win control, and now the future of Virginia’s independent commission depends on Democrats who voted in favor of the amendment on the first vote maintaining their support on the second vote in 2020.

Under the Virginia Constitution, the legislature must pass any amendments in two consecutive legislative sessions. Republicans drew the legislative map for Virginia when they controlled the chamber following the last census, and largely resisted redistricting reform measures throughout the 2010s. Democrats, who suffered electoral disadvantage from the maps, have advocated for reform for years. With the majority going into 2021 uncertain, both parties were incentivized to embrace an independent redistricting commission in case the other party held majority power post-election. Now that Democrats have secured a trifecta in the Virginia state government and are certain to control

redistricting in 2021, they have an opportunity to set a positive example for other states and the country by keeping their promise to support an end to gerrymandering in the 2020 legislative session.

Regardless of how Virginia Democrats decide to proceed, it is clear that the political situation in Virginia had created fertile conditions for gerrymandering reform. If one party’s majority is fragile, they may be incentivized to institute protections against gerrymandering in case the opposing party is able to seize the majority.

The map to the left illustrates the strength of each party’s majorities in each respective state legislature. The dark red states, largely concentrated in the south and Great Plains, denote solid Republican majorities that are likely not subject to flipping in the next election. Blue states denote the same but for a Democratic majority, and purple indicates a state with divided control of the legislature. Pink, the most important for this purpose, are states where the Republican majority is relatively narrow. (Democrats won narrow control of Virginia in November 2019, which will take effect in January 2020).

In states such as North Carolina and Pennsylvania which have witnessed high-profile cases of gerrymandering in recent years, the political incentives may now be similarly aligned to pass state-level reform.

Ranked-Choice Voting

Under our current electoral systems, many voters feel unrepresented by their elected officials. In some cases, candidates can win an election with less than 50% of the vote, as long as they garner more votes than any other candidate running in that race. For instance, if a congressional race featured a Democrat who won 40% of the vote, a Republican who won 35%, and a Libertarian who won 25%, the Democratic candidate would end up representing a district where 60% of voters selected someone else.

This system of awarding seats to those who simply get more votes than the other candidates can also exacerbate political polarization. If a candidate only needs to achieve a higher percent of the vote than their opponent(s), they are incentivized to drum up support from their base of supporters on the extreme left and right flanks rather than fighting for centrist voters interested in the pragmatic functioning of government. Officials elected under this system are also incentivized to act in a more partisan way when in office to avoid a primary challenge from their flanks. In order to stave off candidates who would accuse them of “capitulat-

ing to the other side” or being “too accommodating,” candidates may refuse to engage in compromise.

The optimal solution to this problem would be the implementation of ranked-choice voting, sometimes called an “instant runoff system.” Under ranked-choice voting, voters rank candidates in order of preference rather than simply choosing one. If one candidate secures more than 50% of the first choice votes, they win the election. If not, the candidate with the lowest number of first choice votes is eliminated, and their votes are distributed to whomever those voters picked as their second choice. This process is repeated until one candidate is left with a majority of the vote, and that candidate is declared the winner.

Ensuring Campaign Finance Transparency

In the wake of *Citizens United v. FEC*, it is extremely difficult to place restrictions on the level of spending on behalf of political candidates. Although Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia was in the majority on *Citizens United* and voted

political advertisements on social media without disclosure. This means that American voters are subject to political messaging that perhaps comes from global adversaries of the United States, a loophole that Russia used in an attempt to interfere in the 2016 election to sow division among Americans. Legislation such as the Honest Ads Act would require the disclosure of funding sources for internet political advertisements. Although this would only increase transparency in one area of the campaign finance apparatus, it is paramount to the security of U.S. elections that Congress pass legislation to ensure that the government and voters alike know who is influencing our elections. If anonymous special interests and/or foreign entities are able to interfere with impunity, the public’s faith in American democracy will suffer.

A Coalition to “Fix the System”

In the past year, CSPC joined with other political reform groups to coordinate efforts to better align political incen-



The “Fix the System” coalition includes organizations from across the political spectrum.

reliably to strike down limits on political spending, he also valued high transparency in the political process. In a 2010 case, he wrote:

“Requiring people to stand up in public for their political acts fosters civic courage, without which democracy is doomed. For my part, I do not look forward to a society which, thanks to the Supreme Court, campaigns anonymously ... hidden from public scrutiny and protected from the accountability of criticism. This does not resemble the Home of the Brave.”

While campaign spending continues at historically high levels, much of it also occurs under the radar. This allows unknown groups to spend on behalf of political candidates without disclosing who they are or who they are funded by, which can create vulnerabilities in our election systems.

For example, foreign entities can currently purchase

atives. Together, we formed “Fix the System,” a coalition of organizations with overlapping interests in reforming our broken politics. “Fix the System” has targeted a wide range of political voices in order to achieve meaningful change. With non-partisan leadership at the helm of a coalition that includes organizations from across the political spectrum, we hope to influence meaningful change over the coming years.

In the coming months a key part of the coalition’s strategy will be to secure the backing of groups that traditionally appeal to Republican Members of Congress—such as the business community and conservative groups—to ensure that reform efforts have bipartisan backing. By convincing multiple constituencies that political reform is in their best interest and in line with their political philosophy, we intend to build support among Members of Congress who have not yet committed to reform measures. As business leaders increasingly speak out in favor of common sense measures to preserve our republic, additional elected officials will take note. □

A Commission on Civility & Effective Governance

The American political system is mired in dysfunction. Tribal partisanship dominates in Washington, D.C., and across the country politics is too often driven by vocal minorities on the furthest ends of the political spectrum. As competitive Congressional districts dwindle as a result of partisan gerrymandering and geographic self-sorting by voters, most Members of Congress look to primary challenges from their far left and right flanks as the greatest threat to their political careers. Meanwhile, the most politically active voters often choose to receive their news in partisan “echo chambers” that blur the line between news and opinion. In such a dysfunctional political environment, partisan orthodoxy is rewarded over compromise—and civility becomes an afterthought that too many politicians sacrifice to expediency.

To meet this challenge to our democracy, the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) launched the Commission on Civility and Effective Governance to bring together bipartisan leaders from government and the private sector to help change the incentives driving gridlock and rancor in American politics. Chaired by former Representatives Jason Altmire, D-PA, and Tom Davis, R-VA, the Commission’s members have convened meetings around the



Former Representatives Jason Altmire, D-PA, and Tom Davis, R-VA, chairs of CSPC’s Commission on Civility and Effective Governance, explaining the need for political reform on C-SPAN’s *Washington Journal*.

country to identify the best ideas and most promising efforts to fix our dysfunctional politics.

The Commission has examined: drivers of incivility in our political discourse; a skewed election system; the often corrosive role of money in politics; and the phenomenon of partisan media echo chambers. Working with CSPC’s research staff, the Commission has also highlighted promising efforts to change our political incentive structure both at the state and local grassroots levels, and in the halls of Congress. For instance, campaign and election reform initiatives were passed in more than two dozen states and localities in the 2018 midterm elections, progress that Commission chairs Altmire and Davis have highlighted in two hour-long television appearances on C-SPAN’s *Washington Journal*.

The Commission’s work is ongoing as it continues to identify the drivers of political incivility, the lessons learned from past successful reform efforts, and the individuals and groups driving needed change. □

The Historic Tragedy of Impeachment

As 2020 begins, an impeachment trial for President Donald Trump looms in the Senate. Trump is only the third president in U.S. history to face an impeachment trial, and the impeachment process has laid bare both the tribal partisanship in our political system and the pressures placed on lawmakers from narrow, but increasingly vitriolic, political bases on the far right and left.

Given the nation's partisan divisions, a political showdown was all but inevitable between a Republican president perpetually inclined to test the boundaries of presidential power, and a Democratic majority in the House determined to check what they see as an abuse of presidential power. As Americans contemplate the likely national repercussions of an historic impeachment, however, they should consider that the institutional actors in this drama are already viewed with deep skepticism by the public.

on whether to impeach Donald Trump.

While history can serve as a guide, we continue to debate the Founders' intent in crafting impeachment as the ultimate check on presidential abuse of power. For the Founders, there were two essential purposes of impeachment: first, to ensure that Congress had a tool to check the powers of the executive and judiciary, and second, if necessary, to remove officials engaged in wrongdoing from office through trial. As George Mason challenged his colleagues at the

Constitutional Convention, "Shall any man be above justice?"

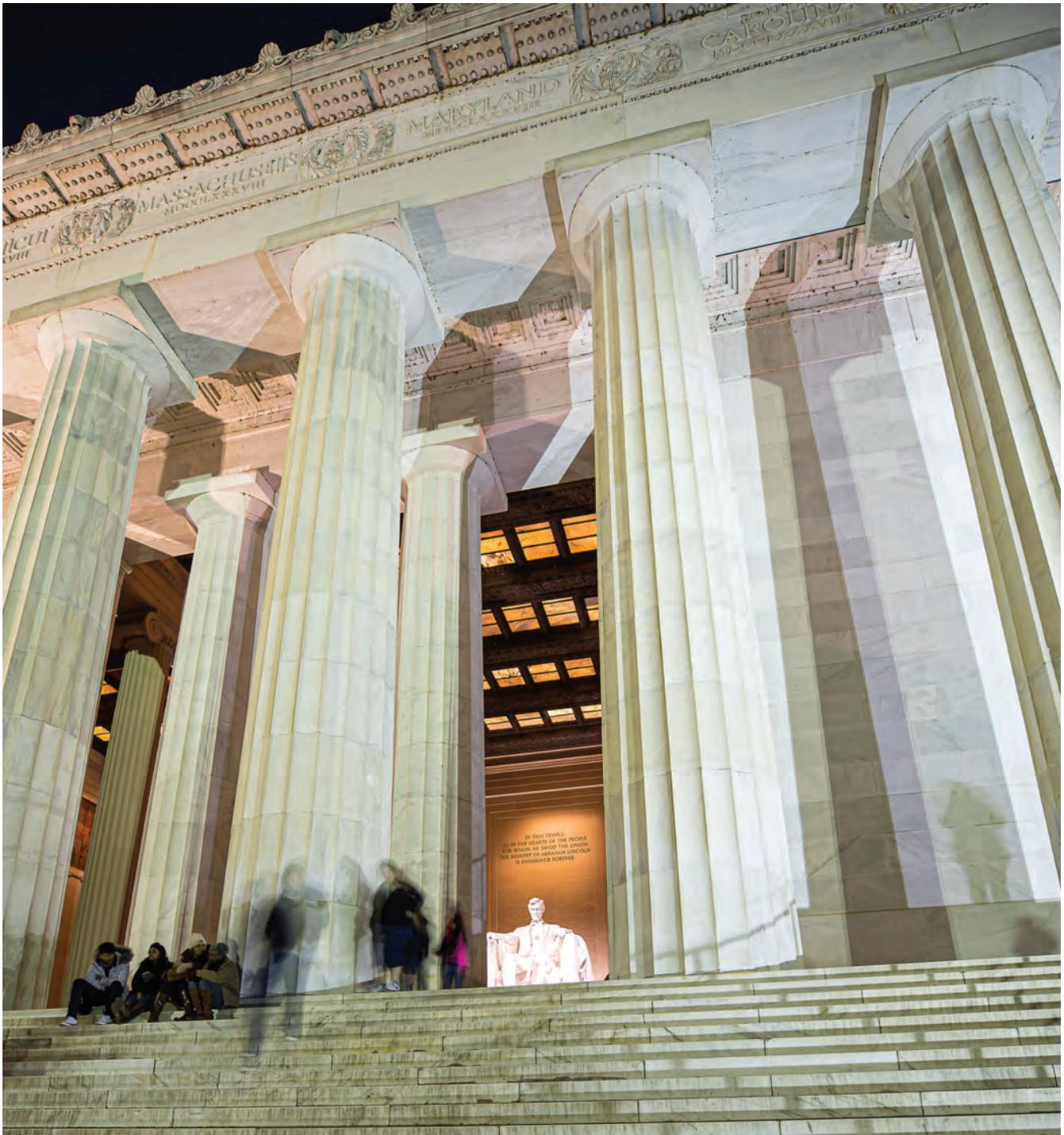
The Founders also understood that the President and other executive officials would represent a unique threat if they breached the bounds of legal and ethical conduct. Therefore, the power to impeach was given to Congress. As the Constitution puts simply, the House has "the sole power of impeachment" while the Senate holds

"the sole power to try all impeachments." In *The Federalist Papers*, Alexander Hamilton wrote that impeachment should target "those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men or, in other words, from the abuse or violation of some public trust."

Only three presidents before Trump have faced impeachment. They were Andrew Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Bill Clinton. Johnson and Clinton were impeached, but were not

The downward spiral in our political discourse that has led to the current constitutional crisis has been many years in the making, and the resulting voter cynicism is the greater danger to our democracy.

In fact, the downward spiral in our discourse that has led to the current constitutional crisis has been many years in the making, so long that there is an actual risk that the impeachment inquiry underway will be viewed as just another instance of one discredited institution trying to assert its questionable moral authority over another. Such cynicism is the greater danger to our democracy, and it will surely not be solved by a vote in Congress



Abraham Lincoln's successor Andrew Johnson was the first president to be impeached over issues arising from the end of slavery.

removed from office by the Senate, while Nixon resigned before the trial could begin in the Senate. No historical comparison is perfect, but previous impeachments can inform what we may expect in the impeachment of President Trump, and what it says about the current moment.

While Andrew Johnson escaped removal from office by a single vote in the Senate, his impeachment reflected the tu-

mult of reconstruction, the uncertain future of civil rights for emancipated slaves, and the authority of the presidency versus Congress following the expansion of executive power during the Civil War. Though the impeachment articles dealt specifically with the firing of War Secretary Edwin Stanton, the disagreement arose from questions over how harsh the terms would be for the defeated states of the Confederacy.

The lead up to what would have been the Nixon impeachment revealed how the investigation and hearing process changed public opinion. Even as scandals swirled around Nixon, when the Senate Watergate hearings began in 1973, only 19 percent of Americans believed that Nixon should be removed from office. Over the following year, hearings would bring presidential criminality into living rooms

legged stool, with free and fair elections, robust institutions, and a well-informed electorate as the three legs. All of these legs have proven wobbly in the current partisan debate.

Republicans accuse Democrats of undemocratically trying to overturn the 2016 election, while Democrats accuse President Trump of undemocratically soliciting interference in the 2020 election. With partisanship so high, it seems

Members of Congress are driven less out of concern for the prerogatives of the legislative branch and more out of party loyalty-cum-orthodoxy.

Whatever course this impeachment takes, the fate of one man will not fix a political system that so many view as broken, coarse, and corrupt. There is every possibility that it could deepen that distrust, at least in the near term when political passions are highest.

Yet Watergate offers an important historical analogy. The impeachment drama and resignation of President Nixon were followed by a long period that saw the most far reaching “good governance” reforms in modern American history. The 1970s reforms included a wholesale restructuring of our campaign finance system and establishment of the Federal Elections Commission, creation of the offices of Inspectors General and the Office of Government Ethics, and passage of the Presidential Records, Freedom of Information, and the Foreign Corrupt Practices Acts.

Regardless of the outcome of the current inquiry, a similar cleansing wave of reform is needed to fix our broken politics and counter the corruption and partisanship that led to this crisis. Bipartisan legislative proposals to secure future American elections from foreign interference are a good place to start, but more is needed to counter the corrosive cynicism infecting our politics. Worthwhile reforms of our system would include: putting an end to partisan gerrymandering and expanding voter choice through procedures like instant runoffs and ranked-choice voting; increasing campaign fundraising transparency; enforcing stricter ethics rules; and criminalizing efforts to solicit foreign interference in American elections.

President Trump campaigned successfully on anger at our broken system, but sadly his tenure has only added to voter disillusion and distrust. When the impeachment fever finally breaks, the hard work of restoring the faith of Americans in their political system and government needs to begin. □

Whatever course this impeachment takes, the fate of one man will not fix a political system that so many view as broken, coarse, and corrupt. There is every possibility that it could deepen that distrust.

across the country, and when it finally became clear that Republicans in Congress had come to favor impeachment, Nixon chose to resign.

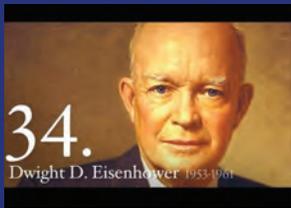
In the case of the Clinton impeachment, a very different dynamic took place. With President Clinton buoyed by a strong economy and public popularity, the Republican effort to impeach him rested on his perjury during the Monica Lewinsky scandal. The public generally decried what was seen as Republican overreach into personal affairs, and similar scandals on the Republican side added an air of hypocrisy. Republicans efforts to remove Clinton from office thus backfired badly.

The Clinton impeachment also heralded a new era in media consumption that has repercussions in the current drama. Unlike during the Nixon impeachment, when the hearings were televised and analyzed by the three major television networks, Americans in the late 1990s could choose from a panoply of partisan cable networks and new online news outlets in following the impeachment. During the Clinton impeachment the “choose your narrative” dynamic that so influences our politics today thus became ascendant. For the Trump impeachment, Americans can choose between separate media universes and vastly different narratives to discern reality.

Wherever one stands on the impeachment of President Trump, we also cannot avoid what this whole process reveals about the relative health of our political system, or lack thereof. A healthy democracy can be thought of as a three-

Section Three

Project Solarium 2020



THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) was established more than 50 years ago at the behest of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who on entering the White House lamented that there was no institution devoted to capturing the lessons of

past presidencies the way the war colleges carefully recorded the lessons of past military campaigns. Shortly after being elected President in 1952, Eisenhower also embarked on what became known as “Project Solarium”—a strategic review to evaluate policy options that existed in the early days of the Cold War. From that exercise, Eisenhower developed the “Long Haul” strategy that balanced the threats from abroad with the need for policies that emphasized strength and prosperity at home, culminating in America’s post-World War II ascendance as a global superpower and standard bearer of the Western democracies.

With our Project Solarium 2020 programs, CSPC seeks to remain true to the spirit of the original: encouraging “out of the box” thinking and working to bridge gaps between government policymakers and lawmakers on the one side, and leaders in the private sector and academia on the other. In each of our projects we convene stakeholders and influential thought leaders and engage them in respectful dialogue that seeks to leverage emerging technologies and find novel solutions to the complex challenges facing the nation.

Securing America's Space Leadership



At no point in recent history has space been such a hot topic as in 2019. Throughout the year Washington officialdom debated the future (or not) of the proposed Space Force, the reestablishment of U.S. Space Command, the imperative for the U.S. Air Force to “go faster” into space, the activity of the National Space Council, and more generally how America could continue its leadership in space.

This year also brought the first phase of CSPC’s National Security Space Program to a conclusion after a flurry of activity. On April 1, the Program published its final report, including recommendations on how the national security space apparatus could better incorporate emerging technologies. Throughout the spring, summer, and fall, the Program then worked to educate members of the House and Senate and their staffs, as well as the Department of Defense, on possible reforms to policy and programs. Suggested reforms

A dual booster landing/recovery by SpaceX indicates the giant strides commercial launch enterprises have made in recent years—progress the Pentagon must leverage to stay ahead in space.

are designed to improve the resiliency of the U.S. space architecture, increase deterrence, and deliver better effects to the warfighter on-the-ground.

How Did We Get Here?

The national security space environment is witnessing two dynamic trends that demand attention. First, the space domain is an increasingly contested warfighting environment, with America's adversaries seeking to develop their own capabilities in space and, simultaneously, counter our country's strengths derived from and enabled by on-orbit assets. While space has always been contested to a degree, the barriers to entry are falling as a result of cheaper launch, enhanced cyber capabilities, and smaller and more agile payloads.

These developments lead directly to the second trend: increased competitiveness in the commercial space arena. SpaceX, Blue Origin, and Rocket Lab are nearly household names today; Planet's imagery can be found above the fold on the front page of the *New York Times*, and NanoRacks is baking cookies in space for a hotel chain. For its part, Virgin Galactic just listed on the New York Stock Exchange with the apt listing, \$SPCE. These companies join the legacy providers and defense prime contractors that paved the way—United Launch Alliance, Boeing, Lockheed, and Northrop.

What Did We Find?

Over the course of six roundtables including a table top exercise with U.S. Strategic Command, the National Security Space Program brought together over 125 experts from across the commercial space, defense, intelligence, and academic sectors to develop recommendations to address the threat and exploit opportunities in space today.

The program's findings focused on three critical areas of reform: launch and architecture; rapid reconstitution; and mission assurance.

The space launch structure that exists today is insufficient to meet growing threats and take advantage of opportunities afforded by new entrants to the launch market, and by the rapidly improving capabilities of satellites and space architectures. Smaller, more capable satellites in larger numbers are offering unparalleled capabilities at a frac-

tion of the cost of legacy satellites. Traditional acquisition programs, for instance, focus on large, expensive and highly capable platforms that take years to field. The commercial market is deploying constellations of imagery (Planet) and communications satellites (SpaceX, Iridium, among others) at a rate that was, until recently, inconceivable to the Department of Defense. That is not to deny that there will still be one-off, exquisitely capable space platforms for which

The space launch structure that exists today is insufficient to meet growing threats and take advantage of opportunities afforded by new entrants to the launch market.

government entities like the National Reconnaissance Office are the only customers.

To take advantage of these emerging capabilities, the launch market needs to be more competitive and responsive. We believe an "ID/IQ" model for launch whereby entrants meet established base criteria and compete on capability, cost, or availability would create more flexibility for the Department of Defense, and provide better value to the taxpayer.

Smaller satellites in larger constellations should, in theory, allow for greater risk-taking and leverage new and emerging capabilities more quickly. At the same time, reduced cost decreases the impact of failure, and increases the benefits of experimentation. The government is already actively working towards proliferating low-earth orbit (LEO) with imagery, communications, and position, navigation, and timing (PNT) platforms.

The benefits of an increased launch cadence and greater competition, and the deployment of larger, more nimble satellite constellations, will support a rapid reconstitution capability, something that doesn't exist today. In the event of an adversary targeting U.S. assets with anti-satellite weapons, for instance, the United States would be able to replace lost assets quickly, with the added benefit of more frequent technology refresh rates.

To enable both larger satellite constellations and the rapid reconstitution capability, the U.S. government's en-



tire mission assurance and risk calculus culture needs to change. Understandably, the national security mission creates a “no-fail” ethos. The soldier or Marine on-the-ground in Afghanistan or Syria needs to know that their radio will connect with satellites guiding their munitions accurately to target. Similarly, the commander-in-chief and National Command Authority need to know that the space-based infrared satellite (SBIRS) will detect the launch bloom of a North Korean or Russian ICBM—truly no-fail missions.

Russia and China are aggressively developing and deploying their own anti-satellite and space capabilities to enable their own operations, and to counter ours.

Yet, the adoption of a no-fail mentality of mission assurance, applied across all mission sets, is counterproductive and inconsistent with the opportunities and capabilities that exist in the commercial space launch market. SpaceX, Blue Origin, or Rocket Lab, as commercial companies, already build risk aversion into their operating models, as the financial market severely punishes failure or recklessness. In essence, the U.S. government’s risk/reward calculus of mission assurance needs to be reevaluated. So too

does the entirety of the culture of national security space.

Space is no longer a benign, permissive sanctuary. Yet, the military and intelligence communities largely operate as though it still was. This mindset invites failure, especially at a time when Russia and China are aggressively developing and deploying

their own anti-satellite and space capabilities to enable their own operations, and to counter ours.

Where to From Here?

At present it appears that a new Space Force will finally stand up as a part of the U.S. Air Force. Whatever the final configuration of that force, much work remains to be done

to establish the right culture and delineate the right mission for the organization. Decisions made in 2020 will significantly affect the future efficacy of the force, for good or ill.

Getting space right means aligning all elements of the federal government, working smartly with the private sector, and coordinating international relationships. CSPC aims to help meet that challenge in 2020 with the next phase of our National Security Space Program. This effort launched at the end of September when we hosted Lieuten-

Getting space right means aligning all elements of the federal government, working smartly with the private sector, and coordinating international relationships. CSPC aims to help meet that challenge in 2020.

ant General David Thompson, the Vice Commander of Air Force Space Command, who offered insights on the state of national security space.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mike Rogers and Rep. Glenn Nye, CSPC will convene a series of roundtables aimed at developing a truly whole-of-government strategy for national security space, one that clearly links ways, ends and means. We believe it will provide a roadmap for ensuring continued American leadership and dominance in space. □



With reusable launch vehicles, Blue Origin and its competitors are lowering the cost of access to space and paving the way towards a new space launch paradigm (far left, above).

Virgin Galactic hopes to pioneer "space tourism," and has already sent a crewed spaceship built to carry private passengers to the boundary of space (left).

“Geotech” & the Future Balance of Global Power

The United States and its partners are in a heated competition with authoritarian societies to set the technological standards for the future. Leadership in the field of Geotech—the linkage of geopolitics and technology—will determine the 21st century balance of power.

For the past year, CSPC has convened leaders from government, the private sector, and academia to examine how the U.S. government can best position itself through the creation of a Geotech strategy. In 2019 we released two reports on Geotech issues, while continuing the series of off-the-record roundtables, meetings, and ongoing staff research on these topics. In these reports and discussions, CSPC has explored the competition between authoritarian regimes

Chinese President Xi Jinping reviews a military parade.



and open societies; the advances in key cutting edge technologies such as artificial intelligence, quantum computing, and 5G networks; and the historical lessons from past episodes when the U.S. government required strategies to prevail in technological competitions with existential stakes for our nation, including the Manhattan Project to develop an atomic weapon during World War II, and the Cold War Space Race.

China's Challenge

Today, the trends requiring such a Geotech strategy have greatly intensified. Tensions between the United States and China continue to increase, for instance, as competing economic and geopolitical interests—as well as fundamental differences in political ideology and values—fuel a range of disputes. At the same time, a growing and increasingly assertive China is demonstrating a greater willingness to challenge international rules and norms and the status of open societies.

With policies designed to protect and promote “national champion” tech companies that compete on the global stage, China is reaping the benefits of a strategy long designed to match, and eventually surpass, the United States and its partners in technological capabilities. This challenges long-standing assumptions about the technological supremacy of the United States and its allies.

From the dystopian forced indoctrination of the Uighur population of Xinjiang in “reeducation camps,” to the brutal suppression of Hong Kong citizens seeking a voice in their own destinies, the Chinese Communist Party has revealed its true nature. Beijing’s intent to use technology to achieve societal control is also clear. At the same time, through the Belt and Road Initiative and the Digital Silk Road, China is leveraging its economic might and expanding its political and military influence around the world. As Chinese technology firms grow in influence abroad, it is important to remember that Beijing’s legal code compels Chinese corporations to cooperate with Chinese intelligence and military agencies in matters related to national security, without judicial review. While Chinese tech is often easier on the bottom line, it comes with these strings attached.

Ultimately, given the importance of the U.S.-China relationship, developing a Geotech strategy requires U.S. officials to anticipate potential strategic outcomes. That analysis will allow policymakers to better understand the tradeoffs of various approaches to China, the important role played by allies and partners, and the tools needed to best foster American competitiveness, prosperity, and security.

Even as the competition between the United States and China grows more heated, however, the economic uncertainty created by the ongoing trade war demonstrates the interlinked nature of the global economy. Globalization has reshaped the nature of commerce, trade, and supply chains such that the return to Cold War-style economic blocs cannot be accomplished without profound economic disruption. Therefore, strategies designed to address the Geotech competition must focus not only on confronting China’s disruptive behaviors and practices, but also positioning the United States and its partners to best compete in this context to determine the technological standards of the future.

Building Coalitions

The United States cannot approach the Geotech competition by trying to “out-China, China.” First, we must play to our strengths by building on our existing alliances and partnerships to address the economic and security ramifications of Geotech competition. Throughout the Geotech

Strategies designed to address the Geotech competition must focus not only on confronting China’s disruptive behaviors, but also positioning the United States and its partners to best compete.

program, participants have emphasized the importance of the United States and like-minded open societies working together. As technological trends suggest a potential bifurcation between open and authoritarian societies, it is especially important that open societies work together to fashion a common strategy. The European Union, Japan, India, Australia, Canada, Mexico, and other partners in Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and the Western Hemisphere

are all important allies in terms of aligning the interests of free societies with advances in technology so that we can all share in the benefits of technology, while mitigating its dangers and disruptions.

Together, the United States and its allies have begun to address the security of their 5G networks, for instance, but the decision on whether to include hardware from Chinese firms like Huawei remains hotly debated. As data collection and analysis increasingly underpin the digital economy, proposals to harmonize data governance and regulations among free societies may represent an opportunity, countering the advantages afforded Chinese tech companies due to that nation's immense population and nearly nonexistent privacy standards.

The United States can also learn from its allies and partners about their experiences related to Geotech competition—especially when it comes to concerns about ac-

A 21st-century Geotech strategy and innovation framework must increase entrepreneurship, create well-paying jobs, maintain a global vision, and play to America's strengths—technology, capital and talent.

cess to vital manufacturing inputs and the restructuring of supply chains during geopolitical disruption. For example, the United States can learn from the experiences of Japan and Australia, which worked together when China attempted to embargo the export of vital rare earth minerals to Japan in 2010.

Even as the United States and its allies share concerns about the policies and behaviors of China and other authoritarian regimes, they face remarkable fragmentation among open societies on a range of economic and technological issues. A pronounced political shift towards nationalist/populist ideologies and movements in the West, for instance, can work against cooperation. As we have already witnessed, populists on the right and left have demonstrated skepticism towards multilateral institutions designed to foster

international cooperation. They are also fueling a growing backlash against the tech industry itself.

Policymakers around the world thus find themselves confronting the challenges of rapid technological change at a time of great political disruption. Success in this burgeoning technological competition will likely require at least as much attention be devoted to each nation's citizenry and how it has adapted to technological change, as to the attention given to the competition between technology leaders among nation-states.

Harnessing Innovation & Building Competitiveness

Another key pillar of Geotech strategy must involve harnessing the United States' advantages in openness and economic dynamism, the better to bolster policies and programs designed to foster innovation, entrepreneurship, and

competitiveness. In terms of key technologies, efforts by the government and private sector continue in the development of artificial intelligence and quantum computing, while the first 5G networks are starting to come online in major American cities. Because these networks will be vital for telecommunications infrastructure, as well as a range of soon-to-be networked applications and platforms, the United States must ensure that it has a clear path towards building rapid, secure 5G wireless networks.

A successful Geotech strategy must also counter a growing gap in outlook and culture between Washington and Silicon Valley. Leaders in government and the private sector must seek to bridge this gap, promote greater cooperation, and, for the sake of our security and well-being, work together to maintain our technological competitiveness and leadership. The nation's security and continued prosperity depend on it.

Considering the national security implications of the Geotech competition, it is also important that policymakers and regulators apply trade policy and anti-trust enforcement in a manner that balances concerns about domestic markets with the international competition we now face. Put simply, policies and regulatory regimes designed for 20th century industrial economies are not keeping pace in an era of digital, data-driven economies. In the coming year, it will be important to reconsider how the United States approaches data governance and privacy regulations, as these



China aggressively exports its “surveillance state” technologies to other authoritarian regimes.

rules determine how data is used in commercial applications and in developing the technological infrastructure of the future.

Beyond these near-term measures, addressing the Geotech competition will require an examination of the innovation and entrepreneurial ecosystem in the United States. Low unemployment, rising wages, and a growing GDP mask a troubling trend: America has an innovation problem, with declining startup rates suggesting that we are far less entrepreneurial today than in decades past. A 21st-century Geotech strategy and innovation framework must increase entrepreneurship, create well-paying jobs, maintain a global vision, and play to America’s strengths—technology, capital and talent.

Policies designed to promote entrepreneurialism and innovation must be modernized, reformed, and restructured, thus helping to drive job growth and economic prosperity along with innovation and technological excellence. Ef-

orts to support basic research should ensure that the government and the private sector are working collaboratively to meet these challenges, while also supporting innovation and entrepreneurial ecosystems. Lessons from success stories like Silicon Valley and Cambridge, Massachusetts will point the way to more technology and innovation hubs that can act as growth engines across America.

Looking Ahead

As the nation heads into an election year in 2020, CSPC will continue to focus attention on this critical topic. Certainly, the shape of the U.S.-China relationship and our cooperation with allies will be hotly debated, but it will also be important to focus on what we need to do at home to meet this challenge. Ongoing debates on data management, 5G rollout and the development of technologies like artificial intelligence and quantum computing ensure that the Geotech project will have plenty to cover. □

A Strategic Dialogue Between Democratic Allies

As cybersecurity threats grow, leaders in the United States and Japan face a common challenge. With increasingly networked societies and data-driven, digital economies, the struggle to secure the cyber domain places governments and private companies together on the front lines. Rapidly evolving technological innovation changes the nature of cybersecurity threats as the digital and physical worlds become increasingly linked. Other technologies also weigh on the cyber offense-defense balance.

In partnership with the Auburn University McCrary Center for Cyber and Homeland Security, led by CSPC Senior Fellow Frank Cilluffo, CSPC has embarked on a se-

ries of U.S.-Japan cybersecurity dialogues to bring together U.S. and Japanese private sector cybersecurity leaders.

In two sessions in 2019, these leaders discussed a range of important cybersecurity issues. The May session focused on government and private sector information-sharing, securing open-source software, and tracking the progress of 5G security. A September session covered the complexity of securing supply chains, and how a range of factors—from corporate culture to geopolitical risk—affect supply chain security procedures.

These roundtable discussions have provided a useful forum for U.S. and Japanese participants to address shared challenges, and benefit from their varied perspectives and experiences.

For the U.S. participants, a familiar challenge has been the many legal and liability-related issues that arise when private sector companies share with government agencies information about a cyber threat or cyber intrusion. Legisla-



Cutting edge 5G technology will lead to increasingly networked and data driven societies, raising the challenge of securing the cyber domain.

tion related to cybersecurity information sharing has been long delayed, for instance, because of controversy surrounding liability protection.

Still, even with laws on the books, it is important to emphasize that “trust cannot be legislated.” Legal structures designed to facilitate cybersecurity information sharing do not ensure the requisite trust between government and the private sector required for frank dialogue. Furthermore, even with liability protection, the private sector still has concerns about what information might safely be shared with industry competitors

and securities regulators. For their part, government officials continue to worry about the clearance levels of their private sector counterparts, and the protection of intelligence sources and methods.

In some cases these concerns have been remedied by stipulating that the government counterpart for cybersecurity information sharing is not a regulatory agency. Improved processes for providing security clearances for corporate cybersecurity managers and industry representatives have also helped. In the future, automated threat



True cybersecurity will require greater trust between government and the private sector.

a formal apparatus for the transfer of cybersecurity information and cyber threat intelligence. These flaws are being remedied by reforms to the Japanese national security apparatus, and the creation of more robust intelligence clearance procedures. In that area there are lessons our Japanese partners can learn from aspects of the U.S. intelligence and law enforcement model and experience.

This strategic dialogue will continue in 2020, and proposed areas of examination include: information sharing, development of whole-of-government approaches, cyber

threat analysis, public cyber awareness, cyber workforce development, the impact of new technologies, and opportunities for the U.S. and Japan to bolster bilateral and multilateral security cooperation. Going forward these discussions will foster discussion about evolving cyber threats, best practices for educating workforces and the public at large, and improving the dialogue between governments and the private sector in both countries. Each of these areas of exami-

nation will serve to bolster cybersecurity efforts on both sides of the Pacific, while also building on the historically strong U.S.-Japan partnership.

As noted in our work on Geotech, such international partnerships are key to the competition in advanced technologies now underway globally, and the security and prosperity of free societies. Much work remains to be done, however, and CSPP will continue its efforts to bring together U.S. and Japanese cybersecurity leaders to tackle this challenge. □

As noted in our work on Geotech, international partnerships are key to the competition in advanced technologies now underway globally, and to the security and prosperity of free societies.

information sharing that controls the clearance “tear line” process can further alleviate concerns, as can processes that make corporate information or personally identifiable information (PII) anonymous. Such remedies can greatly speed the transfer of urgent cyber threat information.

The Japanese participants in the conversation face a different, and more fundamental challenge. Intelligence and law enforcement operations are kept separate from officials responsible for industrial policy, hampering the creation of

Rebuilding Nonproliferation Guardrails

The United States has entered an era of great power competition with Russia and China, one that has many of the threatening elements of the Cold War. All three nations are currently engaged in major modernizations of their nuclear weapons arsenals, for instance, at a time of great geopolitical tension. Meanwhile, with the recent termination of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, and uncertainty regarding the Trump administration's plans and willingness to extend New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) when it comes up for renewal in 2021, the entire edifice of strategic nuclear arms control that has checked the dangerous spread of these doomsday weapons is now on the verge of collapse.

This growing danger of a nuclear arms race is exacerbated by political polarization in the nation's capital that works against bipartisan consensus on national security issues. The emergence of new and destabilizing technologies—ranging from sophisticated cyber capabilities to advances in space weaponry and hypersonic weapons—creates further uncertainties in the strategic nuclear calculus.

With its mandate to bring the lessons of history to bear on current challenges, and to act as a bridge between the Executive and Legislative Branches, the Center is launching an initiative to rekindle the spirit of consensus and bipartisan cooperation that animated cooperative threat reduction initiatives in the past. Engaging stakeholders in Congress, the Executive Branch, and in the nonproliferation community, the project will seek to build on positive examples of bipartisan nonproliferation cooperation such as the Congressional Arms Control Observer Group of the 1980s; the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program of the 1990s; and the National Security Working Group of the 1990s and 2000s.

Proposed subjects for exploration by the working group will include: past precedents and effective mechanisms that fostered bipartisan cooperation on national security issues; potential policies to enhance strategic stability with Russia and China; and ways to improve “nuclear literacy” in Congress.



In 2019 both Russia (above) and China (below) held massive military parades that highlighted modernization of their nuclear weapons arsenals. Meanwhile, the entire edifice of arms control to check the spread of these doomsday weapons is on the verge of collapse.



Because the current generation of U.S. lawmakers has little memory of the Cold War, and the deep and sustained bipartisanship necessary to keep it from turning hot, the working group will also examine establishment of a new Congressional Liaison Group on Strategic Stability. This liaison group could serve to facilitate bipartisan cooperation, re-establish Congressional foreign policy prerogatives, and provide both support and oversight of Executive Branch arms control policy. □

Section Four

Fostering Enlightened Leadership



AS A CASUAL WALK around the Washington Mall will attest, at crucial moments in our history America has been blessed with extraordinary leaders. As the principal author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson found the words that would inspire a young nation. After winning America's Revolutionary War and serving two terms as our first president, George Washington amazed the world by voluntarily giving up power. Abraham Lincoln ended slavery and preserved the union through a bloody Civil War. Franklin Roosevelt pulled the nation through the Great Depression and led it to victory over tyranny in World War II. Martin Luther King Jr. led a peaceful civil rights movement to end the officially sanctioned prejudice and bigotry of Jim Crow.

Indeed, success in building the liberal world order as the foundation for “The American Century,” let alone victory in the Cold War and development of the world's most productive economy, required enlightened leadership in both the White House and Congress, and the support of an informed public. We are this country because presidents and Congressional leaders united to construct the interstate highway system; launch the modern space program by putting a man on the moon; advance the civil rights movement and strengthen social safety net programs; pass the Clean Air and Water Acts and other major pieces of environmental legislation; and lay the groundwork for the Internet, giving America a head start on the Information Age.

At the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) we have always viewed as a core mission the recognition and celebration of enlightened leadership, and the development of the next generation of national leaders of character. We do that each year through our Presidential Fellows program, and our annual awards dinner honoring public servants who have shown the traits we believe exemplify our best leaders—strategic vision, civility, and a passion for reform and national renewal.

Honoring Bipartisan Leadership & Strategic Vision

Each year the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) holds its annual awards dinner to honor distinguished public servants. This past October we awarded Gwynne Shotwell, President and CEO of SpaceX, and Heather Wilson, President of the University of Texas at El Paso and former Secretary of the Air Force, with our 2019 *Eisenhower Award*. The award recognizes enlightened leadership, strategic vision and character in the mold of the 34th President of the United States Dwight D. Eisenhower, who served as Supreme Allied Commander during World War II.

As President and Chief Operating Officer at SpaceX and as a trailblazer in the aerospace industry, Ms. Shotwell has fostered revolutionary advancements in access to space, even while her advocacy for STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) education is helping to inspire a new generation of scientists and engineers.

With a career as an Air Force officer, Member of Congress, and Secretary of the Air Force, Secretary Wilson's long record of service to our country has been guided by a steadfast commitment to the American people and their security. During her tenure as Secretary of the Air Force, Wilson positioned the force to adapt to the strategic challenges of the future, while remaining a tireless advocate for men and women in uniform.

During the awards ceremony the Honorable Paula Dobriansky, a CSPC Trustee, moderated a lively discussion with Shotwell and Wilson, followed by a question-and-answer session with audience members.



CSPC Trustee Paula Dobriansky engages Wilson and Shotwell in a lively discussion on the rapidly evolving space domain (above and top).



CSPC President Glenn Nye welcomes supporters to the awards dinner and introduces the awardees.



Awardees and CSPC officials engage with audience members during the reception (below).



CSPC officials, board members and friends of the Center stand as members of the U.S. military present the colors (left).



An Honor Roll of Leaders

One of CSPC's core missions is to celebrate and recognize enlightened leadership. This past year we were especially proud of longtime CSPC Board of Trustees member Edwin Meese III, who received the Presidential Medal of Freedom—the nation's highest civilian honor—for his distinguished leadership while serving as attorney general under President Ronald Reagan.

Each year CSPC also honors leading public servants of character and integrity with one of its three awards: the *Publius Award* for leadership and bipartisanship in government; the *Eisenhower Award* for leadership in national security affairs; and the *Hamilton Award* for economic or fiscal leadership. Some of our past award winners include: Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor; Senator Susan Collins, R-ME; Senator Joe Manchin, D-WV; Senator Dianne Feinstein, D-CA; Senator Roy Blunt, R-MO; Congressman Steny Hoyer, D-MD; Senator Bob Corker, R-TN; Senator Mark Warner, D-VA; Senator Bill Frist, R-TN; Senator John Breaux, D-LA; Defense Secretaries Leon Panetta, Chuck Hagel and Ash Carter; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen; Chairman of the Federal Reserve Ben Bernanke; and Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge.



Defense Secretary Ash Carter receiving CSPC's *Eisenhower Award* for national security leadership (above right).

Senators Bob Corker, R-TN, and Senator Mark Warner, D-VA, accepting CSPC's *Publius Award* for bipartisan leadership (right).





CSPC Trustee Edwin Meese III this year receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom—the nation’s highest civilian honor—for his distinguished leadership while serving as attorney general under President Ronald Reagan (left).



Senators Susan Collins, R-ME, and Joe Manchin, D-WV, receiving CSPC’s *Publius Award* for bipartisan leadership (above left).

Admiral Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, receiving CSPC’s *Eisenhower Award* (above right).



Chairman of the Federal Reserve Ben Bernanke accepting CSPC’s *Hamilton Award* for economic and fiscal leadership.

Preparing & Inspiring Tomorrow's Leaders

Next year, CSPC will welcome the 50th class of scholars to the Presidential Fellows program. As we reflect on how the Fellowship has evolved over time, we are proud of the innovations we have made to ensure the continued success and impact of this program. Over the last 50 years, we've built a community of professionals serving in all areas of government, academia, the media, and private business who share a common commitment to civil dialogue and principled leadership.



At an informal dinner, Presidential Fellows rub elbows with former White House Chief of Staff Joshua Bolten (center), former CSPC Senior Fellow and Deputy Secretary of Labor Chris Lu (left), and CSPC President and former Representative Glenn Nye.

Congressman Michael Turner, R-OH, speaks to the Presidential Fellows about U.S. national security priorities on Capitol Hill.



CSPC Presidential Fellows take a class photo with CSPC President Glenn Nye (center), former White House Chief of Staff Thomas “Mack” McLarty III (center left), and former Senator Blanche Lincoln, both CSPC Trustees.

With the launch of a new alumni engagement strategy last year, we are now fully leveraging that community to do our part in creating a better political environment. We held our first ever alumni reception to bring together a cross section of Fellows, recruited a record 31 alumni to serve as mentors to the current class, and celebrated our first new Fellowship sponsored by an alumnus: The Nathaniel R. Morris Fellowship at the University of Kentucky’s Gatton College of Business and Economics. We are delighted by the progress made in the past year, and we look forward to continued engagement with our alumni.

In addition to the University of Kentucky, we were excited to welcome the first Fellows ever from Drexel University and the Ohio State University to this year’s class. In partnership with the Embassy of France in the United States, we also brought in three new international fellows in science and technology fields from universities across France, thanks to a generous grant from the Richard Lounsbery Foundation.

As we continue to evolve the Fellows program, we are introducing innovative new elements to the Leadership Conferences. We

CSPC’s 2019 Presidential Fellows formulate their questions to Washington policymakers in informal “breakout” sessions.





CSPC Trustee Paula Dobriansky (above left) and President Glenn Nye (above right) present the *Donald B. Marron Award* for Best Historical Analysis to Brooke Harkrader (center) of the United States Coast Guard Academy.

have incorporated new session formats, including hands-on crisis simulations which give the participants the opportunity to experience the decision-making pressures faced by policy-makers. We held intimate salon-style dinners featuring professionals in government, business, and the non-profit space who provide insights into their career trajectories and tips for success. We have brought in top level speakers to share their expertise, including Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Trade and Manufacturing Policy, Dr. Peter Navarro; Director for Strategic Planning at the National Security Council,

Colonel Stephanie Ahern; Congressman Michael Turner; former White House Chief of Staff Joshua Bolten; former White House Chief of Staff Thomas “Mack” McLarty III; former Senator Blanche Lincoln; and former Deputy Secretary of Labor Chris Lu.

As we navigate this challenging time in our nation’s history, we find the work of the Presidential Fellows program to be more important than ever. We are grateful to the corporations, foundations, universities, and individuals who support our mission to develop the next generation of leaders committed to public service. □



Presidential Fellow Samuel Appel from Georgetown University poses a question to the honorees at CSPC’s Annual Leadership Awards Dinner (far left).

Presidential Fellows Justin Edwards (left), Sinazo Mggqobele (center), and Kate Creecy (right) observe a panel discussion at the 2019 Presidential Fellows Fall Leadership Conference.

Section Five

Capturing the Lessons of History



THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY of the Presidency and Congress (CSPC) originally grew out of President Dwight Eisenhower's expressed wish for an institution dedicated to capturing the historical lessons of governance and applying them creatively to the challenges confronted by the modern presidency and Congress. CSPC's books, publications and reports are in keeping with that mission and tradition.

In our anthologies of case studies in modern governance, *Triumph and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*, and *Triumph and Tragedies of the Modern Congress*, (Praeger) some of the leading historians, political scientists, and journalists in the country examine major milestones in domestic and foreign policy that have made us the country we are today. In *Twilight Warriors* (Basic Books), CSPC Senior Fellow and award-winning correspondent James Kitfield analyzes the lessons that U.S. soldiers, spies and special agents have learned after nearly two decades of fighting a global war against terrorists and insurgents. In *The Statesman* (Rowman & Littlefield), the late David M. Abshire, former CSPC President and adviser to presidents, imparts the lessons learned from a rich career and life spent in public service. CSPC's *Presidential Studies Quarterly* is the only scholarly journal that focuses entirely on the most powerful political figure in the world—the President of the United States.

Triumphs & Tragedies in U.S. Governance

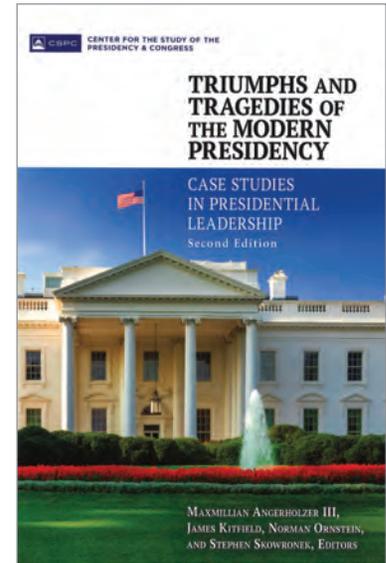
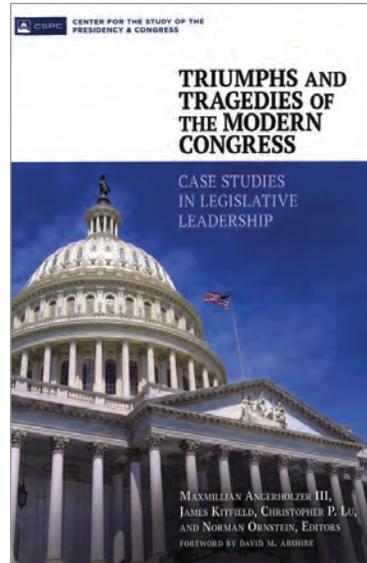
Despite his determination to challenge the orthodoxies of the current political system and international order, President Donald Trump has been unable to escape history. The same powerful forces that both empowered and constrained his modern predecessors shaped his administration's first three years in office, for good and ill. President Trump's triumphs have revealed familiar alignments of political actors and motivations, just as his tragedies have followed a recognizable script. As Mark Twain reputedly mused, "History doesn't repeat itself, but it often rhymes."

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress publishes two anthologies on the subject of presidential and Congressional leadership:

Triumphs & Tragedies of the Modern Presidency, and *Triumphs & Tragedies of the Modern Congress*. Through case studies we ask some of the top historians, journalists, and political scientists in the country to identify those rhymes and cadences of history. Our writers examine the first one hundred days of every post-World War II president, and look at their domestic and foreign policy milestones that laid the foundation for the "American Century." These anthologies offer important lessons in leadership, as well as the pitfalls that any administration or Congress would do well to avoid.

The Trump administration fell into the common trap of overreacting in trying to distance itself from the previous administration, for instance, falling into avoidable mistakes like spending much of its critical first year—when elections winds are strongest—in an unsuccessful attempt to repeal the Affordable Care Act. Both John F. Kennedy and Jimmy Carter likewise overreacted to the policies of their predecessors Dwight Eisenhower and Gerald Ford, respectively, and came to regret it.

Presidents who win in landslides like Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson obviously have distinct advantages in their early going. As only the fourth president in U.S. history to win in the Electoral College only to lose the popular vote, Trump had a more limited mandate. Like FDR,



LBJ, and Barack Obama, however, his party initially enjoyed majority control in Congress, though not a filibuster-proof majority in the Senate.

Trump also stumbled into two of the most common mistakes made by new presidents: underestimating the power lawmakers have to delay or derail a presidential agenda, and failing to recognize the need to nurture good relations with key Members of Congress. That's been especially true of chief executives who ran as Washington outsiders, such as General Dwight Eisenhower, who chose not to even send a first-year domestic program to Congress, and Jimmy Carter, who surrounded himself with aides from Georgia who often kept Congress at arm's length, and suffered from it.

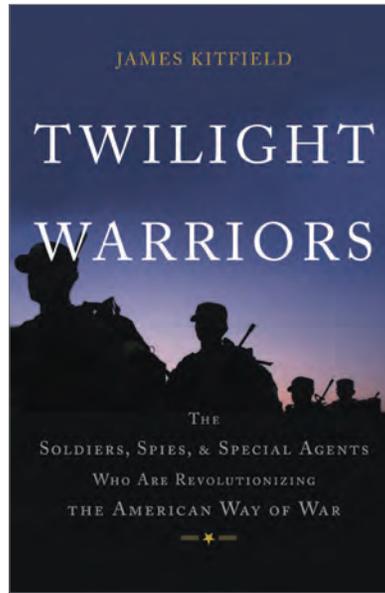
As the classic outsider initially rebuffed by a fractious Congress on the Affordable Care Act, Trump wisely adjusted and relied heavily on his Vice President and former Congressman Mike Pence, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-KY, and House Speaker Paul Ryan, R-WI, to push through the GOP tax reform bill, a far-reaching overhaul of the tax code and President Trump's most notable domestic achievement. Thus can the rhymes of history steer occupants of the White House towards presidential triumph, while avoiding the historic missteps that too often lead to tragedy. □

Lessons from America's Longest Wars

On October 26, 2019 helicopters carrying U.S. Special Operations Forces swept down at night on a compound in northern Syria that housed the world's most wanted terrorist. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi had transformed the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) into the most vicious and ambitious terrorist group in history, one that once ruled over a "caliphate" that stretched from western Iraq to eastern Syria. In the end al-Baghdadi met the same fate as his arch-terrorist predecessors Osama bin Laden and Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, however, caught in the crosshairs of lethal and brutally efficient U.S. counterterrorism forces.

Baghdadi's death underscores once again how U.S. military, intelligence and law enforcement agencies have learned and adapted during nearly two decades of fighting a global terrorist movement. CSPP Senior Fellow James Kitfield's *Twilight Warriors: The Soldiers, Spies and Special Agents Who Are Revolutionizing the American Way of War* (Basic Books), chronicles that fight against a determined and adaptive enemy, drawing on Mr. Kitfield's extensive reporting from the frontlines and distilling "lessons learned" from America's longest wars.

Lessons like *know your enemy*. At various times the United States has been slow to grasp the ideology, motivations and strategies of our enemies, and the resulting misunderstandings have cost the nation dearly. U.S. Special Operations leaders also famously discovered that *it takes a network to defeat a network*. Under the pioneering leadership of General Stanley McChrystal, Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC), the secretive war-fighting subcomponent of U.S. Special Operations Command, adapted to Al Qaeda's global network by incubating its own networkcentric model of military operations. That model relies on an unprecedented synergy that developed in the war zones between



Special Operations Forces, intelligence and law enforcement agencies, and conventional military forces.

Another hard lesson U.S. commanders learned was the difference between *counterterrorism* versus *counterinsurgency*. At some tipping point a campaign of terrorism can transform into a much larger and more widely-supported insurgency powerful enough to compete with government forces for control of territory. Beyond that inflection point a strictly counterterrorism campaign of targeted strikes on terrorist leaders is ineffective. Just as Al Qaeda survived the death of Osama bin Laden, ISIS will continue as a significant terrorist threat

despite the demise of al-Baghdadi.

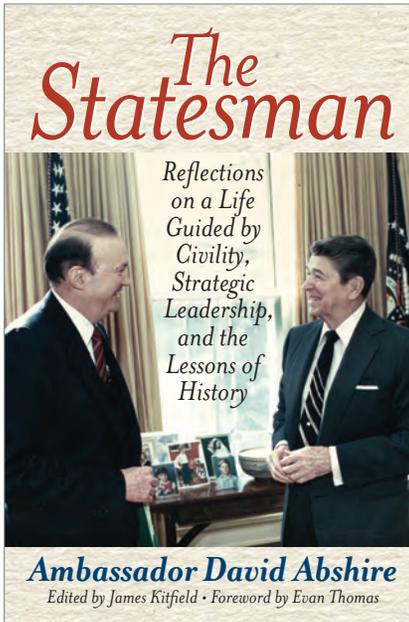
After President Trump campaigned on a promise that "torture works" and promised to bring back waterboarding and "a hell of a lot worse," it was inevitable that a debate would ensue over whether to bring back the CIA's discarded program of "enhanced interrogation techniques" that much of the world views as torture. For their part, the U.S. military and most counterterrorism officials have never forgotten where that detour into darkness led—unreliable intelligence, demoralized interrogators, guilty terrorists who still cannot be tried in a court of law because they were tortured. The unmistakable lesson: *torture doesn't work*.

The *Wall Street Journal* lauded "Twilight Warriors" for providing "an enlightening tour of 21st century counterterrorism—its success and failures, its evolving technologies, and its ever-festering rivalries among national security agencies." General Dennis Reimer, former Army Chief of Staff, calls it "undoubtedly one of the best books I have ever read—a brilliantly written narrative and real world adventure that draws the reader in." □

James Kitfield is a Senior Fellow at the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress.

How President Reagan Avoided Impeachment

Recently the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) published “The Statesman” (Rowan and Littlefield), the posthumous memoirs of the late David M. Abshire, the former Chairman and President of CSPC, co-founder of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the U.S. Ambassador to NATO. Among his many government positions, Abshire was special counselor to President Ronald Reagan during the Iran-Contra controversy. In this excerpt from “The Statesman,” Abshire explains how Reagan was able to avoid impeachment and save his presidency.



Character was king in the way Ronald Reagan came back from the crisis. Unlike Presidents Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton, who when confronted with their own existential scandals dug their holes even deeper through denial, confrontation and cover-up, Reagan climbed out of the hole he had created with Iran-Contra by coming clean. He always had the courage of his convictions, and believing that his mistakes came from a place of good intentions, Reagan learned from them and moved forward. And the American people followed his lead.

Part of the public’s willingness to trust him again was Reagan’s soft touch and style of civility. Those characteristics naturally drew people to him and made him a uniter, as opposed to the dividers that so often are drawn to Washington, D.C. This style was not simply an act to be played on a stage; it was genuine. The essential elements of Reagan’s civility were respect for the individual, an ability to disagree without being disagreeable, and an utter lack of arrogance.

Of course Reagan’s instinctive good will toward others – his desire to believe the best in people and avoid confrontation – had its downside. [Underlings] played upon his compassion for the American hostages [in Iran]

to push their own agendas. Reagan also had a tendency to blank out what he found disagreeable, just as he had done as a young boy in dealing with his drunken father. He was unwilling to face the highly destructive rivalry between [Defense Secretary Casper] Weinberger and Secretary of State [George] Schultz that helped create the crisis.

Reagan was undoubtedly a poor manager, but at that moment in history the American people didn’t need a status quo manager in the White House. Still scarred by Vietnam, frustrated by an inflationary economy, and waging an unending and costly Cold War, they needed a leader who

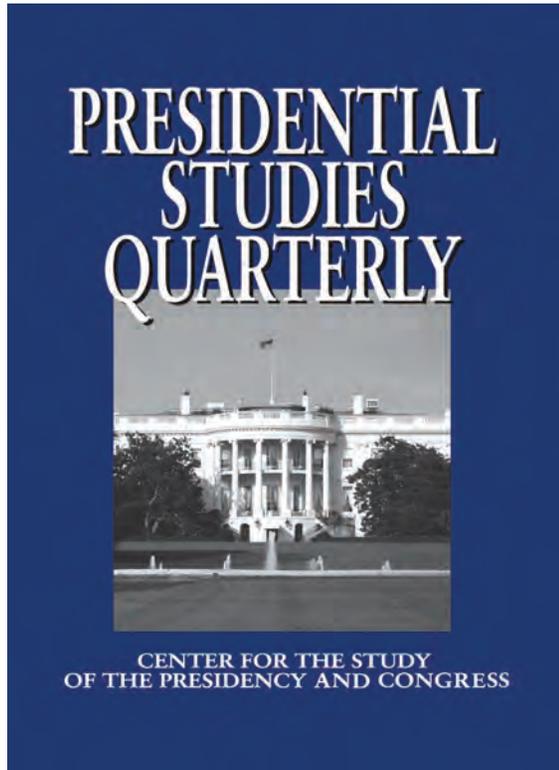
could look beyond the murky present and see a bold, hopeful vista. They needed a leader with transformational ideas and the ability to communicate them. They needed a leader of good will, with the character to stand up after a fall in order to restore the integrity of the presidency, who would gracefully leave office with the victory in the Cold War in sight. America needed Ronald Reagan.

My part in the Iran-Contra drama and Reagan’s remarkable comeback were undoubtedly the high point of my sixty years in Washington. When I came on as President Reagan’s special counselor, Congress and the American public were once again demanding answers to the questions that had doomed the Nixon Presidency: What did the president know, and when did he know it? At the time only 14 percent of the American public believed Reagan’s answers, and his denial of having traded arms for hostages. By the time Reagan left office in 1989, he would enjoy the highest approval rating of any president since Franklin Roosevelt. Trust, regained, was once again the coin of the realm. □

The late David M. Abshire was formerly the Chairman and President of the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress. This essay is excerpted from his memoir, “Statesman: Reflections on a Life Guided by Civility, Strategic Leadership, and the Lessons of History” (Rowan and Littlefield).

Presidential Studies Quarterly

Presidential Studies Quarterly (PSQ) is the only scholarly journal that focuses entirely on the most powerful political figure in the world—the President of the United States. An indispensable resource for understanding the U.S. president, the online-only “Presidential Studies Quarterly” (PSQ) offers articles, features, review essays, and book reviews covering all aspects of the office. Containing award-winning articles, PSQ is published by Wiley-Blackwell and edited by the distinguished Presidential scholar Dr. George C. Edwards III. Wiley-Blackwell Publishing issues the journal four times annually in March, June, September, and December.



Timely Research

“Presidential Studies Quarterly” not only highlights the latest scholarly research and thinking about the Presidency, but it also discusses topics that are of current interest in the field in features such as “The Polls,” “The Law,” “The Contemporary Presidency,” and “Source Material.”

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PSQ evaluates submitted research through a “double blind” peer review process which ensures that readers receive only the highest-quality, objective scholarship that is free from partisan editing or selection. The editorial board members include some of the most renowned scholars and professionals in the discipline:

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The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has a tradition of encouraging “out of the box” thinking, and working to bridge divides between government policymakers and lawmakers on the one side, and leaders in the private sector and academia on the other. In each of our projects we convene stake holders and influential thought leaders and engage them in respectful dialogue that seeks to leverage emerging technologies and find novel solutions to the complex challenges facing the nation.

Winning the Space Race



U.S. space superiority is being challenged to degree not seen since the height of the Cold War. China and Russia, among others, are developing and fielding significant counter-space capabilities and rapidly expanding their own space capabilities. To outpace these potential adversaries the United States much

leverage a revolution in commercial space launch, and radically rethink the way it approaches national security space.

Modernizing Government Procurement



For America’s continued prosperity, government procurement must better enable the drive for innovation that has made the United States the world’s preeminent economic power in the Information Age. That has become increasingly difficult as complex government rules and regulations continue

to attach themselves to the procurement system like barnacles on a ship. The result is today’s risk-averse, lowest-common-denominator approach to government procurement that is totally mismatched in government purchases of advanced consulting, professional services and Information Technology systems. With the “Better Business of Government” report, CSPC continues to educate policymakers on

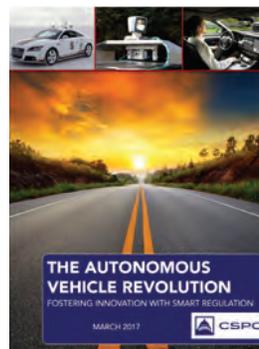
the imperative of adopting a more “mission oriented” and innovation focused procurement system.

Owning the “Geotech” Future



The United States and its partners are in a heated competition with authoritarian societies to set the technological standards for the future. Leadership in the field of Geotech—the linkage of geopolitics and technology—will determine the 21st century balance of power. To meet this challenge, America must develop a Geotech strategy that recognizes the existential stakes involved, and leverages allies and partners.

Preparing for Driverless Cars



The commercialization of autonomous motor vehicles promises to dramatically alter our nation’s transportation network, with profound second- and third-order effects related to jobs, urban planning, and roadway rules and regulations. U.S. policymakers must craft a regulatory regime for driverless

vehicles that fosters innovation and balances the equities of all stakeholders. □

All reports available at www.thepresidency.org.

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