



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE
PRESIDENCY & CONGRESS

Fostering the Spirit of National Renewal

Applying the lessons of history to the challenges of today



2019

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Promoting a More Enlightened and Effective Federal Government

Over its more than fifty-year history the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress has sought to harness lessons of presidential and congressional decision-making to promote a democratic system that delivers for the American people.

As the country faces new challenges grounded in rapid technological change and declining confidence in governing institutions, the Center continues to play a critical role in shaping innovative strategies for national renewal, and proposing structural reforms to rebuild trust in our democracy.

Our Mission

As a non-partisan, non-profit institution, the Center promotes bipartisan cooperation among the various branches of government and within Congress. We encourage civil debate and compromise, and seek to bring stakeholders from the private and public sectors and academia to the common ground necessary for the effective functioning of our federal government.

Our Work

This year we increased our efforts to promote bipartisan cooperation by examining the systemic incentives that drive political polarization, while identifying the best pathways to reform. Our Commission on Civility and Effective Governance has convened bipartisan discussions with the political and business communities in Washington, New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles, with more outreach planned for the coming year. We will encourage and enable a civil national dialogue, promulgate research on meaningful progress in the political reform space, leverage media opportunities and grow the community of American leaders active in making positive change.

In order to promote better policy, CSPC also works to bridge gaps between policymakers and leaders in the private sector and academia by convening stakeholders and influential thought leaders, and engaging them in respectful dialogue



that seeks solutions to complex challenges.

These discussions inform policy development, and lead to better connections between elected leaders and those they represent.

The Center is expanding its work promoting the integration of innovative commercial space capabilities into our national security space architecture, and thus fully leveraging the ingenuity of the American private sector.

In the year ahead we will also focus on the advancement of cutting-edge technologies which will have a profound impact on U.S. national security and international competitiveness.

Through our Presidential Fellows Program, CSPC identifies and inspires the next generation of American leaders, and encourages them to incorporate civility, character, and public service into their lives and careers. Annually CSPC also honors bipartisan leadership and strategic vision, and this past year we recognized Republican Governor John Kasich and Democratic Governor John Hickenlooper with our *Publius Award* for leadership and bipartisanship in government.

The Center actively analyzes and shares lessons learned from the art of effective governance through a wide range of publications. CSPC publishes the premier academic journal on the Presidency, “Presidential Studies Quarterly,” as well as two anthologies of case studies: *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency* and *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Congress*. These books are part of the curriculum at numerous universities, and they provide critical historical context, and examples of transformational leadership. The Center also produces timely Op-Eds and blog posts, and expert commentary on live media broadcasts, relevant to current national challenges and the lessons of history.

Thank you for your interest in the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC). We look forward to working with you as we pursue these important missions.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Glenn Nye". The signature is fluid and cursive, written over a white background.

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

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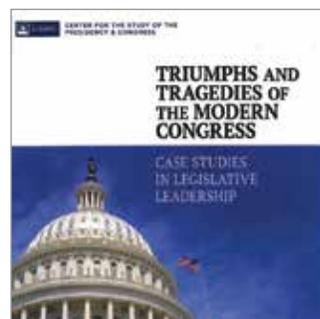
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Section One

Promoting Bipartisanship & Informed Debate

IN HIS FINAL MEMOIRS 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, lamented that the United States has lost its sense of strategic direction and common purpose. Our domestic politics have entered a period of hyper-partisanship and gridlock. Overseas we face challenges to our interests and security from multiple directions, even as allies question our once trusted leadership. We have come to this troubled impasse, Ambassador Abshire believed, largely because of a great deterioration in civility in our political discourse. 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 political discourse, the better to find the common ground necessary to move our nation forward and shape it into an ever more perfect union. To advance that cause, this year former Representative Mike Rogers, R-MI., became the inaugural David M. Abshire Chair at the Center. Rogers' spirit of bipartisanship, willingness to reach 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 following essay makes clear, Rogers will bring all of those attributes to bear in his important work as the David Abshire Chair.

Promoting Bipartisan Problem Solving

If nothing else, 2018 showed us that if history doesn't repeat itself, it sure echoes a great deal. For the last 17 years the United States focused on the threat of terrorism, counter-insurgency campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan, and a myriad of other non-traditional threats. Yet, while we were absorbed by these unconventional threats, nation-state actors like Russia and China were not sitting idle. Quite the opposite. In nearly every traditional domain, and even in newer domains like cyberspace, Moscow and Beijing moved aggressively forward, taking advantage of a changing international landscape and our national focus on a different mission set.

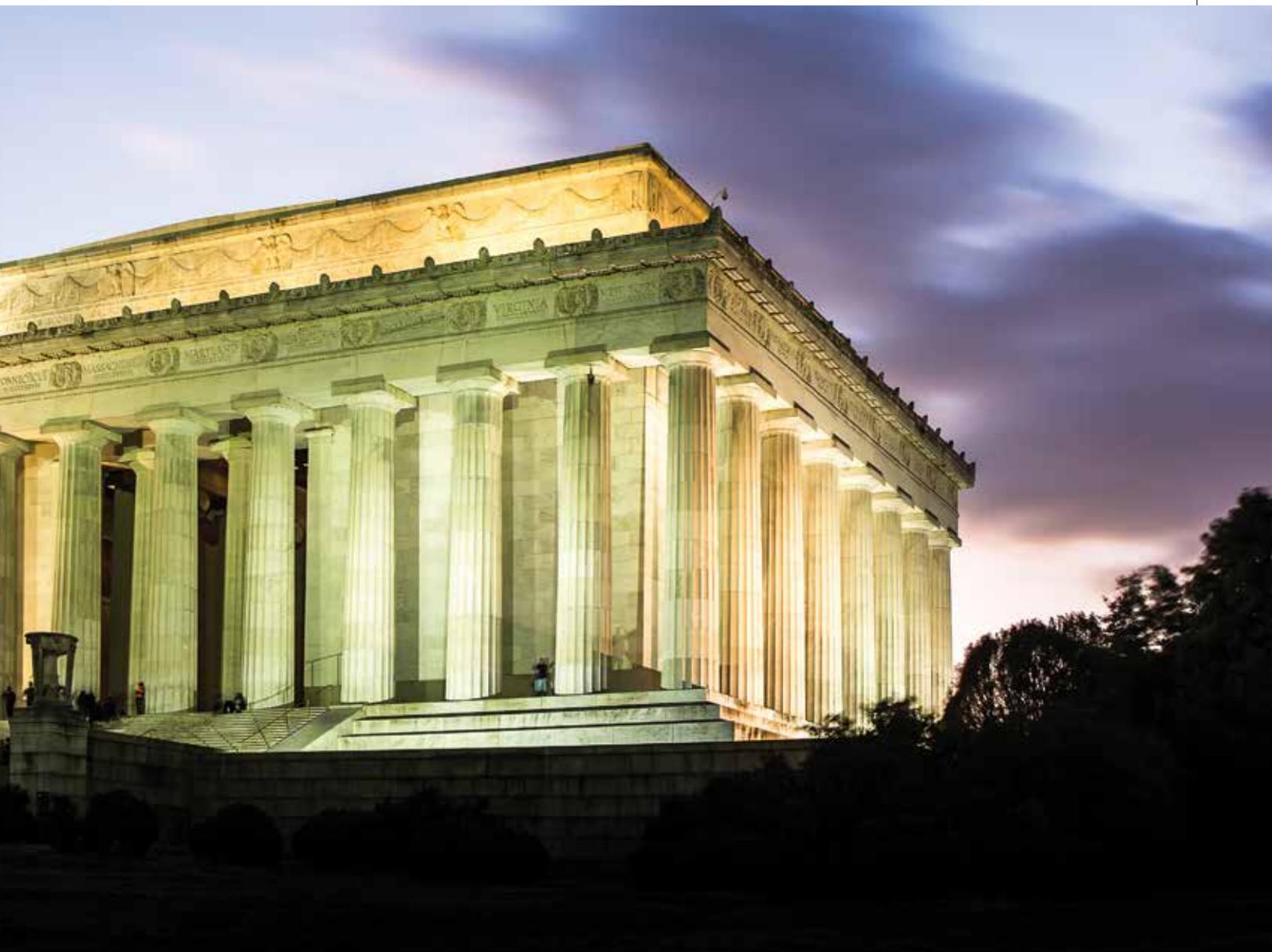
At the same time, the divisions within our country appear to be at an all-time high. We are more divided than at any time in memory—red versus blue, Democrat versus Republican, East Coast versus West Coast, rural versus urban. You could be forgiven for thinking that these divisions define us, since they are all the media seems interested in. It's not surprising that our divisions fascinate the media—drama sells. Conflict is much more interesting than cooperation.

Yet at our core we remain closer than Twitter and Facebook would suggest. We are all still Americans defined



by the common values we hold dear. We often disagree on our individual responsibilities and how we exercise our freedoms, but we all still agree on those foundational freedoms enumerated in the Bill of Rights.

We could allow our divisions to fester until they do define us, but to do so would be a great disservice to those that came before us, and to our children and grandchildren that will follow. When you sit down with fellow citizens with whom you disagree, you often realize you are a lot closer in terms of views and, not surprisingly, have more in common than not. That kind of mutual exchange is a critical first step to addressing the myriad challenges



our country faces both domestically and internationally. We need to collectively step down from the podium, drop the talking points, and reach common ground.

This is the approach I embraced while a Republican Congressman from Michigan. It is how I worked with my colleague and great friend, Democratic Representative Dutch Ruppersberger from Maryland, on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. From the outset we agreed that our Committee leadership would strive for consensus, be civil, and work through our disagreements.

Believe me, we had our disagreements, but they were always professional and never personal. Our Committee's

focus was on the end results, just as it was for our Congressional offices. We were elected to deliver results for our constituents, uphold and defend the Constitution, and leave our country better than we found it. That's what our founders intended.

At the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) we've sought to recreate that spirit of cooperation. CSPC President Glenn Nye and I have worked closely together to expand the Center's portfolio of projects to include space, the geopolitics of technology, political and electoral reform, and more. In reading this report, we believe you will recognize the incredible progress the Center has made over

the last year, with a bright and exciting future ahead.

In all of our projects, the Center seeks to capture that essential spirit of nonpartisan cooperation, combined with a dedication to end results, that reflects our core values. By

CSPC has tackled some of the toughest national security challenges, building relationships across defense, intelligence, and foreign policy communities. Together we've built a reputation for thought leadership, policy innovation, and bipartisanship.

regularly bringing together experts from a broad spectrum of disciplines, the Center facilitates lively debates and discussions. Just as importantly, our meetings are off-the-record, behind closed doors, and not for attribution. Why does

that matter? It allows people to put down the talking points, roll up their sleeves, and get to work without worrying about what will appear in the press or on social media.

The participants in our projects and roundtable discussions also understand the Center's ultimate goal—the production of high-quality analysis with real recommendations, leading to real reform. Too often D.C. policy wonks like to admire a problem, hold high-profile public events, and churn out report after report about a particular problem set. Even when they offer recommendations, that's often where the project stops. A report is produced and bound, a press release is issued, and then you're

left with a handy doorstep.

The Center takes a different approach. We produce reports to be sure (we wouldn't be a think tank if we didn't!). But our ultimate goal is tangible progress. That is refreshing.

Members of Congress are elected to deliver results for our constituents, uphold and defend the Constitution, and leave our country better than we found it, just as our Founders intended.





I am honored to be appointed the David M. Abshire chair at the Center. David Abshire's life of service, commitment to civility, and strategic vision are all elements I've sought to emulate and incorporate in my own life and career.

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

I initially became a member of the Board of Trustees at CSPC because I believed in the mission. As a natural extension of this relationship I brought in-house at CSPC my own policy organization, the Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence and Global Affairs. My comfort with the core values at CSPC also explains why I was especially honored to be appointed the inaugural David M. Abshire chair at the Center. Ambassador David Abshire's life of service, commitment to civility, and strategic vision were an inspiration, and these are character traits that I've sought to emulate in my own life and career. His legacy continues to inspire the work we do at the Center, how we approach tough policy challenges, and our dedication to national renewal and reform in all of our projects.

Over the last two years we at CSPC have tackled some of the toughest national security challenges, building relationships across the defense, intelligence, and foreign policy communities. Together we've built a reputation of thought leadership, policy innovation, and bipartisanship that is refreshing in our current political climate.

As two former Congressmen from different political parties, CSPC President Glenn Nye and I have no problem finding common cause in tackling some of the knottiest challenges our country faces—in the realms of national security, political reform, revolutionary technology, and more. We don't look at these issues through the prism of partisan politics, because fundamentally they aren't political issues. They are policy issues influenced by politics. Even when we disagree, we approach every policy challenge

and program at the Center in the same way. We bring the best people from the relevant disciplines in the public and private sectors together to share their differing perspectives and insights in an atmosphere of trust and civility. Because we are all united in our determination to overcome the challenges our nation faces, the end result is concrete policy recommendations that can move us forward together to higher ground.

On national security space we are working to identify ways in which emerging “new space” technologies can be more efficiently and effectively integrated into the national security space architecture to maintain our leadership position in the highest domain.

On the geopolitics of technology we are examining emerging technologies such as Artificial Intelligence and quantum computing; analyzing our evolving relationship with those technologies; studying their impact on modern societies; and contemplating the ways these technologies are likely to change international relations and global competition.

On political reform we are bringing together leaders from across the political spectrum, in and out of politics, from business and beyond, to discuss reforms of our political system that will enable us to break through the logjam of partisanship and make the government work better for its citizens.

This annual report provides just a taste of the incredible work and achievements of the Center in 2018. We are poised for success and an even greater 2019. □

Timely Commentary on National Challenges

“Even before the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi there was concern that Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman was a hothead who, although a reformer, is much more reckless than past Saudi leaders. That creates a major problem for the Trump administration, which finds itself tied to a very reckless Saudi regime.”

James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow
National Public Radio's *1A Program*

October 19, 2018



“The American political system thrives when good citizens place country above party. Governors Kasich and Hickenlooper are doing crucial work to ensure that our democracy truly reflects the will of the people.”

Glenn Nye, CSPC President

The Hill

October 4, 2018

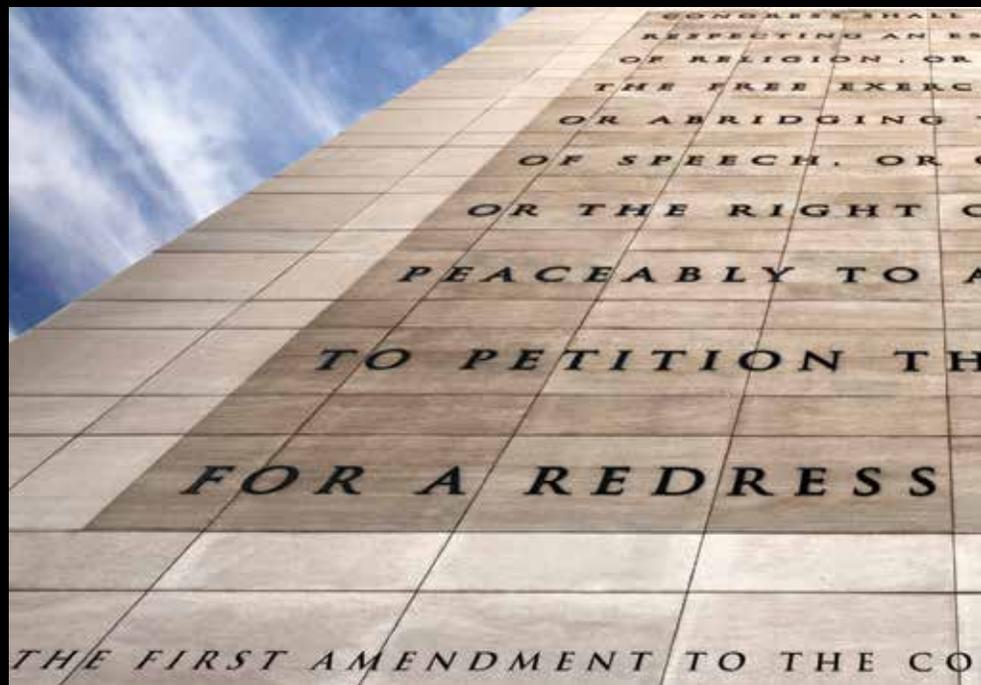


“Democrats are excited about the prospect of subpoena power and the first real legislative branch oversight of the Trump administration. Republicans believe that executive power and Senate appointments will be enough to accomplish the remaining items on their agenda. In this, the partisans in both parties are mistaken.”

Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President

The Hill

November 10, 2018



“Some 95% of Americans own cellphones. The security of these devices and the networks on which they operate should not be a bargaining chip. The U.S. should be doing more to guarantee that China isn't listening in to American phone conversations.”

Mike Rogers, CSPC Abshire Chair,
& Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger, D-MD.

The Wall Street Journal, May 17, 2018



“Unfortunately, our current system rewards politicians who appeal to narrow partisan constituencies that demand ideological rigidity. In the last two decades, the number of ‘swing’ districts that are likely to shift from one Congress to the next has thus fallen by two-thirds. Is it any wonder bipartisanship has largely disappeared on Capitol Hill?”

Glenn Nye, CSPC President

The Hill, October 4, 2018



“The Russians are doing more than just targeting our elections. They’ve been much more aggressive in cyber space in a very bad way in the last year. That’s why you saw nearly all of our senior intelligence officials on a podium recently saying we are going to do something about this threat.”



Mike Rogers, CSPP Abshire Chair
CNN, August 2, 2018

“Congress will not regain the military oversight it has ceded over the years in one fell swoop. But Congress is a coequal branch of government with an important role to play in foreign relations and national security; it fails the American people when it chooses to merely appear to exercise it.”



Dan Mahaffee, CSPP Vice President
& Michael Stecher, CSPP Senior Adviser
Defense One, May 11, 2018

“Last week President Trump dismissed intelligence preparation and protocol by immediately accepting an invitation from North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un for a face-to-face summit, raising the question of whether intelligence reorganization can overcome the impulsiveness and purposeful disruption of an unorthodox commander-in-chief.”

James Kitfield, CSPP Senior Fellow
POLITICO, March 15, 2018



“As former representatives, we understand well the challenges legislators face in reaching needed compromises. We saw firsthand what happens when the most passionate voters are inclined to punish compromise, especially when those that they punish fail to effectively communicate why that very compromise is necessary.”



Glenn Nye, CSPP President
& Mike Rogers, CSPP Abshire Chair
The Hill, February 19, 2018

“There was another election last week that was not stoked by fear and partisan loathing, but rather by a bipartisan spirit of reform and national renewal. Little mentioned in the ‘horse race’ coverage of the mid-terms, that parallel election may very well have the more lasting impact on our democracy.”



James Kitfield, CSPP Senior Fellow
The Daily Beast, November 10, 2018

“Fortunately, throughout history America has adapted and overcome whatever challenges we faced as a nation. Therefore, our organs of military, intelligence, and diplomacy must willingly engage in conflicts of narrative, ones in which we aggressively wield facts and the truth to counter the lies and deceptions of our adversaries.”



Dan Mahaffee, CSPP Vice President
Defense One, February 23, 2018

“There is a perception among the media and general public that Russia ended its social-media operations following last year’s election and that we need worry only about future elections. But that perception is wrong. Russia’s information operations in the United States continue to this day.”

Mike Rogers, CSPC Abshire Chair,
& Michael Morell, former acting director, CIA

The Washington Post

The Washington Post
December 25, 2017

“Reformers are fighting across many states to break the stranglehold of partisanship on our politics. For them, it is about empowering candidates and voters from the problem-solving center of American politics, the ones who prioritize getting pragmatic things done over rigid ideology.”

THE HILL

Glenn Nye, CSPC President
The Hill, July 19, 2018

“Political observers used to think that odd numbered years were an opportunity to get things done. Lawmakers can compromise safe in the knowledge that the voters would forget about their violations of partisan orthodoxy before the next election. There is little chance that conventional wisdom will hold today.”

Dan Mahaffee
CSPC Vice President

THE HILL

The Hill
December 31, 2018

“As part of our Commission on Civility and Effective Governance we have tracked the grass-roots efforts to reform our politics. There are campaign and election reform initiatives on the ballot in more than two dozen states and localities, many of which would end the partisan gerrymandering that allows politicians to choose their voters, rather than the other way around, fueling the notion of a rigged system.”

THE HILL

Glenn Nye, CSPC President
& James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow
The Hill, July 17, 2018

“Now, remember, Putin is angry that the Soviet Union collapsed and has given speeches about the fact that he believed other Russian leaders gave away too much of the of the Eastern Bloc specifically, and diminished the power of what was the empire of the Soviet Union. And he wants to get it back.”

npr

Mike Rogers, CSPC Abshire Chair
National Public Radio (NPR)



“Military exercises are only the visible part of Russia’s hybrid war on the West. It includes persistent cyberattacks and computer hacking; sophisticated disinformation operations; continued interference in U.S. and European elections; and targeted assassinations.

James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow



Yahoo News
October 8, 2018

“The partisanship and personal attacks written in pamphlets and tabloids of the era of our Founders would be right at home on [today’s] partisan cable networks and social media. Still, our Founding Fathers would wonder how political opinion could displace the pursuit of the truth across so much of the media environment.”



Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President
The Hill, July 4, 2018

“Changing the culture, changing the mindset, and changing the bureaucracy takes time, something we don’t have [in today’s space race]. Failing to go fast, smartly, now will cede the long-term advantages of space to our adversaries. That is something we as taxpayers and citizens can’t afford.”



Mike Rogers, CSPC Abshire Chair
Defense One, June 19, 2018

“When we allow politicians to choose their voters rather than voters choosing their politicians, that is a skewing of the system which is not easy to undo, but the good news is it can be undone. It requires momentum [for reform] to be built state by state, and that is now happening.”



Glenn Nye, CSPC President
The Midterms Podcast
October 30, 2018

“U.S. military and counterterrorism officials have never forgotten where the dark detour into [enhanced interrogation techniques] led — unreliable intelligence, demoralized interrogators, and a stench that still clings to America’s counterterrorism reputation.”



CSPC Senior Fellow James Kitfield
The New York Times
January 13, 2017

“[The challenge posed by China] requires the same focus and vision that we mustered back when we heard Sputnik make its ‘beep-beep-beep’ as it moved across the night sky. That made America focus on the challenge from abroad, and a major strategic reorganization and resourcing of science and technology followed.”



Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President
FarrCast Podcast, December 18, 2018



Supporting Fact-Based Analysis & Reporting

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress has a long pedigree operating at the intersection of strategy and national security. Our continuing focus on national security issues was greatly enhanced this past year with the announcement that former Representative Mike Rogers, R-MI., will occupy the inaugural David M. Abshire Chair at the Center. As the former chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Rogers brings deep expertise on matters of intelligence and national security to his work at CSPC, and he continues to offer cogent analysis of national security issues as a regular commentator on CNN. Besides his work at the Center, Senior Fellow James Kitfield has also continued to provide the independent journalism that earned him three prestigious Gerald R. Ford Awards for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense. Excerpts from their analysis and reporting follow:

“The Russians are doing more than just targeting our elections. There was a public report not that long ago that they were trying to get into our electric grid. They’ve been much more aggressive in cyber space in a very bad way in the last year. And all of that is a problem. That’s why you saw nearly all of our senior intelligence officials on a podium recently saying we are going to do something about this threat.”

—Mike Rogers, August 2, 2018, CNN

Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats will continue to focus on representing the collective view of the intelligence community writ large in near-daily briefings with President Trump. “I spend significant hours every morning preparing to tell the president what he needs to hear at any particular time,” Coats told me in an exclusive interview. “And I hope it’s important to the president that in the Oval Office I represent the entirety of the intelligence community, which draws on all 16 agencies to each give their piece of the puzzle, and hopefully give him a much clearer picture.”

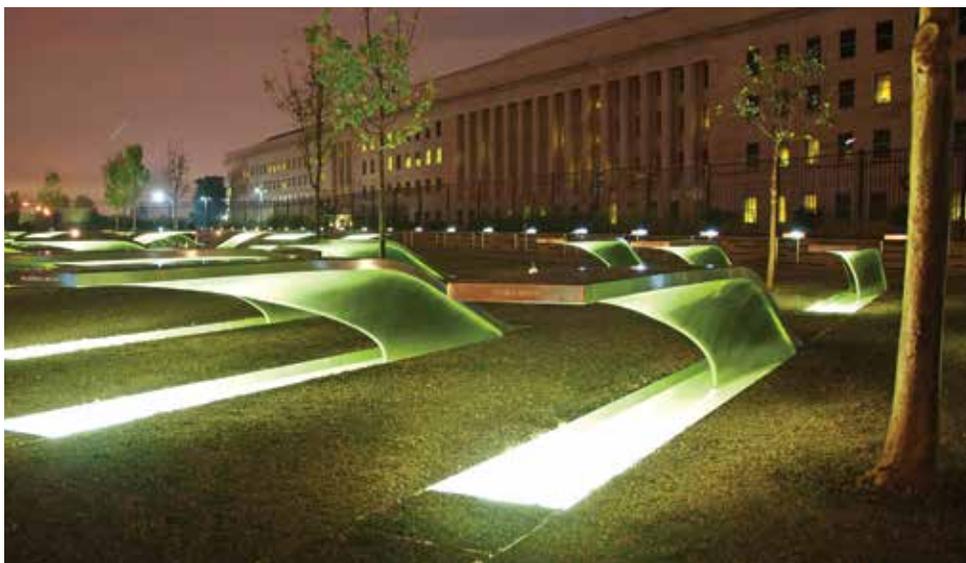
—James Kitfield, March 15, 2018, Politico

President Trump attacked [former FBI Director James] Comey personally, and those were certainly actions and activities unbecoming of the presidency. But Jim Comey took the bait, and that disappointed me. His criticism of President Trump has given legs to anyone who wants to criticize the FBI as a political organization, or one that decided to investigate the president because they didn’t like him or his morals. None of that is where the FBI is, or should be.

—Mike Rogers, April 16, 2018, CNN

In an exclusive interview, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Joseph Dunford drew parallels between Russia’s actions in the Baltic Sea and China’s aggressive posture in the South China Sea, where Beijing is building artificial islands, militarizing them, and then claiming zones of exclusive sovereignty. “There are clear similarities, because what Russia is trying to do vis-à-vis our allies and ability to project power, China is also trying to do,” Dunford told me. “I would broaden it even beyond the South China Sea, and tell you we’re seeing an erosion in the rules-based international order.”

—James Kitfield, October 16, 2018, Breaking Defense



9/11 memorial at the Pentagon

Section Two

A Roadmap to Political Civility and Effective Government

THE PASSING IN 2018 OF SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN, R-AZ., A TRUE LION of the U.S. Senate, should be taken as a teachable moment for a Congress headed once again down the dead-end path of hyper-partisanship and gridlock. The previous year McCain gave a landmark speech on the floor of the Senate entreating his colleagues to recapture the spirit of consensus-building that is the lifeblood of a representative democracy. The first, crucial step to recapturing that lost common ground, McCain argued, was to reject the incivility and petulance that increasingly dominates our national political discourse.

In that spirit 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 in major cities around the country to identify the best ideas and the most promising efforts to address our dysfunctional politics. The Commission is examining: 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.

Drawing on CSPC's anthologies of case studies, *Triumphs & Tragedies of the Modern Presidency* and *Triumphs & Tragedies of the Modern Congress*, we are also examining the lessons history offers in helping Washington negotiate the coming period of divided government.

A Commission on Civility and 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 this political environment, partisan orthodoxy is rewarded over compromise—and civility becomes an afterthought that too many politicians trade for expediency.

A majority of Americans believe our political system is “rigged,” leading to protests and a wave of political reform poised to have a lasting impact on our democracy.





AN IRAQ WAR VETERAN FIGHTS AMERICA'S TRIBAL POLITICS



Hugh McNichol

As a young U.S. soldier in Iraq, Hugh McNichol witnessed firsthand how sectarian divisions between Iraqi Sunnis, Shiites and Kurds ripped their society apart and laid waste to the country. U.S. troops who had gone in to liberate Iraqis and win “hearts and minds” had mainly just switched the power structure, allowing long-oppressed Shiites to dominate their former Sunni tormentors.

When he returned to America, McNichol saw disturbing elements of those sectarian divisions in the hyper-partisan, increasingly tribal politics between Republicans and Democrats. Both parties seemed too willing to sacrifice core principles in their hunger for power.

Determined to continue fighting to make his country better, McNichol met with a handful of other reform-minded individuals from across the political spectrum in a Panera Bread shop, where they decided to form a local Michigan chapter of the Represent.Us political reform movement. They teamed up with a 27-year-old, self-described political novice named Katie Fahey, whose group “Voters Not Politicians” was pushing an anti-gerrymandering reform to establish an Independent Redistricting Commission in Michigan. They collected 425,000 signatures to place the initiative on the ballot, and in November 2018 “Proposition 2” to end gerrymandered districts in Michigan passed.

“We’re winning all over the country, not just in Michigan and Maine, but in Massachusetts and Utah and Memphis and Santa Fe, and many other places,” McNichol told CSPC. Every time another city or state passes anti-gerrymandering or ranked choice voting reforms, he notes, it builds momentum for the next successful reform. “We’re learning from our losses” and setting the stage for future progress, said McNichol, who promised to keep fighting for reform. “I’m still young – I’m not going anywhere.”

Given such a debased political environment, little wonder that the American people are quickly losing faith in a range of institutions. Tired of the rhetoric from both parties, a growing number of Americans now identify as independents, yet they are unable to participate in many of the closed primaries and party conventions of the two-party system. Combine those factors with the pernicious influence of money in politics, and the average American increasingly feels that the political system is rigged against them. Even the most basic functions of government often succumb to political deadlock, while debts mount. The American people—rather than the partisans rewarded for this dysfunction—pay the price.

Given the dismal state of our politics some may worry that the American political experiment is in irreversible decline, but they need not fear. The hallmark of the America experience 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). The Center has always embraced the mission of promoting enlightened leadership and effective government, while encouraging leaders to maintain civility in the national dialogue.

To address our current challenges, 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 in major cities around the country to identify the best ideas and the most promising efforts to address our dysfunctional politics. The Commission is examining 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.

Beyond diagnosing the problem, the Commission on Civility and Effective Governance is also working with CSPC research staff to identify and highlight promising efforts to change our political incentive structure both at the state-and-local grassroots levels, and in the halls of Congress. The Commission is also looking at the many roadblocks that stand in the way of reform, from well-financed special interest groups to fundamental deficiencies in our electoral and governance systems.

The Commission’s work is ongoing, and further meetings are planned across the United States to better iden-

tify the drivers of political incivility, the lessons learned from past successful reform movements, and the individuals and groups driving needed change. Special attention is being paid to redistricting and election process reforms that can increase the competitiveness of U.S. elections, and reduce the disproportionate influence of voters on the partisan fringes who dominate closed primary elections and general elections in heavily gerrymandered districts. The Commission will also continue to highlight successful reform efforts that are already having a positive impact, and the individuals behind them who are determined to fix our broken politics.

A Reform Wave

Indeed, after the dust settled over bitterly fought 2018 mid-term elections, and the tribal bases of both political parties continued to clash along the seams of a deeply divided nation, there was relatively little mention of another election last November that was stoked not by fear and partisan loathing, but rather by a bipartisan spirit of reform and national renewal. Little mentioned in the “horse race” coverage of the mid-terms, that parallel election resulted in a “reform wave” that may very well have the more lasting impact on our democracy.

There were campaign and election reform initiatives on ballots in November in more than two dozen states and localities. With a few notable exceptions they won, sweeping aside defenders of a status quo system that consistently produces incivility and political extremism. Some of the most notable reforms will end the practice of partisan gerrymandering that allows politicians to choose their voters, rather than the other way around, which explains why the vast majority of seats in the House of Representatives are uncompetitive.

Other reforms will end the practice of low-turnout “closed primaries” that empower extreme partisans in both parties and disenfranchise political independents. Still other reforms that passed last November introduced automatic voter registration to make voting easier, and imposed stricter ethics laws on politicians to reduce the influence of money in politics and slow the revolving door between government officials and lobbyists.

“One of the biggest takeaways from the mid-term election is that Americans are making the connection between a rigged campaign and election system and the dysfunction that afflicts American politics,” Josh Silver, cofounder and director of RepresentUs, a national, non-profit electoral

THE ESTABLISHMENT STRIKES BACK IN MAINE

In the middle of a cold Maine night, reformers sat in the gallery of the state capitol in Augusta and watched with dismay as the political establishment tried to smother in its cradle the nation’s first-of-its-kind “ranked-choice voting” (RCV) law. The special, one-day session held on October 23, 2017 was the culmination of a relentless campaign led by Maine’s Republican Party, but also supported by a number of Democrats in the state legislature.

After the legislature repealed RCV in October, 2017, the administration and political parties resorted to stall and delay tactics to try and thwart the campaign to resuscitate it. The Republican Party voted to change its rules to require a plurality vote to choose its nominees, and then filed an unsuccessful lawsuit in federal court against RCV on those grounds. Even after 77,000 signatures were collected in the second campaign for RCV held in the depths of a Maine winter, the Secretary of State refused to implement the reform for a 2018 primary until ordered to by the courts.

“From the moment ranked-choice voting originally passed the political class in Maine did everything in its power to smother it, but the many hundreds of volunteers who collected signatures worked heroically through sub-zero weather and even a ‘Bomb Cyclone,’ and the people of Maine rose up and claimed the sovereign power the state constitution gives them to decide how to choose their leaders,” said Cara Brown McCormick of the Committee for Ranked Choice Voting. “You know I’m not trained to carry a gun and defend my country that way, but I feel like this movement was a way to defend the democracy that I love, which is really sick right now. And if Maine provides a spark that catches fire with someone in Montana, or Tennessee, or Georgia, or any other state, then I believe this really elegant reform can help fix our broken politics.”



Cara Brown McCormick

ENABLING A GRASSROOTS GROUNDSWELL OF REFORM

Josh Silver's early work in campaign finance led him to co-found RepresentUs in 2012. The goal was to help advance election and good governance reforms nationwide, based on the blueprints established by the universal suffrage and marriage equality movements. They too were started at the local, grassroots level, but were aided by outside groups that helped elevate the issues to national prominence.



Josh Silver

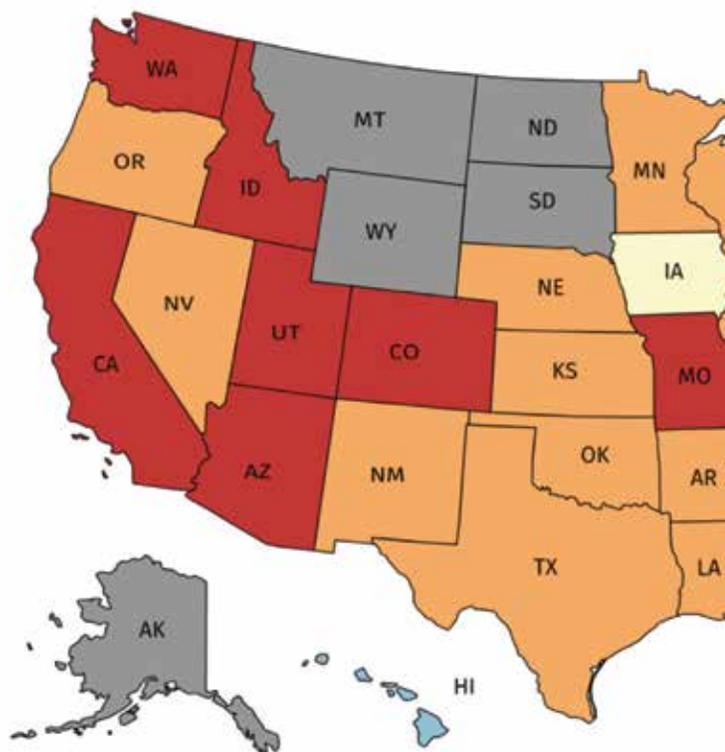
Silver sees a similar dynamic in play today, with campaign and election reform initiatives underway in more than two dozen states and localities. Some would end the practice of partisan gerrymandering that allows politicians to choose their voters, rather than the other way around, resulting in a majority of uncompetitive seats in the House of Representatives.

Other reforms would establish open primary elections to limit the disproportionate power of extreme partisans in low-turnout, closed primaries that disenfranchise political independents. Still others would impose much stricter ethics laws to reduce the outsized influence of money in politics.

Working with some 400 local "chapters" around the country, the RepresentUs team helps local reform organizations develop carefully sequenced political strategies, and it maintains an experienced digital media team skilled at amplifying reform messages on social media platforms with creative graphics and videos.

"I started RepresentUs because polarization, gridlock and corruption have increasingly come to define American politics. That is not a coincidence, but rather the direct result of failed campaign and election policies," Silver told CSPC. "That makes reforming those policies and fixing the system the quintessential public policy issue of our time, and it's one that is extremely popular with a majority of both Democrats and Republicans. That explains why we've seen an unprecedented number of reform efforts really catch fire all across the country."

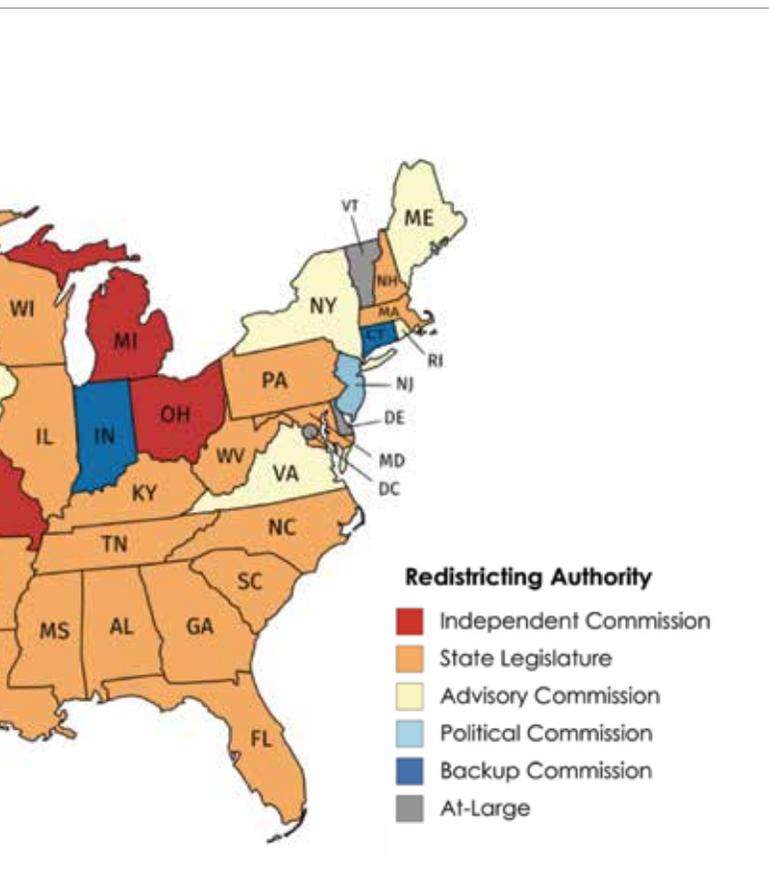
Redistricting Method



reform group, told CSPC. "Grassroots conservatives and progressives are now linking arms and passing structural reforms around the country to fix our broken politics and eliminate the incentives for politicians to appeal to the most extreme voters in both parties. And based on our research we just witnessed the most democracy reform in a single election ever."

Michigan, Colorado, and Missouri all passed major anti-gerrymandering initiatives, for instance, that will take the drawing of congressional districts out of the hands of political partisans and entrust that critical job instead to independent or bipartisan commissions. They are set to join Ohio, which passed its own anti-gerrymandering measure earlier last year, as well as California and Arizona, which had already adopted non-partisan commissions.

Voting reforms that automatically register voters whenever they update a driver's license or state identification card and make it easier to receive absentee ballots passed in Michigan and Nevada. Anti-corruption reforms that limit or ban lobbyist gifts to politicians, tighten campaign finance rules and increase government transparency passed in Missouri, New Mexico and North Dakota. A host



of voting and anti-corruption reforms passed last week at the city level in Denver, Baltimore, Memphis, Phoenix, and New York.

Key to the success of the current wave of campaign and election reform is support from across the political spectrum. With 42 percent of Americans now identifying as independents (compared to 29 percent as Democrats and 27 percent as Republicans), in a 2017 Gallup poll, the “duopoly” by which the two political parties controlled the campaign and election system through closed primaries and partisan gerrymandering increasingly seems corrupt to many voters. In a 2016 Reuters/Ipsos poll, more than half of American voters said the system U.S. political parties use to pick candidates is “rigged,” and more than two-thirds want to see the process reformed.

“We believe the reform wave is ‘post partisan,’ because a majority of Americans now believe that the current system is broken and needs a fundamental reset,” said Silver of RepresentUs. “That’s a real sea change in attitudes in this country. It means that Americans have woken up to the true causes of the dysfunction in our democracy, and are taking actions across the country to fix them.” □

THE CALIFORNIA MIRACLE

For Steve Peace and his son Chad, the cause of election reform has been a family affair. Former State Senator Steve Peace spent 22 years at the California state house, watching in growing frustration as the legislature became steadily more partisan and dysfunctional. A self-described “radical moderate,” Peace witnessed firsthand how the election process perversely rewarded the hyper-partisanship and intransigence that was infecting American politics.

So along with a handful of other reformers, Steve Peace founded the nonprofit Independent Voter Project (IVP) in 2006. The group began its work from a few core principles: democracy works best when elections are more competitive, when more voters participate, and when politicians are accountable to a broader swath of the public. Very low-turnout, closed primaries designed by the political parties to engage their most passionate and partisan base voters work against those tenets.

IVP’s answer was to propose an open “Top-Two Primary” in which all voters and political parties participate on the same ballot, under the same rules. The top two vote getters, regardless of party affiliation, then face off in a general election. On a scale of election reform that can measure progress in decades, IVP’s success has been explosive. The nonpartisan Top-Two Primary System it proposed (“Proposition 14”) was introduced in 2008, passed in a referendum in 2010, and became the basis of California’s first nonpartisan Top Two Primary election in 2012.



Chad Peace

“The story of California’s success in election reform is one of luck and circumstances aligning just right,” said Chad Peace, who joined the reform outreach as president of IVC Media. “The Top Two Primary system is not perfect, but I would argue that because of Proposition 14 lawmakers in Sacramento are now much more collaborative and willing to work together than before. So as a result of that confluence of luck and circumstance, a kind of miracle has happened in California.”

The Triumphs & Tragedies of Divided Government

Like many other first-term presidents, Donald Trump has experienced the sting of the midterm elections. While the GOP was able to parlay a favorable Senate map into a gain of seats, the results in the House were a swing towards the Democrats of a magnitude not seen since the Watergate era more than four decades ago. Even in the best of times presidents generally face an uphill battle in their first midterm, as voters often seek to check the power of the executive. Scandals and partisan fatigue also eventually weigh on the president's party, as Members of Congress who once rode the president's coattails into office find themselves trying to distance themselves from a White House with lagging public approval.



The 2018 midterms ensure that the United States will once again return to divided government in 2019. While our framers originally tried to avoid the creation of political parties and factionalism, they did want tension between the branches of government to ensure that no one individual or body could run roughshod over the American people or the freedoms enshrined in the Constitution. Therefore, “ambition was made to counteract ambition,” and tension between the Executive and the Legislature was hardwired into the DNA of the American political system.

The degree to which power in Washington is divided between the political parties has ebbed and flowed throughout American history, but in recent times divided government is increasingly the norm. Not since the Carter administration in the 1970s, for instance, has any president spent a full term in office without experiencing some period of divided government. During these times of division, the political landscape is often fractured and tumultuous. Accomplishing anything requires long negotiations to discover elusive common ground.

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress’ *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Congress* examines the fraught dynamic of divided government throughout our modern history through case studies written by distinguished scholars, journalists and historians. In studying the arc of this modern history, certain echoes from the past are discernible that have relevance today.

Most often when we reflect on the successes of divided government, we harken back to more recent history and the era of Republican President Ronald Reagan and Democratic Speaker of the House Thomas Phillip “Tip” O’Neill. The popular perception of these two leaders is of two Irishmen who were partisan brawlers by day, and dealmakers by night. Certainly their personalities played a major role in the ability to joust in the media, yet come together for the good of the nation. During the 1980’s they were able to tackle issues considered “third rails” in today’s politics, and used the recommendations of distinguished commissions to reform social security, modernize immigration policy, and set the stage for victory in the Cold War.

There were times when Congress stood up to Reagan in defense of its prerogatives, most notably when it

sought to check the Reagan administration’s intervention in Cold War proxy conflicts—especially in Central and South America. When some frustrated Reagan administration officials subsequently sought to bypass Congress, they sowed the seeds that would blossom darkly into the Iran-Contra scandal that almost brought down the Reagan White House. That is another rhyme of history evident in today’s political dynamic.

Even when there was the scent of political scandal in the air with Iran-Contra, however, the White House

CSPC’s Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Congress *examines the fraught dynamic of divided government throughout our modern history.*

and Congressional leadership realized they needed to compartmentalize the crises and not let it paralyze the day-to-day operations of the government. At a dangerous juncture in the Cold War, and with memories of the paralysis surrounding the Watergate scandal and Nixon resignation still fresh in memory, neither political party wanted the United States to appear weak and dysfunctional in the eyes of potential adversaries.

That is not to say that the Iran-Contra scandal and other Cold War crises were not riven by partisanship, but politicians at that time operated in an era with very different political incentives. During the 1980s there were still Democrats that were more conservative than the most liberal Republicans, for instance, and this overlap formed the critical center in Congressional politics where deals get made. Larger-than-life chairmen, such as Democrat Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, were also able to use their outsized influence, prestige, and power to muscle legislation forward. The thriving center of American politics held for much of the Cold War era, and the lack of geographic self-sorting by the parties ensured that divided government did not translate into a deeply divided nation.

During his time in office President George H.W Bush always faced Democratic control of both the House and the Senate. Facing ballooning deficits resulting from the Reagan defense build-ups and tax cuts, President Bush sought

compromise with Democrats in trying to balance the budget. That compromise made possible the relative fiscal prudence embraced by President Bill Clinton and the GOP Congress in the 1990s. The shift in political incentives, however, had already begun. An increasingly vocal GOP grassroots movement, emboldened by talk radio, viewed the Bush administration's tax hike as a betrayal of conservative values, resulting in Bush 41 being a one term president.

As American politics entered the post-Cold War era of the 1990s, the body politic increasingly rejected the compro-

worked with a GOP House and a Senate split 50-50, to pass the "No Child Left Behind" educational reform. That spirit of cooperation was bolstered by bipartisan unity forged in the fires of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.

The relative bipartisan comity, however, could not survive the dark days following the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the devastation of Hurricane Katrina. During the 2000s the incentives of our politics also continued to evolve, as fragmented media on the left and right became increasingly more partisan, rewarding ideological purity over bipartisanship and compromise. Wedge issues from immigration to gay marriage to gun rights became litmus tests in our growing cultural divide.

By the end of the Bush administration, a divided U.S. government struggled mightily to respond to the most severe economic crisis since the Great Depression. In 2009 President Barack Obama's emergency fiscal stimulus package passed without a single Republican vote.

That divide would grow more entrenched throughout the Obama administration, as Republican leaders united to oppose the new president and rode a wave of dissatisfaction with unified Democratic government to retake the Congress in 2010.

Over the past two decades divided government has evolved into deadlocked government, and our nation's fiscal health, defense readiness, and international competitiveness have all suffered greatly as a result. As the gaps between the parties have grown, and partisan echo chambers in the media continue to encourage ideological purity over statesmanship and enlightened compromise, Washington has struggled to execute even the most basic functions of governance, such as passing a budget.

Barring a major reshaping of the two-party system, the basic realities of the political map and American demographics suggest that divided government is here to stay. Rural conservatives will continue to have an out-sized voice in the Senate, and fiscally-conservative, socially liberal suburban districts will largely determine which way the House swings. Ultimately, only the American voter can change that dismal calculus by insisting that their political leaders on both sides of the aisle put country over party. □

Divided government has evolved into deadlocked government, and our nation's fiscal health, defense readiness, and international competitiveness have all suffered greatly as a result.

mises and consensus-building necessary for major legislative and policy success. The Republican caucus shifted hard right following the 1994 Republican takeover of the House, and new Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America." The new House leadership initially sought to check the Clinton administration at every turn.

Ultimately it took a prolonged government shutdown to convince both sides that neither had a particularly strong hand. "Triangulation" eventually brought together a Democratic White House and Republican Congress behind welfare-to-work reforms, support for global trade, and eventually a balanced budget. In this more partisan political environment, however, a scandal that started with the Whitewater investigation – and culminated with President Bill Clinton being accused of perjury over a sexual relationship with an intern – could not be compartmentalized or mitigated by compromise as happened during Iran-Contra. Clinton's impeachment by the House drew the partisan, cultural and geographical battle lines that would only deepen in the coming decades.

The early tone set by George W. Bush initially echoed the moderation of his father. Bush 43 presented himself as a "Compassionate Conservative" who had often reached across the aisle as governor of Texas, and Bush

Section Three

Project Solarium 2019

SHORTLY AFTER BEING ELECTED PRESIDENT in 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower embarked upon what would become known as “Project Solarium” – a strategic review that would evaluate the breadth of 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 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 2019 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.

The National Security Space Program Successfully Launches



A SpaceX launch shows how commercial companies are challenging the federal government's exclusive dominance of space.

In January of 2018 the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) launched the National Security Space Program under the leadership of Chairman Mike Rogers, David M. Abshire Chair at the Center, and Glenn Nye, CSPC President & CEO. The past year has also seen dramatic developments in the realm of national security space, with the president calling for the formation of a sixth branch of the armed forces, the so-called “Space Force.” The announcement caught many observers by surprise, but in actuality it was just the latest development in a long simmering debate about the role of space in America’s national security architecture. That debate has focused on the best way for the Department of Defense to organize for a possible conflict extending into space, and how to maintain America’s leadership position in this critical domain.

Throughout the year competing proposals and concepts circulated in Washington D.C., with proponents and detractors arguing over the merits of establishing a new military service focused solely on space. The year ended with a continued focus on space after the president in mid-December directed the Pentagon to establish U.S. Space Command as the 11th combatant command.

Throughout the Cold War and the post-Cold War eras, the United States enjoyed uncontested dominance in space. Few countries even possessed a space program, and fewer still could be considered space-faring. Yet, adversaries of the United States closely studied how the U.S. military waged war. They witnessed how space-based communications, imagery, position, navigation, and timing capabilities all afforded the U.S. armed forces unparalleled technological superiority on the battlefield. Consequently, China, Russia, and other nations sought their own space-based capabilities and counter-space weapons to target U.S. space-based assets.

Despite this growing competition, Washington largely acted as if it still enjoyed unchallenged superiority in space. The inflection point announcing a new era of space competition came in 2007 when China conducted an unprecedented, direct ascent anti-satellite test. One of its missiles struck a satellite in near geo-synchronous orbit—a milestone achievement. Despite this Sputnik-like moment, U.S. military and political leaders in the post-9/11 era remained focused on counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations, seemingly unconcerned about the country's deteriorating position in space.

During this critical period the commercial space business came into its own. Backed by independently wealthy entrepreneurs such as Elon Musk (SpaceX) and Jeff Bezos (Blue Origin), commercial companies challenged the federal government's exclusive dominance of space. The costs of launching payloads to orbit dropped dramatically, and the opportunities in space exploded as a result. New capabilities and space concepts have proliferated, including cubesats and microsattellites, mega constellations of potentially hundreds of satellites, new and more capable sensors, reusable rockets, and small launch systems. And yet national security leaders remained distracted elsewhere, largely ignorant of the transformation occurring in space.

The establishment of CSPC's National Security Space Program (NSSP) thus came at a fortuitous time. While many experts were focused on the pros and cons of creating an independent Space Force, our program examined the changing nature of the space domain itself. Chiefly, we have sought to identify ways in which emerging commercial

While experts debate the pros and cons of a U.S. Space Force, CSPC's National Security Space Program is examining the changing nature of the space domain itself.

technologies (particularly those from “New Space”) could be better and more effectively integrated into the national security space architecture.

Over the course of the year the program held three major off-the-record conversations in Washington D.C. and Los Angeles, and a table top exercise at CSPC's headquarters in the nation's capital. We have explored changes in regulation, culture, approach, and scope that might positively affect how the United States acquires space capabilities. Each discussion was anchored by a senior government or military representative who provided unique insight and perspective on the challenges in space. These discussions were summarized and the results circulated to program participants for comment, generating further discussion and dialogue.

In addition, National Security Space Program (NSSP) Director Joshua C. Huminski conducted numerous off-the-record in-person meetings with key leaders in New Space, the Department of Defense, and the United States Air Force. He has developed a broad and deep network of thought leaders and innovators in the space domain, all of whom are deeply committed to the program's success. Through this network, CSPC's leadership and policy team have been granted unparalleled access to private sector and government deliberations on U.S. space policy, and we are helping to create a strategic vision backed by new policies to enable the government to better leverage private sector space innovation.

The timing for the NSSP could not have been better. The ground for national security space thawed, largely



due to Oval Office attention, driving executive level interest in the subject. Space has become a much larger part of the overall debate on our national security posture. Until the last few years, much of that debate had been technical, focused on engineering challenges as opposed to policy, strategy, and doctrine. Indeed, the discussion was fundamentally dominated by traditional military/corporate voices. The NSSP offered new participants an opportunity

to engage in a meaningful manner, enhancing and diversifying the dialogue.

The ultimate goal of all this activity is the development of real and actionable recommendations that CSPC will take to the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Air Force, Congress, the National Space Council, and the commercial space sector for consideration and adoption. As a result of the initial formal roundtables and meetings, the

NSSP team has already generated preliminary recommendations that are now under serious consideration by the program's government and industry participants, and will serve as a starting point for further discussion, dialogue, and debate.

These preliminary recommendations were recently stress-tested

The timing for the NSSP could not have been better. Space has become a much larger part of the overall debate on our national security posture.

in CSPC's first space table top exercise (TTX). Teams were tasked with developing a solution to gray-zone conflict. They were asked to reconstitute a portion of a lost satellite constellation, and identify obstacles to that mission that must be overcome to reach a successful solution. In essence the TTX was an effort to "build from the right." CSPC leadership moderated these discussions, with CSPC staff recording the outcomes of the exercise, so that participants can analyze and better understand how the government and private sector must cooperate in responding to potential space crises in the future.

The National Security Space Program will continue into 2019, with additional roundtables and events already planned. These will be followed by the release of our final

NSSP will examine the future of national security space writ large, focusing on future deterrence, international cooperation in space, commercial partnerships, emerging technologies and more.

recommendations some time later this year. Ultimately, CSPC aims to expand the program to focus on the future of national security space writ large, focusing on the future of deterrence, international and allied cooperation in space, commercial partnerships, emerging technology, and more. If our successful launch in 2018 was any indicator, 2019 will be a very exciting year in the space domain. □



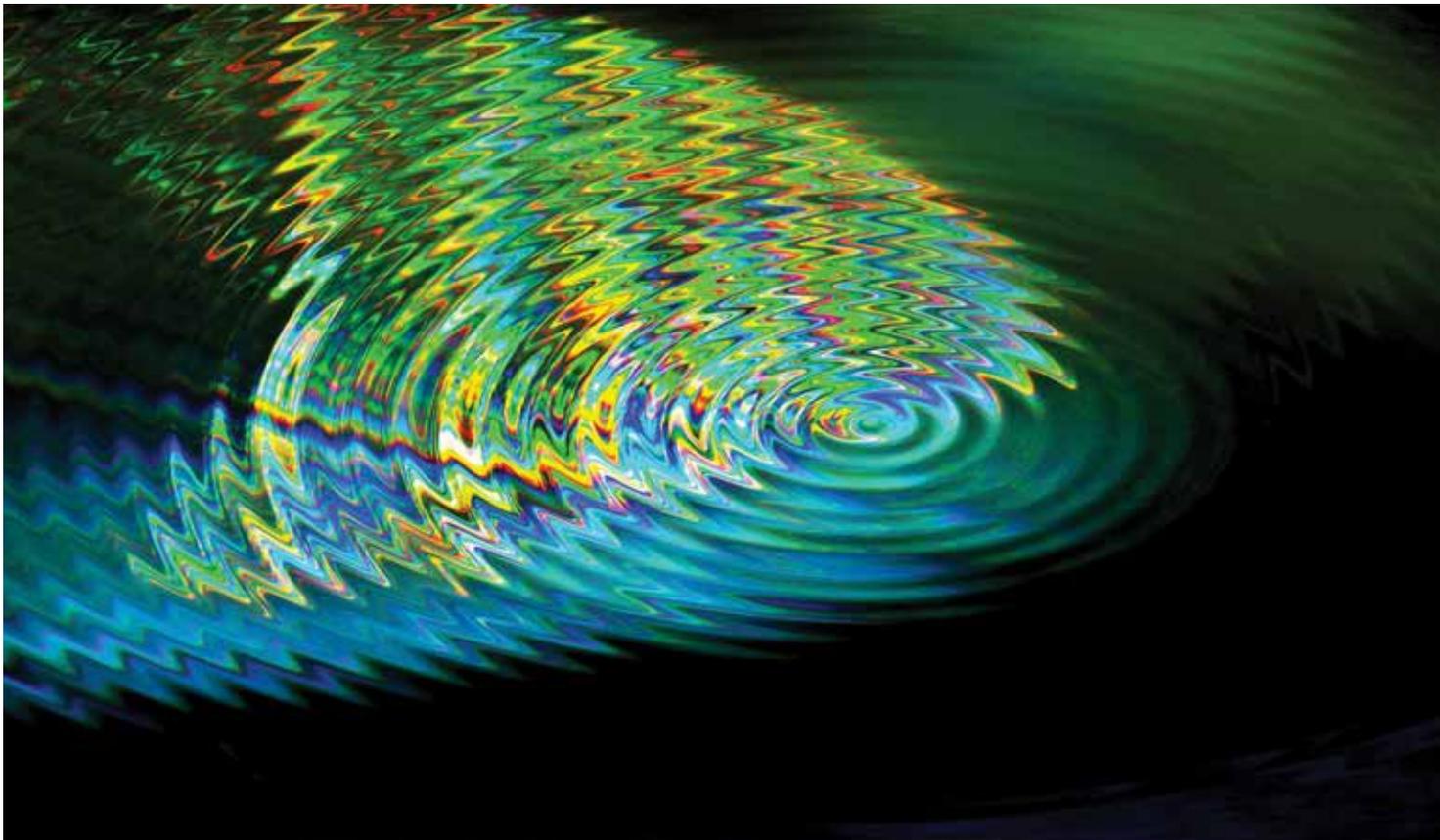
The Blue Origin rocket sits on a launch pad waiting to take a cabin full of NASA payloads into space (opposite page).

The SpaceX Dragon commercial cargo craft is grappled by the International Space Station's robotic arm (left).

Leading the “Fourth Industrial Revolution” for Prosperity and Security

Just as the industrial revolution transformed society in the 18th and 19th centuries, the information revolution is reshaping the 21st century. Revolutionary digital technologies are now at the forefront of policymaking. Artificial Intelligence (AI), quantum computing, the “Internet of Things,” the rollout of 5G networks, increased automation of transportation and manufacturing, and further global digitization and connectivity all raise a wide range of policy issues in the realms of standards, utilization and intellectual property. Leadership in these technologies that form the basis of what is being called a “Fourth Industrial Revolution” will have profound implications for our future national security and economic prosperity.

Scientists at NASA used an ultra-high-intensity laser and a particle accelerator to conjure this image of particles in a vacuum.



While these advanced technologies are key assets in themselves, maintaining an edge in their development will require that nations reevaluate how they structure their education systems to best nurture the skill sets and career paths needed for success and competitiveness. Education systems will need to inspire and nurture a talented cadre of cybersecurity professionals, for instance, to address growing security challenges. On a larger scale, it will be necessary to inculcate concepts of “digital citizenship” so that our citizenry better understands the digital economy, and the role individuals play in ensuring cybersecurity.

CSPC is addressing this intersection of technological innovation and policymaking with a series of projects on technology strategy, cybersecurity policy, and cybersecurity education. Leveraging CSPC’s unique role as a non-partisan convener bringing together experts from government, the private sector, and academia, these programs are exploring how the United States and key allies can best position themselves for leadership and prosperity in an era of technological revolution.

Tech Transformation & Global Competitiveness

The transformative impact of a range of technological innovations raises important questions about their impact on society—and our future security. The “Fourth Industrial Revolution” is transforming every aspect of our lives, with profound geopolitical implications. In particular, the mastery of advanced technology will shape the character of emerging geopolitical competitions across the globe. From fake news bots to autonomous weapons, this “Geotech”—the marriage of geopolitics and technology—will determine the fate of nations.

The boundaries that shape traditional paradigms of geopolitics—such as war and peace, sea power versus land power, or civilian versus military—are dissolving in the flood of emerging technologies. A new perspective based on geo-technology is needed to navigate the future and shape American foreign policy and alliance partnerships for success. Just as natural resources and industrial capacity are key to economic growth and security of the physical economy, the utilization of technology and the ability

to innovate represent the new “commanding heights” of the digital age.

As AI technologies become more mature and proliferate, they have a range of offensive and defensive applications, both in the physical and digital domains. The United States and key allies thus face a range of security challenges that are impacted by artificial intelligence and other powerful data tools. Artificial intelligence technologies will allow cyber operators to better understand the systems they are targeting, for instance, as well as improve detection of malicious activity on friendly networks. The marriage of AI with kinetic military systems will also raise a range of operational and ethical concerns as these technologies are adopted by warfighters in a range of military activities.

On the civilian side, AI will reshape a range of industries that were previously considered “untouched” by technological innovation. Further growth in productivity will be shaped around the human-AI interface, where a range of jobs are augmented by AI. There will also be a need to consider the broader disruption of jobs that may eventually be replaced by AI-powered systems.

Quantum computing and other advanced computing technologies are largely in the developmental stages.

The “Fourth Industrial Revolution” is transforming every aspect of our lives, with profound geopolitical implications. This “Geotech” will determine the fate of nations.

Much of the work in quantum computing is classified or proprietary, and widespread adoption of these systems is likely a decade or more in the future. Still, these technologies have the potential to greatly outpace traditional computing processes and reshape concepts of connectivity and secure communications. Theorists believe that quantum technology will allow for near instantaneous, totally secure communication across great distances. At the same time, quantum computing will render obsolete the encryption used for security in traditional computing. Even though it will take some time before these technologies make a major impact, it is vital that the United States positions itself for leadership in a field that will reshape

concepts of digital security and computing capability.

The expansion of the “Internet of Things” and the growth of connected and automated digital systems has also increased the range of applications that will generate data for analysis. This, in turn, requires new security approaches to address the increased “terrain” that requires defending. These technologies also raise greater cybersecurity concerns related to the physical impact that hacked networks and automated systems can produce —e.g. the consequences of attacks on automated vehicles, industrial controls, utility systems, and other critical infrastructure.

In order to connect and network a wide range of new technologies, as well as to provide the bandwidth needed for increasingly data-hungry commercial and consumer applications, 5G networks represent the next step forward in wireless technology. Already a range of companies around

tools and technical analysis are already being utilized by Beijing to develop a wide range of security applications for social control. This close cooperation between the state, state-owned industries, and a range of homegrown tech giants has allowed China to build a massive closed ecosystem for the development of these advanced technologies. From this closed ecosystem, the Chinese national champions plan to use their advantages on the global stage to tilt the competitive playing field towards the adaptation of Chinese technology.

Already there is some pushback against this “Made in China 2025” vision, such as the nascent attempts to sanction Chinese firm ZTE; more stringent reviews of technology investments by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS); U.S. indictments of Chinese agents and entrepreneurs behind intellectual property theft; and the recent arrest of the chief financial officer of

the giant Chinese technology and communications firm Huawei. Yet these are largely reactionary measures. Given the size and scope of the challenge, a broader technology strategy is necessary, and it will require a multilateral approach that includes key allies. Only in this way can we ensure that the future of technology is one that reflects our

fundamental values—rather than the aims of Beijing, Moscow, and other autocrats.

Over the coming year, CSPC is fostering dialogue between U.S. and allied innovators and policymakers so they can better prepare the strategies needed for success in the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The mission of these domestic and international dialogues is to create an overall strategy that ensures that the future standards of technology are set in a free and fair manner, where free market competition can determine technology standards, and advanced digital technologies will be used to empower societies rather than control them.

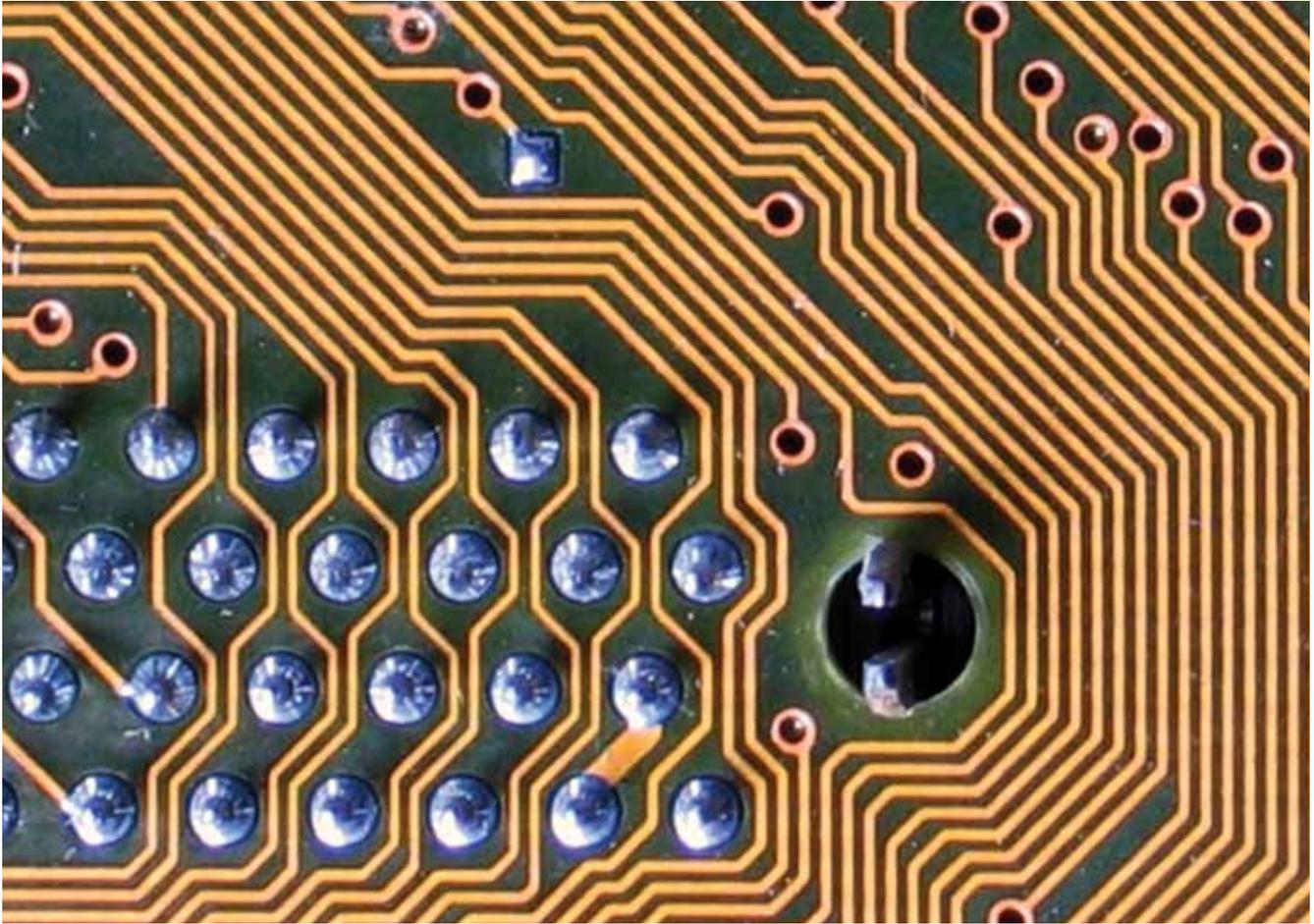
The Human Component

A new strategy to harness technological innovation for the good of mankind is just one component needed for success in global technology leadership. The other component is being determined in classrooms across the United States. Innovation leadership will continue to be important, but the human factor—the skillset of our workforce and the over-

CSPC is fostering dialogue between U.S. and allied innovators so that the future of technology reflects our fundamental values.

the world are developing this technology, and there are questions about which nation will be the first to bring this technology to the marketplace. Given that this technology will be the underpinning for a revolutionary step forward in connectivity, there are broader concerns about who controls the technology and the underlying architecture of these networks; who has access to the data carried by these networks; and who is responsible for securing these connected systems and networks so that malicious actors cannot disrupt or deny access to them.

In the United States and allied market economies, the private sector has taken the lead in developing these tools. Industrial policy has been underutilized as policymakers have emphasized the importance of market incentives for technological development. Notably in China, however, there is a close synergy between the government and tech innovators. Forced technology transfer, intellectual property theft, and venture capital investment have already been used by the communist party to close the gap between Chinese and foreign innovation. Advanced data collection



The incredible shrinking microchip processor is the building block of the Information Age.

all health of our “digital citizenry”—will also be a deciding factor. Over the past year-and-a-half CSPC, in partnership with Montreat College of North Carolina, has convened experts from government, the private sector, and academia to discuss how this nation can build a comprehensive cybersecurity curriculum.

Looking beyond the well-established technical foundation, these discussions have focused on how contextual elements—e.g. management studies, political science, foreign relations, criminology—can be married with ethics and character-based leadership development to create a comprehensive cybersecurity curriculum. Beyond the creation of the curriculum, the discussion has expanded to cover the examination of practical models to implement the curriculum—including the use of cybersecurity contests, student competitions, and apprenticeship models that combine classroom education with on-the-job experience.

Recognizing that education related to technology innovation, cybersecurity, and other related areas does not

end with the issuance of a diploma, CSpC is also working with partners to develop improved executive education related to technology and cybersecurity. These programs are designed to better ensure that all levels of the workforce in a government agency or private sector company understand the importance of cybersecurity and technological innovation to their broader mission. By improving the level of technological and cyber literacy throughout enterprises, CSpC believes that the quality of decision making in technology and cyber related fields can be greatly improved.

Beyond the education of those who will directly assume government and private sector cybersecurity roles, such a curriculum can also help build a model for sound “cyber citizenship.” Such cyber citizenship would combine the understanding of how character and ethics, technological literacy, critical thinking, cyber “hygiene,” and other skills combine to ensure that in the future Americans will be well equipped as good citizens in the digital domain. □

Preparing for the Next Pandemic

As the calendar year 2018 drew to a close, the second largest and second deadliest Ebola outbreak ever recorded was still growing in parts of Africa, with the World Health Organization reporting 505 cases and 298 deaths. In December the outbreak spread to Butembo, a city of more than one million people in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The latest deadly Ebola outbreak reminds policymakers focused on national security that disease pandemic represents a major threat. Blind to borders, nationality, or wealth, diseases have the potential to bring modern, interconnected

societies to a standstill. With natural and man-made factors contributing to such pandemics, the threat environment is complex and requires careful and consistent coordination among policymakers.

Over the past year, CSPC has worked with representatives from the government, private sector, and academia to gauge U.S. and allied biodefense preparedness. While there has been progress in interstate and interagency coordination since the 2001 Anthrax attacks and a series of earlier Ebola outbreaks, there are still gaps in preparation and coordination that require policymakers' attention.

Preparing at Home

One of the unique challenges in the realm of bio-preparedness is the fact that the diseases that have the

At the close of 2018, the second largest and deadliest Ebola outbreak ever recorded was still growing, spreading to an African city of more than one million people.



greatest potential to cause disruption and harm are not common. These diseases primarily exist in the biological weapons arsenals of potential adversaries, or in remote areas that lack early warning systems for outbreaks of exotic diseases. With growing geopolitical instability, climate change, and increased human activity in areas that were once wilderness, however, the pandemic threat is growing, requiring a more consistent and focused response from policymakers and additional resources from lawmakers.

Additional resources are key to ensuring that a range of government agencies are well-equipped and staffed to respond to an outbreak. Consistent funding is also necessary to ensure that private sector partners invest in research & development of vaccines and treatments for diseases identified as major threats by infectious disease experts and the U.S. intelligence community. To ensure that the government's preparations and stockpiling are up to the challenge and commensurate with the threat, there is also a need for robust dialogue between the intelligence agencies tracking biological weapons programs worldwide; the researchers and non-governmental organizations that are monitoring natural disease outbreaks; and Executive and Legislative

With increased geopolitical instability, population growth and climate change, the pandemic threat is growing, requiring a more strategic response.

Branch officials responsible for biodefense preparation and resourcing.

While tools like the Pandemic and All-Hazards Preparedness Act (PAHPA) provide long-term authorization for biological preparedness efforts, annual appropriation processes create difficulties in long-term research planning and preparations related to stockpiling of medicines. Advance appropriations, alternative long-term funds and other appropriations models—coupled with the use of flexible procurement rules—are necessary to provide greater predictability for private sector vendors.

Not surprisingly given the breadth of the challenge, there is an alphabet soup of agencies involved in coordinating U.S.

bio-preparedness. The key coordinating player is the Assistant Secretary for Preparedness and Response (ASPR) at the Department of Health and Human Services. Response models that do not include clear lines of authority and delineate areas of responsibility for biodefense will inevitably lead to confusion and duplicative effort during a crisis. In working with experts on biodefense, CSPC seeks to further refine the role of the ASPR—ensuring that official's authorities are clearly defined, and that other responsibilities do not diminish the time and resources required for bio-preparedness.

Beyond consistent resourcing and clear lines of government authority, it is important to not lose sight of the foundation of bio-preparedness. Throughout our efforts CSPC has highlighted the continued importance of basic pandemic mitigation and response techniques. For instance, shortages of protective equipment during earlier Ebola outbreaks, and of saline solution during the 2017-18 flu season, were reminders of the importance of basic healthcare supplies in pandemic preparedness. During a pandemic, resourcing and coordinating medical transport may also prove key, as the protocols for transporting patients with highly infectious diseases are likely to strain

existing transport systems.

Another area of concern is the impact of a pandemic on family pets and livestock. Animals can be carriers of disease, and past outbreaks have taught us the need to prepare people with service animals and pets. It is thus important to evaluate ahead of time potential vulnerabilities and points of failure in our response system that could arise in a crisis, so that they may be mitigated in advance.

These and other examples highlight the need for creative thinking and advanced planning when it comes to biodefense preparation and coordination.

Improving the International Response

CSPC's efforts look beyond domestic preparedness to better understand how international systems and personnel can be improved to address a threat that can quickly jump borders. Just as better interagency coordination is needed within the U.S. government, it is important to have equally clear lines of authority and mission responsibility at the international level of preparedness. Too often, local responses and resources have proven inadequate to the threat, and critical time has been lost as



Firefighters decontaminate a hazardous material response team. In biodefense similar advanced preparation is critical to responding to crises.

local authorities waited for international help that was slow to arrive.

Wealthier countries must also recognize that not all states are capable of financing early-warning pandemic detection systems, or even adequately reporting large numbers of people who are stricken with the same illness. A coordinated, international response needs to be nurtured and regularly exercised in the future. Further, there exists an inbuilt assumption that the U.S. federal government will come rapidly to the aid of other countries in the event of a pandemic. This assumption would surely be tested in the event of a pandemic that affected U.S. domestic territory and possibly overwhelmed U.S. domestic health care providers. In short, the assumption that the United States will be able to act as first responder to put out global pandemic fires is fundamentally flawed. Future efforts at international bio-preparedness must thus include not only the resources and planning for an international response, but also capacity-building to help partners and allies ensure that they have the needed tools, policies, resources, and authorities to tackle biological threats.

Addressing the Bio-preparedness Challenge

While much has been done to improve our nation's bio-preparedness, much remains to be done. This critical issue requires consistent attention and resourcing. Public attention tends to peak during crises and then fall off rapidly as the threat passes. Not surprisingly, the focus of policymakers on these issues follows a similar ebb-and-flow pattern. What our nation and the global community require is a more steady and predictable approach that ensures sustained coordination, research, and preparation for a range of both man-made and naturally occurring biological threats.

Throughout 2019, CSPC plans to continue holding roundtable discussions and convening experts with a wide range of relevant expertise to continue to analyze U.S. and global bio-preparedness. The threat of naturally occurring or man-made pandemics may not seem like the most immediate challenge we face as a nation, but we cannot fail to prepare adequately for the next one that is sure to come. □

Section Four

Fostering Enlightened Leadership

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, were never preordained. Each milestone in that long journey 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. Along the way virtually every modern president and his Congressional backers have had to make the agonizing choice to send U.S. troops into harm’s way, only to have some return in flag-draped coffins. Such are the burdens of global leadership.

At CSPC we have always viewed as core missions 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 and International Fellows Leadership Conferences, 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 during a Presidential and International Fellows Leadership Conference, CSPC holds its annual awards dinner to honor leading public servants alongside the Fellows' student leaders. This past year we honored Democratic Governor John Hickenlooper of Colorado and Republican Governor John Kasich of Ohio, with our *Publius Award* for enlightened leadership and bipartisan governance. The award draws its name from the pseudonym used by the authors of *The Federalist Papers*: Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. These Founding Fathers were instrumental in guiding the United States from the broken politics of the Articles of Confederation towards a new Constitution built on the principles of pragmatism, compromise, and shared power.

At a time when our national politics are beset by increasing levels of division and vitriol, and the federal government struggles against the forces of gridlock to perform even the rudimentary functions of governance, Governors Hickenlooper and Kasich offer a more hopeful example. Their leadership reflects the principles of civility, pragmatism and bipartisanship in service to the people of Colorado and Ohio. They have repeatedly demonstrated that remaining true to strongly held ideals and beliefs need not be a barrier to uniting Americans to overcome our shared challenges. During the awards ceremony, CSPC President Glenn Nye moderated a lively, on-the-record discussion with Governors Hickenlooper and Kasich, followed by a question-and-answer session with audience members and the press.



CSPC President Glenn Nye and Governors Hickenlooper and Kasich discuss the art of uniting constituents to overcome shared challenges (above and right).

CSPC President Glenn Nye engages Governors Hickenlooper and Kasich in a lively, on-the-record discussion (right).



Ohio Governor John Kasich discussed whether his brand of bipartisanship might anchor another presidential run (right).



Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper compares notes with CSPC Counselor Norm Augustine, former head of Lockheed Martin Corporation (below).



Governor Kasich and CSPC Chairman, Ambassador Thomas Pickering (above center). Governor Hickenlooper (right) greets CSPC Trustees Roy Kapani (center) and Richard Phillips (left).



An Honor Roll of Leaders

The CSPC annual awards dinner honors leading public servants alongside the Fellows' student leaders. CSPC gives 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 recent award winners include: Senator Roy Blunt, R-MO.; Congressman Steny Hoyer, D-MD.; Senator Susan Collins, R-ME.; Senator Bob Corker, R-TN.; Senator Mark Warner, D-VA.; Defense Secretaries Leon Panetta and Ash Carter; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen; Chairman of the Federal Reserve Ben Bernanke; Senator Dianne Feinstein, D-CA.; Senator John Warner, R-VA.; Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor; Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge; Senator Bill Frist, R-TN.; Senator John Breaux, D-LA.; and Senator Chuck Hagel, R-NE.

Senator Roy Blunt, R-MO., and Rep. Steny Hoyer, D-MD., receiving CSPC's *Publius Award* for bipartisan leadership.



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

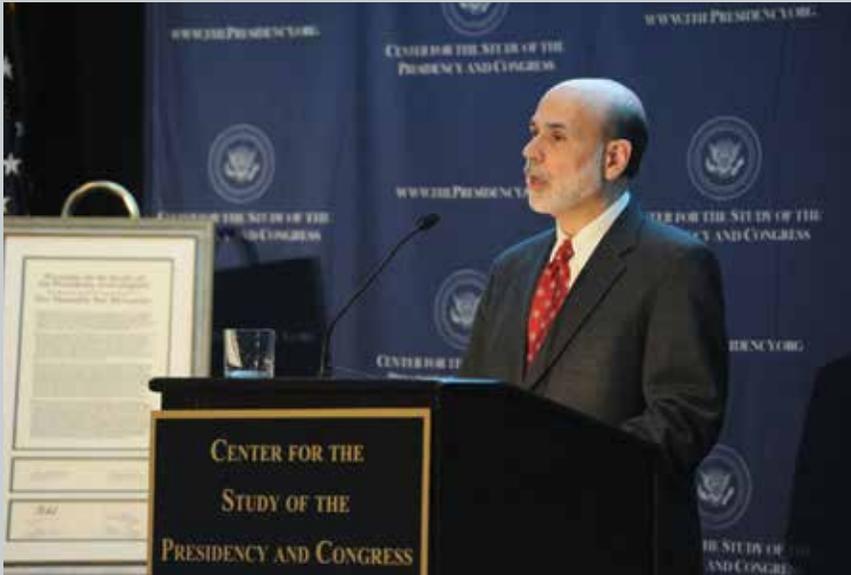




Admiral Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was the recipient of CSPC's *Eisenhower Award* for leadership in national security affairs.



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



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

Preparing and Inspiring Tomorrow's Leaders

For nearly fifty years, CSPC Presidential Fellows have been coming to Washington, D.C., to share their outstanding research and scholarship, and learn about leadership and governance. This unique non-resident program offers up to seventy-five top undergraduate and graduate students from leading colleges and universities across the globe a year-long opportunity to study the U.S. Presidency and Congress.

The Presidential Fellows are selected by their colleges and universities with guidance from the Center. Fellows travel to the capital twice a year to attend three-day conferences. At these policy workshops, Fellows discuss national issues with scholars of American government, senior government officials, and leaders from the fields of business, media, public policy, foreign affairs, and the military.

Recent speakers have included Congresswoman Debbie Dingell; Ambassador Theodore Sedgwick, former Ambassador to the Slovak Republic and Senior Fellow at CSPC; Chris-





CSPC International Presidential Fellows tour the Gettysburg battlefield with Director of Presidential Fellows Erica Ngoenha (above).

A Presidential Fellow meets with Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper, recipient of CSPC's 2018 *Publius Award* for Enlightened Leadership (far left). A Presidential Fellow asks a question during CSPC's Awards Dinner (left and above). Reagan Institute students meet with Governor Hickenlooper at the Annual Awards Dinner. (right)



topher Lu, Deputy Secretary of Labor and White House Cabinet Secretary; Benjamin Wittes, Senior Fellow at Brookings and co-founder of Lawfare; and George Stephanopoulos, a noted alumnus of the Fellows Program and chief political correspondent for ABC News. Presidential Fellows also attend the Center's Annual Awards Dinner honoring leading public servants.

The centerpiece of the Fellowship is the student's original research paper on some important aspect of the Presidency or Congress. Each student identifies a faculty advisor on his or her home campus, and is appointed a mentor from a relevant field by the Center. Students make presentations at each conference, are eligible to receive one of five awards, and compete for publication in our annual anthology, "The Fellows Review."

Fellows can come from any major or academic specialization, but they all have strong academic credentials, a demonstrated interest in the institutions of the Presiden-





Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper, recipient of CSPC's Publius Award, takes time out to speak with next generation leaders at CSPC's Annual Awards Dinner (above and below).

cy and Congress, and a desire to make public service a part of their careers.

Alumni of the Fellows program include Capitol Hill and White House staffers, award-winning journalists, CEOs of corporations and non-profit organizations, senior military leaders, and university presidents and deans. Many of our Fellows have been awarded the prestigious Rhodes, Mar-

shall, Fulbright, Truman, and Gates Scholarships.

As we approach the 50th anniversary of the Fellows Program, we are reinvesting in our alumni, which now includes over 1,500 people. In 2019, CSPC will launch new programming to leverage the alumni network we have built over the last 50 years to continue the work of developing national leaders of character committed to public service. □



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 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.

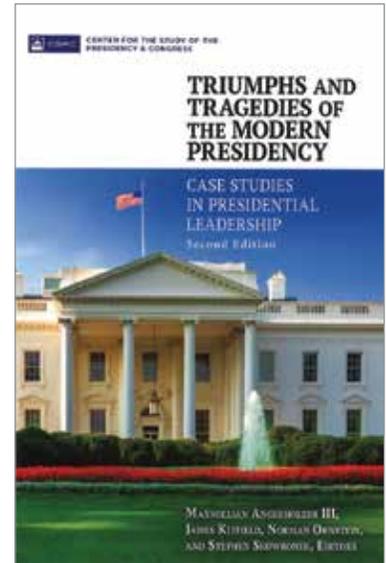
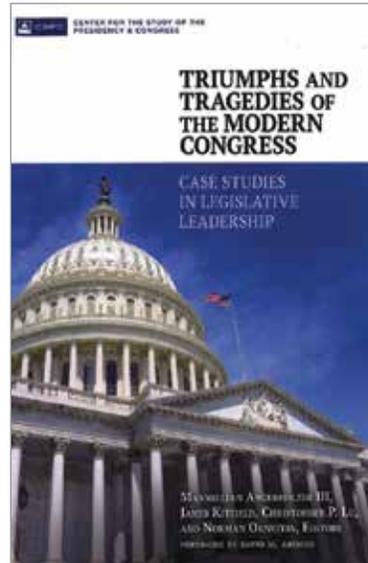
Triumphs & Tragedies in U.S. Governance

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 two 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 also 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.

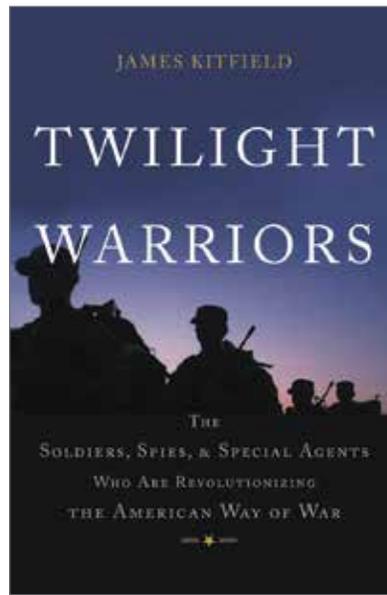
As the classic outsider initially rebuffed by a fractious Congress on the Affordable Care Act, Trump wisely adjusted and relied heavily on his Vice President and former Congressman Mike Pence, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-KY., and House Speaker Paul Ryan, R-WI., to push through the GOP tax 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

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have been the longest and among the least satisfying in U.S. history. U.S. troops have been fighting in both countries for well over a decade, and yet repeated attempts to declare victory and extricate ourselves from these conflicts have failed. Little wonder that many Americans believe that both wars were costly mistakes.

The post-9/11 wars look very different to the men and women who have led the fight. Not necessarily better, but more complex and nuanced than the common narrative of an endless and futile slog. U.S. military, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies have necessarily learned and adapted constantly during a decade and a half of fighting this “global war on terrorists,” as have our determined and adaptive enemies. CSPC Senior Fellow James Kitfield’s *Twilight Warriors: The Soldiers, Spies and Special Agents Who Are Revolutionizing the American Way of War* (Basic Books), which profiles the top U.S. leaders in this long conflict and draws on Mr. Kitfield’s own extensive reporting from the frontlines, attempts to capture those lessons.

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 network-centric model of military operations. That model relied on an unprecedented synergy that developed in the war zones between Special Operations Forces, intelligence and law enforcement agencies, and conventional military forc-



es. 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 in countering a determined and dug-in insurgency.

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, and a stench that still clings to America’s counterterrorism reputation these many years later. 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 and vividly explains how a group of dedicated professionals helped keep our country safe after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.” □

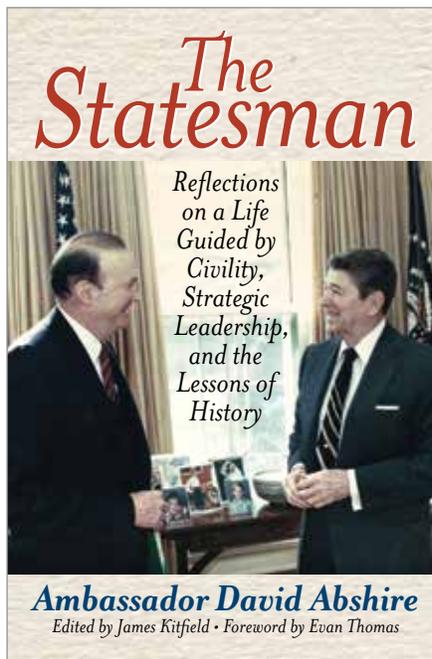
James Kitfield is a Senior Fellow at the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress

A Strategy for American Renewal

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, who was formerly the Chairman and President of CSPC, a co-founder of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the U.S. Ambassador to NATO. Among his many government positions he was special counselor to President Ronald Reagan during the Iran-Contra controversy. As the following excerpt will attest, *The Statesman* amounts to an extraordinary love letter to the nation David Abshire loved and served throughout his career.

My life has spanned the Great Depression, World War II, and the rocky aftermath of the Cold War. I saw our nation emerge from the Second World War as the most powerful in the world. I fought in the Korean War. I served in government during the Vietnam War, which divided the nation. I watched as our nation came together in response to the horror of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and then came apart over the war in Iraq. As an “elder statesman,” I offered counsel to our nation’s leaders in the aftermath of both those tumultuous events. The United States of America that today has risen to the heights of global power was forged in fire and hardship, each step in that long ascent a conscious decision to persevere and prevail.

As I write this at the end of my career, our country has lost its sense of strategic direction and common purpose. Our politics have entered a period of hyper-partisanship and



gridlock. Overseas we are transitioning from a unipolar world of uncontested American power to a multipolar world where we face challenges to our interests and security from multiple directions. Allies question our once trusted leadership. Dangers gather on every front. Put simply, our country is in deep trouble.

We have come to this impasse in large part because of a great deterioration of civility over the past decade and a half. Today, too many in Congress claim to revere the Constitution, and yet they reject any of the compromises required for our Constitutional system of republican federalism to function at all. It must be their way, or no way. That fundamental lack of

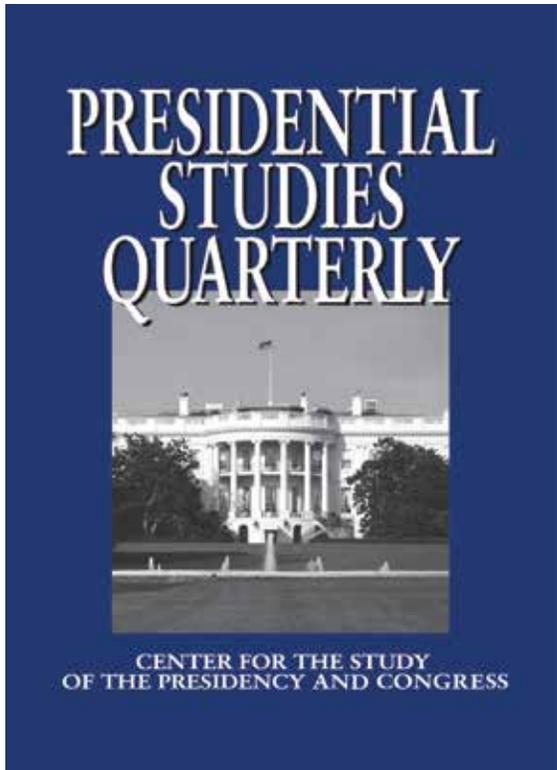
civility and respect among political partisans has in turn produced a profound deficit of trust. And just as civility is the springboard for trust, so too is trust the springboard for compromise and cooperation, the essential ingredients of democratic governance. Without them our leaders lack the political consensus required to take the country to higher ground.

Can American exceptionalism be preserved, and trust and civility returned to our nation’s capital? I believe that is not only possible, but absolutely necessary. If I were to advise the next generation, I would thus suggest acquainting themselves with the wisdom and habits of our best leaders. Their examples would tell us to reinvigorate a politics of lively, robust debate within a framework of respect and civil behavior. Only by shifting our national discussion from the emotional to the intellectual, from impugning personal motives to embracing shared objectives, can trust take root again and grow strong enough to enable our system of governance to function as it was designed. □

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.”

Blind Reviewed Articles

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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Seeking Novel Responses to National Challenges

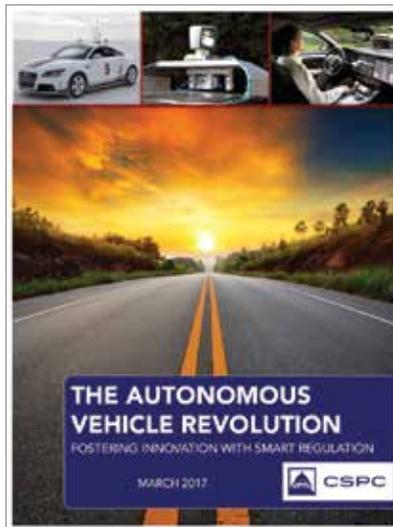
The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has a tradition of encouraging “out of the box” thinking, and working to bridge divides between government policymakers and lawmakers on the one side, and leaders in the private sector and academia on the other. In each of our projects we convene 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. Our reports are never an end in themselves, but rather the beginning of an intense dialogue with public and private partners on how concrete recommendations can be implemented for measurable progress.

A Future of Driverless Cars

In the foreseeable future autonomous motor vehicles will pick up passengers, navigate through the streets of city centers and rural byways, and react to roadway obstacles quicker and more safely than humans. In fact, various models of autonomous vehicles are already being tested in research facilities, and increasingly on public roadways. The commercialization of this technology promises to dramatically alter our nation’s transportation network, and there will be profound second- and third-order effects related to jobs, urban planning, and roadway rules and regulations. For policymakers, the most pressing challenges will involve crafting a regulatory regime that fosters innovation, ensures safety, and balances the equities of stakeholders at the federal, state and local levels.

Winning the Cyberspace Race

The growing list of major cyberattacks on this country



amount to a modern-day “Sputnik” moment, recalling the 1952 launch of the Soviet satellite that ignited the “space race” and led the United States to place a man on the moon. A wide spectrum of private sector entities have already been attacked in cyberspace by foreign governments and criminal enterprises. U.S. infrastructure vital to the energy, water, and communications sectors is likewise constantly probed by adversaries seeking an asymmetric advantage. Russia has already exploited cyberspace to target our democratic institutions. So for the past seven years, CSPC has gathered leaders from the business, law enforcement, academic and government communities to identify better ways to win the race in cyberspace, and meet the challenges of this modern-day Sputnik moment. In 2019 we will continue this critical engagement.

Improving the Business of Government

For America’s continued prosperity, government procurement must better enable the drive for innovation that has made the United States the world’s pre-eminent economic power in the Information Age. That has become increas-

ingly 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” procurement system. □

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