

# WASHINGTON, CLAY, AND LINCOLN

## AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM: THREE HEROIC STORIES

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY - OCTOBER 13, 2011  
ANNUAL ΦBK GUEST SCHOLAR LECTURE  
BY DR. DAVID M. ABSHIRE

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE  
PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS



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WASHINGTON, CLAY, AND LINCOLN

AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM: THREE HEROIC STORIES

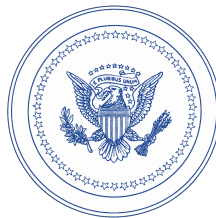
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**PREFACE:**

David Abshire writes of leadership. He has the stature to do so. As an advisor to Presidents, he has witnessed the high qualities as well as occasional foibles of leaders up close. As a scholar, he has critiqued times past. In this brief narrative of seminal leaders and their times, Abshire writes as a sage with a message. He describes how leaders from Washington to Lincoln, from Henry Clay to Ronald Reagan made a mark on America and the world. Nevertheless, he warns that despite remarkable leaders who formed and led an exceptional country, there is no guarantee that America will always produce quality leadership.

Exceptionalism is not a trophy, Abshire notes, that we can neglect and set atop our bookcase. It is not a commodity that can be guaranteed or placed under warranty. Leadership is something that must be constantly earned, nurtured and revitalized. Otherwise, it is perishable. To avoid this fate, he distills the methods and observes the character of a variety of leaders. Abshire concludes that heroic political leadership is the skilled application of civility, which he defines as a robust “martial art” involving thrusting and parrying with respect and a willingness to listen and compromise in search for higher ground. Good advice at any time, especially this moment of internal and external duress.



Jim Leach  
Chairman  
National Endowment for the Humanities

## THE HEDGEHOG, THE FOX AND THE MAGISTER'S POX

I do not infer that my address today will make the impact of the revered Ralph Waldo Emerson in his speech to your society in August 1837 entitled, *The American Scholar*. He wanted to move America away from the influence of the European Enlightenment to one uniquely American. In any event, the new age of Romanticism made its way to both America and Europe. This gave new vitality to the study of the Humanities, including my basic theme today—Great Narrative History.

I am not sure what Emerson would say nowadays about the possibility of the Humanities being diminished by the enormous new national stress placed upon improved teaching of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics, so called STEM.

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LINCOLN.

I believe the late Stephen Jay Gould, a man of impeccable scientific credentials as head of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, can help us out here. He combined his scientific abilities with great literary skills and a deep knowledge of philosophy, religion, and history. His 2003 book, *The Hedgehog, The Fox and The Magister's Pox* brings all of

these topics together. As Isaiah Berlin made clear, the hedgehog thinks of one thing stubbornly while the wily fox devises many approaches. The magister's pox symbolizes the disease to keep them separate. Gould bridges this gap. He tries to demolish the silos academics use to delineate knowledge. True knowledge is a seamless web.

I don't have the magister's pox. I straddle the wall between STEM education and the humanities. My first love is history. I have a doctorate in American History from Georgetown University and have tried my hand at several published books drawing on lessons of history. As President of the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress (CSPC) I continue this

work, applying the lessons of history to the challenges of today. CSPC works closely with people like great corporate CEO and engineer Norman Augustine, a leader in improving science education who chaired the National Academies' publication, *Rising Above the Gathering Storm*. In a recent Wall Street Journal op-ed, Norm called for renewal in the study of history as well. No pox there!

At the same time, I am chairman of the Richard Lounsbery Foundation, which is devoted to giving in the fields of science, technology, engineering and math. The Lounsbery Foundation made the first grant in support of the National Museum of American History's Abraham Lincoln exhibit, paying tribute to the Smithsonian's founding secretary, Joseph Henry. Lincoln is the only President to hold a patent. Neither organization has the magister's pox

### **HEROIC LEADERSHIP BOOKLET COMMISSIONED BY NEH**

CSPC recently undertook a project commissioned by the National Endowment for the Humanities. We have entitled it "Heroic Leadership: Civility, Compromise, Reaching Higher Ground to Save the Republic." It is a forthcoming publication. Through in-depth historical analysis of this topic, I saw the source of an American Exceptionalism. I submit that such Exceptionalism is embodied in the heroic leadership of George Washington, Henry Clay, and Abraham Lincoln.

### **HEROIC LEADERSHIP IN POLITICS:**

CSPC's booklet will shine new light on how Washington, Clay, and Lincoln executed the art of heroic political leadership through the skilled application of civility. Sometimes the word Civility is misunderstood to mean just being nice. In my book for the Fetzer Institute, *The Grace and Power of Civility*, I define it as respect, listening, compromise, and reaching for higher ground.

The new booklet will show that in the face of political crisis that threatens the nation, civility and robust compromise in search of higher ground can be mightier than the sword. But civility in political battle is more than just a metaphorical saber. Os Guinness put it well in his *The Case for Civility*, “Civility is not for wimps; it is competitive... political debates are won and lost... but all within the bounds of what is mutually agreed to be in the interests of the common good.”

We conclude that like other, more traditional “arts of Mars,” civility, too, is a martial art: thrust and parry, strategic discipline, misdirection, and tactical accommodation. Still, the comparison does not account for one key attribute; as practiced by Washington, Clay, and Lincoln in their rhetorical fights to save the Republic, the martial art of civility was not merely a means to victory, but the crafting of win-win outcomes. Co-equal with power, civility is also an act of grace. Though not fully earned by any person, freely offered grace bestows dialogue an inherent dignity despite human shortcomings. This is the ultimate higher ground, a destination worth reaching as much today as it has ever been.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON

**I**n our booklet we describe in great detail the events that molded the character of George Washington, the father of our nation. It began with this eleven-year-old schoolboy dutifully copying the civility maxims from a Jesuit handbook. Was this also his attempt to build self-control over a terrible temper? His mother had been warned about this temper by Colonel Fairfax who, lucky for young Washington, soon became his mentor. Under Fairfax’s guiding hand, Washington, by seventeen, had become an extraordinarily able surveyor. He not only surveyed Old Town, Alexandria, where my family lived, but also much of the Shenandoah Valley. With an overriding ambition at age twenty young George became a major and then a lieutenant colonel in the British military on the eve of the French and Indian Wars. Very soon he began to argue with the Virginia governor Dinwiddie.

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His pay and privileges were not equal to the regular British soldiers. He was ready to resign in anger when Colonel Fairfax told him to pipe down.

Staying in the army, he led an expedition into the Alleghenies and overconfidently built Fort Necessity, as he named it, in an open and exposed area. Like modern day terrorists, the French and Indians attacked from behind the trees using asymmetric warfare tactics. Yes, they forced the

ignominious surrender of the future father of our country. He was written up in the *Times of London* as a disgrace to His Majesty's service.

In my judgment, this is the great turning point that prepared Washington to later save our country three times. He learned from his mistakes. He became a servant leader and hero who put the cause above his ambitions.

So he gained a new humility. In the subsequent expedition towards Fort Duquesne, Colonel Washington was aide to Major General Braddock, a British regular trained in close ordered battle formation suitable to Europe. When Braddock suffered a terrible defeat due to the enemy's irregular battle tactics, Washington magnificently took charge of the routed forces and becomes a hero, even in many newspapers overseas.

Washington, after the war, becomes the outstanding business executive of Mount Vernon estates. Unlike Jefferson and other planters who run deficits, Washington rotates crops, introduces fisheries, creates a distillery and promotes canals in Virginia for transportation. Not surprisingly, with the Declaration of Independence all eyes turn on Washington to be the Commander-in-Chief.

The long Revolutionary War that ensued was nearly lost more than once and it was the heroic personality of Washington that held the cause together.

After the war ended, King George III was sitting for an American portrait painter in London. The King asked “now that your man had won such a victory what would he do?” He assumed that he would now take absolute political power in America. The painter replied that Washington will return to Mount Vernon as a farmer. “If he does that,” George III said, “he will be the greatest man who ever lived.” Americans noted that Washington’s actions perfectly paralleled the almost mythical Cincinnatus of the Roman Republic, the one who gave up power after victory to return to his farm.

Our next drama is how George Washington made our Constitution possible. The US Constitution marked the exceptional difference between America’s experience and the French Revolution that catapulted into the Reign of Terror, or the Russian Revolution that collapsed into a communist revolution and ultimately the Cold War. As for the missing Bill of Rights: the scarring injustice to African-Americans was rectified by the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment; women’s suffrage was rectified with the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment. This Constitution had legs; it was a living document. The experiment in liberty was working. This story is a part of American Exceptionalism.

The sole reason the Constitution built such a strong executive after fighting against a tyrannical executive in George III was the intense admiration for George Washington as the first President. Hence, the Constitution’s Article II conferred on the President strong powers as commander in chief as well as chief executive. His capabilities enabled him to personally mold a cabinet and the executive functions therein.

Again, in the almost providential molding of George Washington, his experiences as a chief executive of Mount Vernon estates made him arguably the greatest presidential chief executive that we have had. It also enabled him to bring into the Cabinet two opponents: Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. Resolving internal debate, Washington, this man of compromise, was decisive in favoring Hamilton in the assumption of the state debts to restore the credit worthiness of the United States abroad and hence advance the prosperity of the nation. It enabled him to insist to




control debts and deficits and to establish the first National Bank of the United States.

## HENRY CLAY

Our next hero is Kentucky’s Henry Clay. He grew up studying the almost mythical George Washington. As the youngest Speaker of the House to date, he was a dynamo and led the Legislative branch to great prominence in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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1820, 1833, and 1850. These came about with the expansion of the republic and the deep disputes over what would be slave and what would be free. A man of both civility and compromise, like the two other heroes in our narrative, he knew when to use compromise to preserve the Republic by postponing an intractable issue.

I realize that the junior Senator from Kentucky Rand Paul, in his recent arguments against compromise in general, argued that Clay should never have done such but should have faced the evil of slavery head on.

The best answer to this is in the book by the former historian of the House of Representatives Professor Robert V. Remini, *At the Edge of the Precipice: Henry Clay and the Compromise that Saved the Union*. Remini wrote, “the resulting Compromise of 1850 delayed the catastrophe of the Civil War for ten years, and those ten years were absolutely essential for preserving the American nation under the Constitution. Had secession occurred in 1850, the South unquestionably would have made good its independence, and the country might well have split permanently into two nations... That

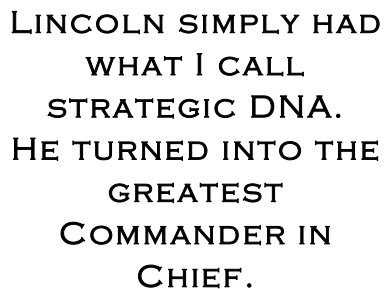
compromise did two things that made the difference. First, it gave the North ten years to further its industrialization... Second the compromise gave the North ten years to find a statesman who would provide the wisdom and leadership the Union needed to successfully fight a war and pin the nation back together again. It gave the North ten years to find Abraham Lincoln.”

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

This leads us to the finding of Abraham Lincoln. In his formative youth, Lincoln also studied the sainted George Washington. As an able railroad lawyer, Lincoln entered public life having been converted to the anti-slavery movement. He briefly served one term in the House of Representatives during the James K. Polk administration and opposed the Mexican War.

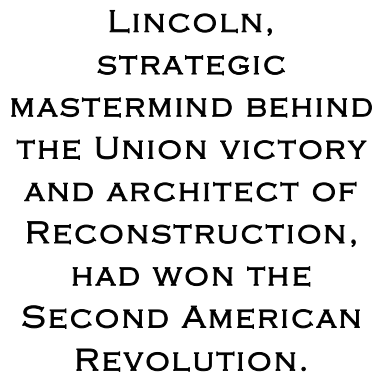
As the nation faced the possibility of war in 1860, President James Buchanan had all the public credentials for that office. Buchanan had served in both the Senate and the House and as envoy to Great Britain and Russia. Young Lincoln’s only credential was his one term in Congress opposing the Mexican War. Yet President Buchanan couldn’t make a decision about imminent secession; Buchanan felt that secession was illegal but that as president he had no authority to stop it. He was Hamlet.

When the newly-elected Lincoln first arrived in Washington, the British ambassador so much as called him a buffoon and a powerful member of



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Congress joked likewise. But, Lincoln was the opposite of Hamlet. Arriving in Washington for his own inauguration, Lincoln developed a so-called “team of rivals” Cabinet, as Doris Kearns Goodwin puts it. This was in order to hold together the Democrats in the North, with the Republicans, and hopefully the border states. To hold the North together, he would



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compromise on ending slavery and make preservation of the Union the sole war aim.

Lincoln simply had what I call strategic DNA. He turned into the greatest Commander in Chief. He decisively called for 75,000 volunteers after reinforcement of Fort Sumter was fired upon. He shifted to war footing, seizing the railroads and telegraphs and thus the communication and transportation lanes of the country.

Knowing the importance of good generalship, Lincoln had already asked Virginian and highly-regarded West Point graduate Colonel Robert E. Lee to command the Northern forces. Lee spent a night in prayer and chose to sit the war out. When Virginia seceded from the Union, however, he went into the Confederacy. If only it had been the other way, the war would have been over in months.

Lincoln knew that timing was everything. In the first part of the war, as we noted, Lincoln had to compromise his anti-slavery principle for the sake of the North remaining united. After the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln dramatically pivoted to add the Emancipation Proclamation to the war effort's rationale and thus force Europe, and especially England's mill industry, to abandon subsidizing King Cotton in the South and join in the noble war against slavery. This action simultaneously gained 185,000 African- Americans valiantly fighting for the Union.

Despite all of his brilliant moves and mobilization efforts, General Grant was unable to fully wear down through attrition warfare the brilliant Robert E. Lee. Sherman was not making adequate progress in the South. In the 1864 presidential campaign General McClellan was running against Lincoln and a worn-out North became heavily divided. It appeared that Lincoln would lose the election, particularly when it came out that if elected McClellan would immediately sue for peace. But then, miraculously, Sherman seizes Atlanta. Lincoln wins reelection by a landslide.

As he goes into his second inaugural, Lincoln has achieved an all-time triumph. But many people are deeply shocked that it is not triumphal at all, not even a victory speech. In effect, it is an incomparable sermon with “malice towards none and charity toward all; ” the ascent of slavery was made possible by the slave traders of the North as well as the masters of the South. He then concludes that the war was a providential act that both sides had to suffer. Now he looked forward to a Reconstruction and the coming together of one nation. As Tolstoy wrote, the assassin of Abraham Lincoln on Good Friday cemented his status as “a man for all ages.” In our book, I speculate how Lincoln’s dream of post war reconciliation was carried out in another age by World War II and Cold War presidents in a way beyond our national boundaries.

## THE LEGACY OF LINCOLN ON FUTURE PRESIDENTS

**F**ranklin Roosevelt copied Lincoln’s pivot in 1938 when he declared the New Deal dead and pivoted to enlist Republican support to mobilize business and prepare the nation for war against Hitler. Early in the war, he enunciated his Four Freedoms, and later the UN Charter. Truman copied Lincoln’s reconciliation in the democratization of Japan, the Marshall Plan, and the alliance of democracies, NATO. These ideas were carried over by Cold War Presidents finally to Ronald Reagan.

Reagan was a poor manager, as was FDR, but Reagan also possessed some of the transformational insights as did Roosevelt and Lincoln. He saw the opportunity to make the great pivot and begin the waltz with Gorbachev that ended the Cold War without firing a shot. Reagan’s respect and listening in the first part of the Geneva meeting shrewdly enabled him to size up Gorbachev, his strengths and weaknesses. “This man is looking for a way out” Reagan told his advisors afterwards. To their consternation, the bilateral talk had gone on for over an hour. These advisors thought Reagan had been taken. Reagan saw what others missed, through his art of listening as a part of civility. Later at Reykjavik, Gorbachev moved for total reductions of all nuclear missiles, but upon the condition that Reagan

sacrifice the Strategic Defense Initiative. Reagan closed the books and left. He knew his man would be back. Gorbachev settled and they agreed to eliminate intermediate nuclear forces, an unprecedented achievement.

Under the subsequent two presidents, we saw the unexpected expansion of the NATO alliance of democracies to embrace and democratize most of the members of the Warsaw Pact. This was an exceptional happening in human history. It was a Lincoln-esqe approach that produced an unprecedented peace dividend in Europe and shows the advantages of heroic leadership, civility, compromise and gaining higher ground.

### AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

**T**his, then, is American Exceptionalism—the unique leadership traits of the Founders carried by some through the Cold War victory for mutual peace.

TO ME THOUGH, IT IS CLEAR THAT IF THESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCES ARE INDEED EXCEPTIONAL, THEN THEY ARE WORTH SHARING.

The Iraq War and “Arab Spring” Movement demonstrate how our unique democracy cannot simply be transplanted or imposed on others. We must understand and respect societal differences, and change must come from within. To me though, it is clear that if these American experiences are indeed exceptional, then they are worth sharing.

So what constitutes “American Exceptionalism?” For some the phrase has become loaded. Does anyone doubt, however, that these events have been exceptional happenings in American history? We are lucky for our geographic situation, protected by two oceans and bountiful natural resources. Even our national demographics, a nation of immigrants, are unrivalled elsewhere. President Kennedy dramatized just this in his last book, *A Nation of Immigrants*. To understand the true nature of American Exceptionalism, it is important to examine this multi-faceted concept as it has evolved over time.

It is imperative to remember that a nation's exceptional qualities are not guaranteed or even under warranty for a certain duration of time. They are vulnerable to internal and external duress. Its continuation is not assured. It

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is something that must be constantly earned, nurtured, and revitalized. Otherwise it is perishable. Exceptionalism is not a trophy that we can neglect and set atop our bookcase.

After the Second World War, a group of influential scholars independently analyzed America's character, experience, and values. These writers, liberal and conservative, included Schlesinger, Hofstadter, Bornstein, Hartz, and Irving Kristol in *Two Cheers for Capitalism*. These public intellectuals did

not agree on everything, but they fostered a broader discussion of America's peculiar politics.

Others more recently attach to the phrase a tone of distaste and condemnation, seeing it as a sign of arrogance. Part of the confusion about the concept of “American Exceptionalism” stems from its relatively recent association with a type of guiltless history that does include or admit its many mistakes. An elaboration of the confusion is offered by Frederick Merk in his 1962 book *Manifest Destiny and Mission in the American Experience*. He draws the distinction in American history of the concept of “mission” versus the concept of “manifest destiny.”

Mission, in this sense, is a covenant between Americans and God that they will live and conduct society in a way that becomes a brilliant example for the world, a manifestation of John Winthrop's “city upon a hill.” Manifest Destiny was a political idea incorporating the westward movement and, as a byproduct, led to the subjugation of Native Americans. Merk makes the point that Manifest Destiny became confused with Mission. We must add,

however, that the vision of Manifest Destiny eventually died out. Mission rode on. The American mission statement in the Declaration of Independence called for “a decent respect for the opinions of mankind.” What could be more humble?

The point is that “American Exceptionalism” is more related to Mission and individual attitudes than it is to Manifest Destiny or any sense of American triumphalism.

I believe, as the Founders clearly believed, that other leaders as well as societies in history possessed “unique and exceptional” qualities. Other exceptional societies the Founders studied included the ancient Hebrews, whose narrative history the Founders had encountered in the Bible; the Athenians, who in their narratives wrestled with the fatal flaws of heroes and the weaknesses of unchecked democracy; the Romans, who sought checks and balances within their Republic; the High Middle Ages and its sense of community; then the Renaissance. Then came the Enlightenment and its advances in government, science, and invention. To be balanced, we should include the Golden Age of Muslim luminaries, from Spain to the Middle East. In Asia, the Confucian age in China and the Meiji Restoration in Japan. These are all exceptional epochs.

Our Founders were aware of the past. They built on it. My concern expressed later is that today that tradition is waning as the humanities, especially narrative history and biography, have become de-emphasized.

We as a nation have naturally fallen short of the heights of Exceptionalism, and even known failure and disgrace. Woodrow Wilson supported a vindictive Versailles Treaty which prepared the way for Hitler. He did not include the Senate Republicans in his consultative process and ended in tragic failure. In Vietnam, under two Presidents, we saw failure. During the otherwise highly successful Johnson Administration, and then under Nixon’s brilliant opening with China and détente with Russia, Vietnamization was ultimately failed because the President disgracefully lied to the nation about Watergate.

We have, of course, fallen short in other areas of national life, especially in K-12 education. In the field of primary education, we now rank 37th in the world, 57th in math education. The list goes on and on in other areas. In healthcare, we still have probably the finest hospitals in the world, but we have the most costly care and almost 50 million Americans do not have health insurance.

The concluding story is that we should have great pride in American Exceptionalism and not apologize. We should be mortified where we have lost our firm footing and have fallen down the line. Turning reflection into action, we must relearn lessons and regain excellence where we have declined. This is not a sign of weakness, but a test of our national character.

Long-time Democrat Max Kampelman, originally a professor, came to Washington as the protégé of Senator Hubert Humphrey and then became Ronald Reagan's strategic arms negotiator. Kampelman helped steer the ship of state to win-win, civility-based strategies by identifying the "ought to be" of leadership. As I noted in my previous comments on "American Exceptionalism," this is how America "ought to be." We must relearn the lessons of our heroic leaders, especially now that our nation is on the precipice of crisis. In America, we have a choice: national decline or national renewal.

*As Abraham Lincoln said: The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise—with the occasion. As our case is new, so must we think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country. Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation... We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth.*



## **ABOUT THE AUTHOR:**

**Ambassador David M. Abshire, Ph.D., LL.D.**, is the President and CEO of the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress (CSPC) in Washington, D.C., and also President of the Richard Lounsbery Foundation of New York, which gives grants in the fields of science and education. He is Vice Chairman of the Board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C., which he co-founded with Admiral Arleigh Burke in 1962, and served as its chief executive for many years. In 2002, he led in the establishment of the Abshire-Inamori Leadership Academy at CSIS.

David Abshire is a 1951 graduate of West Point, and later received his doctorate with Honors (Gold Key Society) in History from Georgetown University in 1959. For many years he was an adjunct professor at its School of Foreign Service, and initially, CSIS was affiliated with the university.

From 1970-1972, he was Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

In 1983-1987, he was Ambassador to NATO where, in reaction to the threat posed by Soviet SS-20 missiles, he was the United States point man in Europe for deployment of Pershing II and Tomahawk missiles, and also helped develop the largest conventional defense buildup in NATO's history.

In December 1986, at the depths of the Iran-Contra crisis, he was called by President Reagan to leave NATO to serve in the Cabinet, as Special Counselor, and help restore confidence in the Presidency. He dealt with the Tower Board, the Independent Counsel, and the Congressional investigation committees, and often met with the President alone.

Dr. Abshire was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1926. He graduated from Baylor Preparatory School in 1944, and subsequently for six years served as a Trustee. He later received his bachelor's degree from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1951. In the Korean War, he served as a platoon leader, company commander, and a division intelligence officer. He received the Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster with V for Valor, Commendation Ribbon with medal pendant, and Combat Infantry Badge. He received a Doctor of Humane Letters from Virginia Theological Seminary in 1992, a Doctor of Civil Law, *honoris causa*, from the University of the South in 1994, and a Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, from Georgetown University and Washington College in 2006.

Dr. Abshire is the author of seven books: *The South Rejects a Prophet*, 1967; *International Broadcasting: A New Dimension of Western Diplomacy*, 1976; *Foreign Policy Makers: President vs. Congress*, 1979; *Preventing World War III: A Realistic Grand Strategy*, 1988; *Putting America's House in Order: The Nation as a Family*, with Brock Brower; *Saving the Reagan Presidency: Trust Is the Coin of the Realm*, 2005; and *A Call to Greatness: Challenging Our Next President*, 2008. He is the author of *The Grace and Power of Civility: Commitment and Tolerance in the American Tradition*, Jossey-Bass: 2004. He is editor of *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency: Seventy-Six Case Studies on Presidential Leadership*, 2002, and author of CSP publications: *The Character of George Washington*, 1999; and *Lessons For The 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Vulnerability and Surprise December 7, 1941 and September 11, 2001*; and the character of *George Marshall*.

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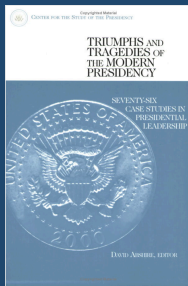
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Administration

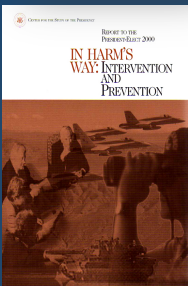
Corazon Mendoza  
Jonathan Murphy  
Elizabeth Perch  
Matt Purushotham

## Other Selected Works from CSPC:



### *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency: Seventy-Six Case Studies in Presidential Leadership*

Used in the transitions of Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama



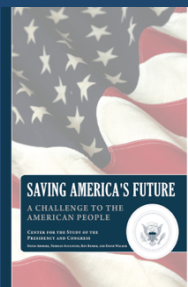
### *In Harm's Way: Prevention and Intervention*

An examination of Presidential decision-making during military interventions abroad.



### *A Call to Greatness: Challenging Our Next President*

How our next President can learn from the successes and failures of past Presidents to be an effective leader.



### *Saving America's Future: A Challenge to the American People*

A strategic examination of our nation's problems led by Norm Augustine, Leon Panetta, Roy Romer, and David Walker.



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