



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE
PRESIDENCY & CONGRESS

Rallying for Global Competition

Applying the lessons of history to the challenges of today



2023

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Rallying for Global Competition

As Americans come to terms with the forces of internal division that have distracted from our national focus in recent years, we must begin to rally to the global competition that is upon us. A rising competitor with a highly divergent vision of the future world order confronts us with urgent challenges—to once again find our strength in unity of purpose; to again assume the mantle of leadership of the community of global democracies; and to chart a path towards security, prosperity and freedom for all Americans that serves as an example for open societies. At the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress, the imperative of meeting those challenges informs all of our work.

To be successful we must remain focused on these tasks. We must organize in ways that leverage our disparate but substantial national strengths. We need to develop a grand strategy that reflects the expertise and know-how of executive agencies, members of Congress from both parties, academic institutions and our robust private sector, all working cooperatively.

At the beginning of 2023 we are completing an election cycle in which some of the most extreme and divisive candidates in key races were firmly rejected by voters. That is a positive sign of the stability of our democratic system. The mid-term elections also delivered a change in the majority in the House of Representatives, a development requiring a new level of bipartisan cooperation if our nation's most pressing needs are to be met.

Fortunately, there is a large degree of bipartisan consensus on the need to advance policies and legislation to enable the United States to win the global competition with China. We must do the hard work of maintaining that consensus, even when the partisan forces inherent in our electoral system seek to pull us apart and distract us. We must build added resilience into our economy, and shore up weaknesses that our adversaries will seek to exploit. We must closely coordinate with allies and gather a broad coalition of friends in Europe and the Indo-Pacific region, and from around the world, to fashion economic and security frameworks that play to our collective strengths and empower free and open



societies. CSPC projects in Geotech, Space, and Great Power Competition over the past year have offered innovative ideas for achieving those goals.

Winning this competition will require completing the first stage of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF), which complements regional defense mechanisms and creates a new economic alignment of a dozen nations that together represent 40 percent of world Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Deeper cooperation among this powerful block of countries will create more resilient national economies.

As we revitalize these elements of our national strength, we must recognize and encourage the work of elected leaders who are willing to work across the political aisle to achieve critical national goals. We must also prepare the next generation of American leaders on whose skills and devotion to public service our future success depends. In the year ahead CSPC will thus continue to strengthen our Presidential Fellows program, growing the network and increasing the participation of Presidential Fellows alumni in our efforts to improve the depth and diversity of our future leaders program.

As part of our electoral reform efforts, CSPC will encourage these future leaders to understand and build on recent innovations in the U.S. electoral system designed to reward politicians willing to work together in the best interests of our country. We believe changing the incentive structure of our electoral system is necessary to empower politicians who see themselves not as performative artists rewarded for social media bombast, but rather as custodians of a democratic project that requires constant nurturing and consensus. We will thus continue to partner with business and activist leaders who are working tirelessly to lead those reform efforts.

On behalf of the Trustees and staff at CSPC, we are deeply grateful for your interest in our work and invite you to join us as we rise to the challenges and competition ahead.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Glenn Nye". The signature is fluid and stylized, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

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

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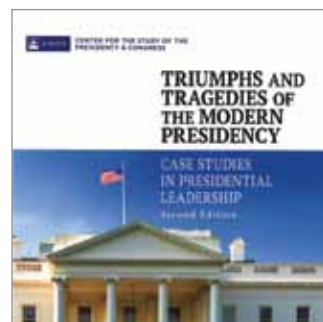
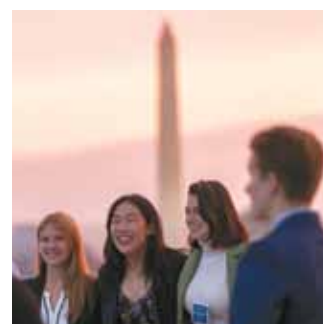
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Section One

Championing Bipartisanship, Civility, & Informed Debate



THE PAST YEAR has been a time of testing for America. As the world largely emerged from the shadow of the global coronavirus pandemic, it has been beset by a roiled economy and the highest inflation in decades. Overseas, Russia's invasion of Ukraine brought war back to the heart of Europe, and an increasingly autocratic and aggressive

China continued to bully its neighbors in the Indo-Pacific. At home recent midterm elections revealed yet again how closely divided the American public remains, with Democrats and Republicans splitting the Senate and House, respectively, by the slimmest of margins. Those elections were marked by some of the most disrespectful and offensive rhetoric in memory.

The late Ambassador David M. Abshire, the long-time president of the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC), and a former adviser to numerous presidents, warned in his memoirs that the nation was heading in this dangerous direction because of hyper-partisanship and a great deterioration in civility in our political debates (see page 46).

At CSPC we thus view it as part of our core mission to promote bipartisanship and civility in our politics, the better to reach the common ground necessary to move our nation forward. To advance that cause, former Representative Mike Rogers, R-MI, continued his important work as the inaugural David M. Abshire Chair at the Center. Rogers' spirit of bipartisanship, reputation for reaching across the political aisle, and deep expertise in matters of national security were honed during his many years as Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Those traits were on clear display in his work of the past year.

A New Era of Great Power Competition

The great animating challenge of the 21st century will be the competition between the United States and China, the world's status quo and rising superpowers, respectively. While global attention is rightly focused on Russia's invasion of Ukraine, we cannot be distracted from the challenge presented by Beijing. China's rise and determination to reshape the international order into one more beneficial to its brand of authoritarian mercantilism represents the most significant threat the United States has faced since the Cold War with the former Soviet Union.

While the Cold War is at best an imperfect analogy for today's geopolitics, China's challenge will similarly require the coordination of all elements of American power. Our primary goal in this century must be to ensure that our nation remains competitive with China in all spheres, while not allowing the contest to spiral into open military conflict. And yet we must also be prepared for even that possibility.

We must stand ready to confront China where necessary, and cooperate where possible. Cooperation cannot mean, however, that we jettison our values or our principals, or naively take Beijing at its word. We must listen less to the carefully crafted messages Beijing sends in English, and more to what China's leaders say at home and in Mandarin. The Chinese Communist Party is expert at stoking nationalism at home while telling U.S. and Western audiences what it believes they want to hear. We take China at its word at our peril.

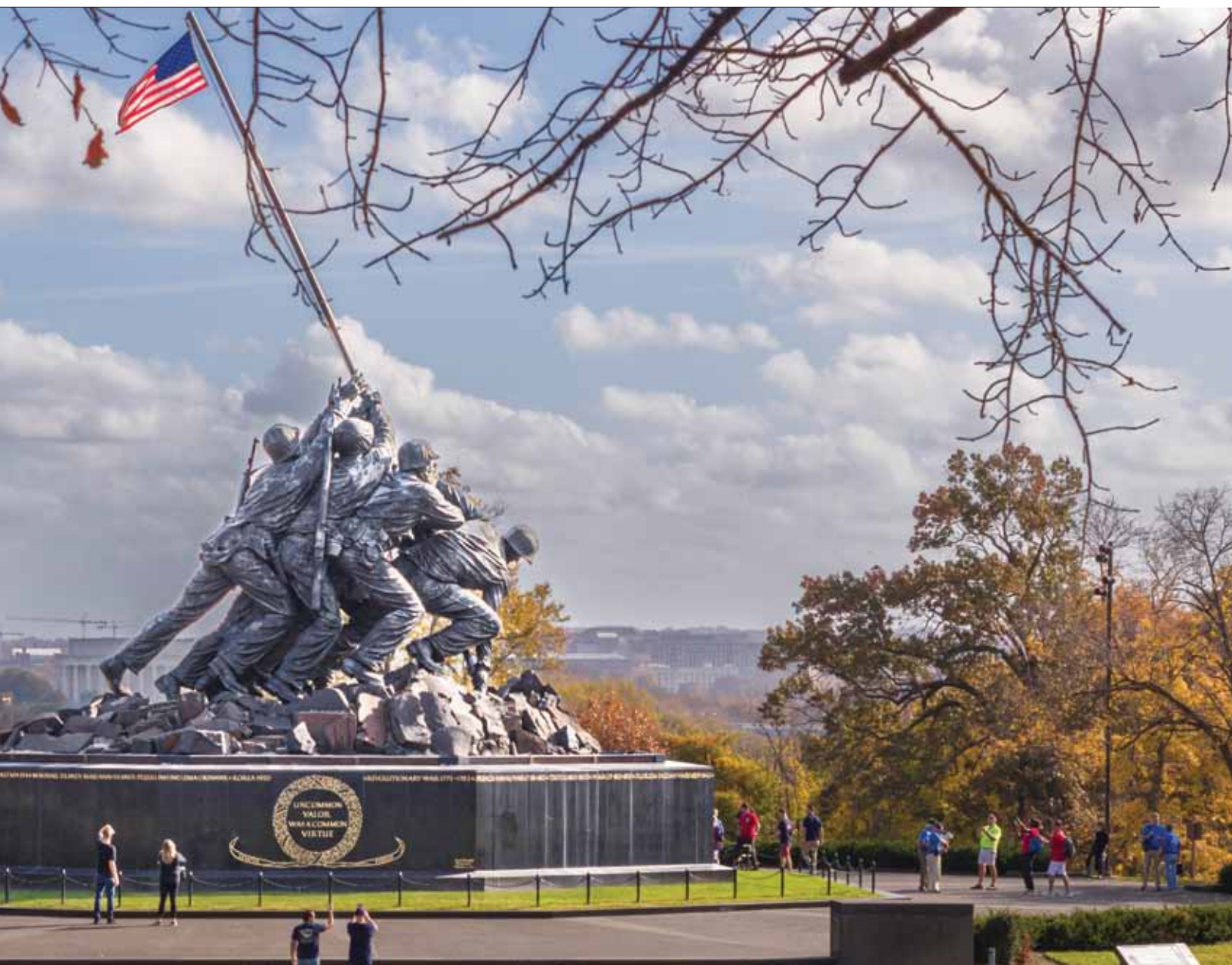
In geopolitics actions speak louder than words. China's expansionist foreign policy calls for redrawing the map of the South China Sea. Beijing has already built man-made islands bristling with military facilities and weapons in international waters. Today it boasts the world's largest navy, and is rapidly modernizing and growing its nuclear arsenal.



Beijing is likewise expanding its space-based and space-enabled military capabilities with an eye to not only contesting America's dominance on orbit, but also to ensure that China writes the future rules for operating in space.

The People's Liberation Army is also carefully learning lessons from Russia's failures in Ukraine, and from the West's response to that aggression. Much like the Spanish Civil War served as a test bed for the tactics and techniques the fascists eventually adopted in the Second World War, Ukraine could serve as a potential proving ground for how a conflict over Taiwan plays out.

China is also a diplomatic challenge *sine pari* – without equal. Over the past year China courted the Solomon



The United States Marine Corps War Memorial depicts the planting of the U.S. flag atop Iwo Jima during World War II, but it is dedicated to all Marines who have given their lives in defense of the United States.

Islands and secured basing rights that will allow it to project power deeper into the Indo-Pacific region. The United States has largely neglected the South Pacific despite the critical role it played in World War II, and it is proving fertile ground for advancing Chinese interests. We watched China's "Wolf Warrior" diplomacy at work in Beijing's attempts to bully our NATO ally Lithuania over its closer relations with Taiwan. Throughout Africa, China is making inroads simply by showing up. While Washington slept, China has made inroads in recent years in Africa, Latin America and across the Global South.

Beijing continues to try and rewrite the rules that govern the international order for its own benefit. China has gained

a foothold in nearly every international organization, for instance, from the United Nations to more regional forums, and it is attempting to coopt these institutions. These efforts are masked as an attempt to "level the playing field," but China is blatantly attempting to tilt the international system in its own favor. For too long Washington, D.C. has paid little attention to these efforts, deeming them unworthy of pushback. That is a luxury we can no longer afford.

China has also made clear its goal of dominating in the realm of advanced technology. Beijing's investments in artificial intelligence (AI) and machine learning are already paying dividends. Its surveillance state and unprecedented collection of the personal information of its citizens is the



“The new Congress can help communicate to the American people why this great power competition matters to them, their children, and their grandchildren. It matters because China represents a challenge unlike any that we’ve faced in the 21st century.”

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

envy of authoritarians the world over. Beijing’s intellectual property theft has enabled its companies and research institutes to leap generations ahead of where they would otherwise be. U.S. companies simply cannot fairly compete on a playing field so skewed in China’s favor.

Nearly a decade ago, as the Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I teamed with my Democratic counterpart Dutch Ruppersberger, D-Maryland, to raise the first warnings about government-backed Chinese communications and technology conglomerates like Huawei and ZTE. The discounted technology they sell around the globe is often too attractive for many countries to turn down, even though that cut rate comes with a high price tag in terms of compromised security. In recent years Washington, D.C. has awoken to this threat, but the fact that it took nearly a decade of warnings before substantive action was taken should concern us all.

China also represents a profound financial challenge. Beijing’s pursuit of a digital currency is an attempt to undermine the stability of the global financial system and weaken the U.S. dollar as the global reserve currency of choice. For too long international businesses have looked the other way from the intellectual property theft and corruption inherent in China’s mercantilist business model, all in a search for the untold riches of a vast market. Leading banks and international financial institutions were similarly blinded by the potential profits of the Chinese market, ignoring the critical threat the Chinese Communist Party represents.

China is also a cultural challenge. Hollywood self-censored in its pursuit of the Chinese market, and struck deals that resulted in a massive transfer of technology to China. We should not be surprised that China now wants to establish its own Hollywood, or that China’s media exports are finding homes across the Global South. We simply can no

longer afford to cede this ground to Beijing uncontested.

The incoming Congress has a rare opportunity. Lawmakers today can capitalize on a growing bipartisan consensus on the challenge that China represents, and that’s a great point from which to start. We don’t need to refight the last election or seek out new battlefields in the culture wars. We need instead to find common ground on how best to win the complex competition with China while hopefully avoiding outright conflict.

Congress can start by pressing the State Department to prioritize non-traditional areas of diplomacy such as the South Pacific, and to show up at more meetings of international and multilateral organizations. Lawmakers can build on the recently passed CHIPS and Science Act and drive more investment in high technology here at home. In order to reaffirm our military commitment to the Indo-Pacific, Congress should reinvest in our Navy, enhance our Air and Space Forces, and help prepare the Army and Marines to project power in the region.

The new Congress can also help communicate to the American people why this great power competition matters to them, their children, and their grandchildren. China represents a challenge unlike any that we’ve faced in the 21st century. Beijing’s intellectual property theft undermines American businesses; its cyber hacking campaigns expose the U.S. public’s sensitive personal information; its subversion of the rules-based international order increases geopolitical instability; and its threatening behavior in the Indo-Pacific risks war over Taiwan. Put simply, the great power competition with China affects every American, in nearly every aspect of their lives, even if they don’t fully realize it. The new Congress can help the public understand the nature of this threat, and thus show the leadership our country will need in the years ahead. □

Friday News Roundups

During another norm-breaking year the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) offered analysis of each week's news in our "Friday News Roundups," which give our experts and researchers an opportunity to dig deep behind the headlines to provide insight and historical context. The timely commentary complements our longer-term work by allowing us to connect current events to deeper trends. The topics covered in the last year ranged far and wide, including Russia's unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine; the impact of the January 6, 2021 attack on the Capitol on our political discourse; the enduring U.S.-Japan partnership; and the passing of a pioneering woman who shattered glass ceilings in her rise to the top levels of the U.S. government.

Remembering Madeleine Albright



Madeleine Albright's character, determination, and leadership qualities guided her to the positions of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and Secretary of

State, breaking barriers in what had previously been largely a male-dominated foreign policy establishment. Perhaps the clearest manifestation of Albright's impact on the world can be found among the people of Kosovo, who cheered her defense of their country and nicknamed her "Nona" (mother) for her role in Kosovo's independence, and the pursuit of justice against Serbian war crimes.

Glenn Nye, CSPC President and CEO — March 25, 2022

Political Violence & Threats to Democracy



Through false equivalencies, tu quoque arguments, conspiracy theories, "what-aboutism," political expediency, and partisan media — all fueled by falsehoods

about the 2020 election — the magnitude of this act of political violence has been lost in our partisan deadlock and the mentality it produces.

Dan Mahaffee, CSPC Vice President — January 7, 2022

The Ukraine Crisis

The problem is that the West finds itself in the midst of a strategic gambit for which it was unprepared, is not fully



in command of the pieces at play, and doesn't really understand Russia's game — indeed anyone who says they do should be viewed with suspicion.

Joshua Huminski, Director of the Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence & Global Affairs — January 14, 2022

A New Era of Voting Laws



Democrats and Republicans spent numerous hours debating this legislation, but further engagement with the American public would help build understanding of the importance of new voting rights legislation.

Evelyn Jimenez, CSPC Intern, January 21, 2022

Deepening Pacific Rim Ties



The military of any nation serves as a critical tool in diplomacy and integration. With regards to cooperation, few examples demonstrate the same level of resolve and collaboration as the relationship between the U.S.

and Japanese militaries. The 50,000 U.S. personnel in Japan denote the single largest body of internationally deployed forces anywhere in the world.

CSPC Senior Fellow Ethan Brown — January 21, 2022



Setting the Stage for Strategic Startups

The advantages of U.S. startups and our innovations cannot be lost to

overly bureaucratic policies that solely favor established, large players that have the know-how and resources to navigate the wickets of working in Washington, D.C.

CSPC Vice President Dan Mahaffee and Senior Advisor Samantha Clark — January 28, 2022

Japan's Quixotic Faith in Russia



After Abe's decade-long summitry with Putin, Japan under a new leader finds itself once again at a fresh starting point in relations with Russia. The

19th-century Russian statesman Fyodor Tyutchev famously declared that Russia could be appreciated not with the mind, but only by faith alone. Ironically, Abe and his like-minded predecessors in Japan appeared to have heeded Tyutchev's wisdom ... to no avail.

CSPC Senior Fellow Hidetoshi Azuma — January 28, 2022



Mixed Signals on Russia-Ukraine Crisis

The Kremlin has publicized supposed withdrawals from the Ukrainian border while also alleging the existence of a

genocide against Russian-speakers in Ukraine. Such claims are particularly worrisome, since they represent the core of how Russia may attempt to justify any potential future action against Ukraine.

CSPC Advisor Wesley Culp — February 18, 2022



A Premature Embassy Shutdown

Washington made the decision to close our Embassy in Kabul while the Taliban were on the

march toward the capital. I do not mean to downplay the

fear that many felt when they heard the Taliban were at the gates of the city. But closing the U.S. Embassy most certainly fueled public panic and contributed to the stampede toward the airport.

Robert W. Gerber, CSPC Senior Fellow — February 18, 2022



The U.S.-China Tech Decoupling

The Biden administration has continued a focus that began in the Trump administration regarding

the race with China in critical technologies. Many in the Trump administration were ahead of the curve in identifying this challenge, but a consistent strategy was difficult when the message from the top-down was more about a transactional relationship with China — until the final post-Covid rupture.

CSPC Vice President Dan Mahaffee — October 14, 2022



Baltic Sea Sabotage

Many European countries have long been worried about the vulnerability of critical infrastructure in

the Baltic Sea region. Cutting off gas is one thing — underwater data cables could be next. Disruptions to maritime transport routes through the Baltic Sea would be detrimental to the security of supply of nearby countries, for example Finland.

CSPC Visiting Fellow Veera Parko — September 30, 2022



U.S. Lagging in Global Electric Vehicle Race

Certainly, the goals set out in the legislation pose a significant hurdle for an

industry with limited access to the crucial components needed for battery production. But the long term objective is to shift battery sourcing away from China, and promote American competitiveness. This will take patience due to the lag in developing mining capabilities and battery cell production.

CSPC Intern Sofia Piña Jaubert — September 23, 2022

Timely Analysis & Reporting on National Defense

In 2023 the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) will continue its long history of operating at the intersection of strategy and national security. Our continuing focus on national security issues is all the more critical given growing instability in the rules-based international order as a result of Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, and China's escalating threats against Taiwan.

Our ongoing work focusing on this great power competition includes regular analysis and media commentary by CSPC experts, including President and former Congressman Glenn Nye III; David M. Abshire Chair Mike Rogers, former chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; Dan Mahaffee, Senior Vice President and Director of Policy and lead on CSPC's "Geotech" project; Joshua Huminski, Director of the Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence and Global Affairs, and lead on CSPC's National Security Space Program; CSPC Senior Fellow and national security correspondent James Kitfield, a three-time recipient of the Gerald R. Ford Award for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense; Senior Fellow Ethan Brown, a former Air Force Joint Terminal Attack Controller; and Visiting Fellow Veera Parko, on loan from Finland's Interior Ministry.

"The role of commercial space in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine is nothing short of astonishing. From near constant surveillance from multi-spectral satellites appearing on the news on a regular basis to the use of commercial satellites to augment military operations, this war has illustrated just how much of an impact space can have on a modern battlefield."

— CSPC President Glenn Nye and
Abshire Chair Mike Rogers
The Hill, August 17, 2022



Arlington National Cemetery, the final resting place of nearly 400,000 military service members and veterans, has been called "America's Valhalla."

"Prior to the Ukraine invasion, Russia's [hybrid warfare] efforts achieved some success. Russia's operations across Europe—poisoning former spies in the United Kingdom, assassinating opposition figures in Germany, and bombing munitions depots in the Czech Republic—resulted in fewer lasting consequences than their actions warranted. Russia views politics as an international competition, one

without borders, and one in which everyone interferes in everyone else's activities."

— Joshua Huminski, Director
Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence & Global Affairs
Modern War Institute, August 24, 2022

"At the heart of US-China tensions is the 'One China' policy, a venerable agreement under which the United States acknowledges Beijing as the only legitimate Chinese government, while also supplying military equipment to Taiwan and insisting that any reunification across the Taiwan Strait must be peaceful and agreed upon by both sides. When asked at a news conference whether he would be willing to use force to defend Taiwan, President Joe Biden seemed to abandon the strategic ambiguity at the core of the One China policy, replying that 'Yes, that is the commitment we made.'"

— James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow
Breaking Defense, August 1, 2022

"Future conflicts in high-intensity locales require fundamentally evolving the personnel inventory for urban, contested environments. It requires tools like electronic warfare, cyber, and intelligence collection capabilities to highlight adversary paramilitary and hybrid activities to prepare the battlespace."

— Ethan Brown, CSPC Senior Fellow
Task & Purpose, June 3, 2022

Timely Commentary on National Challenges

“Today, we find ourselves in the midst of a global ideological conflict between liberal democracy and authoritarianism. Friendly democracies need, once again, to come together to establish a new economic agreement — one based on the liberal values of free trade, competition and freedom. Think of this as a digital Bretton Woods.”

Mike Rogers, CSPC Abshire Chair
The Financial Times, June 13, 2022

FINANCIAL TIMES

“The future of America in space is found in Space Systems Command’s vision of space access, mobility and logistics. It’s an ambitious plan, but one that could meet the challenges of today and tomorrow, while providing a pathway for leveraging commercial innovation.”

CSPC President Glenn Nye and
Joshua Huminski, Director of the
Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence
& Global Affairs

The Hill, October 19, 2022



“Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. C.Q. Brown Jr. recently described the existential stakes at play in the nation’s confrontations with aggressive, authoritarian regimes in Beijing and Moscow. ‘If we don’t get this right together—if we fail to adapt—we risk our national security, our ideals, and the current rules-based international order,’ Brown warned.”

James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow

AIR & SPACE FORCES
MAGAZINE

Air & Space Forces Magazine,
October 7, 2022

“Russian President Vladimir Putin judges that the West is weak. The United States should use Russia’s aggression to unify Western alliances, heal divisions in transatlantic and transpacific partnerships and restore bipartisanship in a national security establishment in Washington, D.C. increasingly beset by division.”

CSPC President Glenn Nye and
Abshire Chair Mike Rogers

The Hill, January 31, 2022



“This is what some analysts suspect Putin hopes to achieve: dragging the conflict out as long as possible to create and exploit gaps in the West’s support for Ukraine. The longer the conflict drags on, the greater the political and economic cost, the greater the likelihood that Russia will achieve its aims.”

Joshua Huminski, Director
Mike Rogers Center for
Intelligence & Global Affairs
The Hill, August 24, 2022



“The United States’ efforts to persuade its allies of a pending Russian invasion of Ukraine, and to rob Russia of any legitimacy in going through with it, marked a notable shift in the use of strategic intelligence — one that could signal a new era for intelligence-as-strategy, and one for which Beijing, among others, is likely preparing.”



Joshua Huminski, Director
Mike Rogers Center for
Intelligence & Global Affairs
Breaking Defense, August 18, 2022

“Ever since his service as a Cold War KGB intelligence officer, Putin has chafed against the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. After the chaotic, U.S.-led retreat from Afghanistan, four years of ‘America First’ rhetoric from former President Trump, and the Jan. 6, 2021 insurrection at the Capitol, Putin also believed that



the Western alliance was weak.”

James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow
Yahoo News, January 28, 2022

“The next Congress has a significant opportunity to radically reshape the way we approach pandemic preparedness. Undoubtedly their to-do list will be long and the economic pressures increasing, but the cost of inaction and missed opportunities will far outweigh the costs of smartly investing in a [pandemic] insurance policy.”



CSPC President Glenn Nye and
Vice President Dan Mahaffee
The Hill, November 23, 2022

“War remains abhorrent, but the need to bring the Ukraine conflict to a speedy conclusion justifies hard, candid questions and implementations of warfighting strategy beyond more weapons and tools. It begs further questions about how the West is failing to enable Ukraine to become a legitimate and credible deterrent.”



Ethan Brown,
CSPC Senior Fellow
Task & Purpose, August 2, 2022

“No country is watching what happens in Eastern Europe more closely than China. While we rightly focus on what happens in Moscow and Kyiv, we cannot take our eye off of Beijing, because the road to Taipei may well lead through the battlefields of Ukraine.”



Mike Rogers, CSPC Abshire Chair
Breaking Defense,
March 4, 2022

“To respond to today’s complex threats better, Western governments should capitalize on the renewed impulse toward stronger national defense and civic responsibility to build more resilient societies. Those efforts, in turn, would strengthen national unity.”



Veera Parko,
CSPC Visiting Fellow
The Hill, November 2, 2022



“National security space includes the great work of the Space Force, Space Command and the intelligence community. But it must also include our commercial partners, our industrial base and the governance of space. This has been the case in theory, but it is now time we put that definition into practice.”



CSPC President Glenn Nye and
Abshire Chair Mike Rogers
The Hill, August 17, 2022

“Moscow is effective at exploiting the West’s systemic weaknesses to advance its political warfare aims. For example, the West should expect Russia to leverage the effects of food shortages, rising energy prices, and the resulting economic shocks to discredit the West’s response in Ukraine.”



Joshua Huminski, Director
Mike Rogers Center for
Intelligence & Global Affairs
Modern War Institute, August 24, 2022

“While COVID-19 may seem like a distant memory for some, the risks of natural or intentional disease spreading is still very much with us — it is not a matter of if, but when, the next pandemic strikes. Unfortunately, the issue of pandemic preparedness has taken on a partisan bent.”



CSPC President Glenn Nye and
Vice President Dan Mahaffee
The Hill, November 23, 2022

“The question that arises is whether the successful Ukrainian counteroffensives represents a turning point? It’s hard to be sure because war is inherently the most unpredictable endeavor of humankind. But it certainly is a momentum shift.”



James Kitfield,
CSPC Senior Fellow
NPR’s 1A Program,
September 16, 2022

“While the West coordinates the imposition of wide-reaching sanctions on Russia, the Chinese Communist Party is developing its own program of autarky — self-sufficiency and resilience in the face of potential sanctions that it could experience if it moves against Taiwan.”



Mike Rogers,
CSPC Abshire Chair
Breaking Defense, March 4, 2022



“The war in Ukraine is the first where a mature commercial space industry had an appreciable effect on our understanding of the war. It is validation of the capabilities many in the commercial space sector long highlighted and, at the same time, advocated for the national security space enterprise to embrace.”

Joshua Huminski, Director
Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence & Global Affairs
Space News, April 28, 2022



“As Russian military forces continue trying to bomb Ukraine into submission, it is certainly not lost on U.S. military leaders that Putin’s recently stated demands that NATO halt its expansion and remove military forces from its eastern flank countries suggest where his ire and ambition may be focused next.”

James Kitfield, CSPC Senior Fellow

**BREAKING
DEFENSE**

Breaking Defense,

March 11, 2022

“Why has liberalism failed to incentivize Russia to turn away from its realist inclinations? The answer seems to be that liberalism as practiced simply lacks the levers of interest to compel or persuade power-focused realist states to integrate into a rules-based international order.”



Ethan Brown, CSPC Senior Fellow

Diplomatic Courier,

February 25, 2022

“The United States clearly has a ‘pacing threat’ in China — a country that is rapidly advancing its position in space and seeking to supplant American leadership at every turn. With this urgent challenge upon us, the space environment demands that we get it right, and right now.”

CSPC President Glenn Nye and Joshua Huminski,

Director of the Mike Rogers Center

for Intelligence & Global Affairs

The Hill, October 19, 2022



“The Chinese Communist Party is actively working to undermine freedom by dismantling the integrity of our election systems. With the FBI opening a new espionage investigation into China every 10 hours, it’s clear: China doesn’t want you to vote.”

Mike Rogers, CSPC Abshire Chair

The Washington Times

October 29, 2022

The Washington Times

“To date, security force assistance has not been integrated into the Air Force’s doctrine and operational plans. This mission should be organized as a program, and trained and equipped above the major command level. This simple change would help to overcome the biggest hurdles.”

Ethan Brown, CSPC Senior Fellow



War on the Rocks, October 14, 2022

“The underlying message behind U.S. cyber security initiatives would have been familiar to an American public during World War II: Every American citizen has a role to play in defending the nation against those who would do us harm. In the age of cyberwarfare, that can mean simply hesitating before clicking.”



CSPC President Glenn Nye

& Senior Fellow James Kitfield

The Hill, April 22, 2022



Section Two

Fighting Aggression, Securing Democracy



As we contemplate the year ahead, Russia's continued war of aggression against Ukraine has brought death, destruction and suffering to the heart of Europe on a scale not seen since World War II. The conflict has severely disrupted global energy and food supplies, and created a massive migration crisis. Coming on the heels of the worst pandemic in over a century, the Ukraine War has destabilized an already shaky global economy. In the East, an increasingly autocratic and aggressive China continues to bully neighbors and threaten Taiwan militarily, roiling the Indo-Pacific region.

A world in crisis has once again highlighted the indispensable role of the United States as leader of the alliance of democracies. Yet our own democracy has been weakened by deep divisions in the body politic, and a downward spiral in our political discourse whose origins are primarily structural. The American people are fed a steady diet of disinformation and divisive rhetoric, and our political system is awash in dark money, pay-to-play politics, and gerrymandered electoral maps designed to favor one party over the other.

The hallmark of the American political experiment, however, is an instinct for continual self-improvement and national renewal, which are core values at the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress (CSPC). To tackle our current challenges, CSPC has teamed with like-minded reform groups to form a "Fix the System" coalition driven not by partisan rancor, but rather by a bipartisan spirit of electoral reform. With a tradition of deep analysis of national security trends, CSPC also continues to bring historical context and innovative solutions to the emerging era of great power competition. .

War Returns to Europe

Wars change the course of history, and can chart the rise and fall of major powers. That is doubly true for state-on-state aggression waged by a nuclear power in the heart of Europe. Russia's invasion of Ukraine beginning last February has thus badly shaken the rules-based international order, and has already resulted in global energy and food insecurity, historic refugee flows, an estimated loss of 100,000 troops killed and wounded on both sides, and rising threats of nuclear Armageddon.

While the ultimate outcome of the Ukraine War remains very much in doubt, the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) spent the past year convening national security experts and authors, talking to senior U.S. and allied officials, and participating in top-level security forums to divine lessons learned from the Ukraine War, as well as myths surrounding the conflict that need debunking. Some early examples follow:

Putin's Military Miscalculation

Though Russia has been in some kind of shooting conflict for all but three of his 22 years in power, Russian President Vladimir Putin is essentially a KGB ap-paratchik with a deep strain of megalomania, rather than the military strategist or strategic chess master that he is sometimes described as.

"Ukraine was not the war that Russian generals would have chosen, but rather it was the choice of one man with no real military experience who to an amazing degree has surrounded himself with a tight circle of 70-something ex-KGB Officers," said Russian expert Mark Galeotti, author of the recent book "Putin's Wars," speaking at a roundtable recently hosted by CSPC. Putin's inner circle all have the mindset of spooks, he noted, and they are versed in subversion, dirty tricks and misdirection, as opposed to conventional warfare.

"Putin's luck in the past was to pick wars Russia could easily win like Georgia and the annexation of Crimea," said Galeotti.



A Kiev memorial commemorating the "Great Patriotic War" against the Germans speaks to Ukraine's turbulent past, and volatile present.

"Now that he's picked a really nasty fight with a country of 40 plus million people, his miscalculations have come back to bite him in a big way."

Already Putin has fallen flat on his three primary goals at the outset of the Ukraine War, namely failing to depose Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy; quickly capturing the capital of Kiev; and sowing disunity within the NATO alliance. Instead, Zelenskyy's wartime leadership has made him a global hero, Russian troops were forced to retreat from Kyiv and more recently Kherson, and the NATO alliance remains not only unified, but is also expanding along Russia's borders with the anticipated addition of Sweden and Finland.

"Those all count as epic fails, amounting to a strategic failure for Putin in Ukraine," said Richard Moore, chief of Great

The United States and its allies have offered unprecedented military and economic support to Ukraine, viewing the conflict as a critical fulcrum in the long brewing confrontation between Western-style democracies and increasingly autocratic and aggressive powers in Russia and China.

Britain's secret foreign intelligence service MI-6, speaking at the Aspen Security Forum.

Ambitious U.S. Goals

The United States and its allies have offered unprecedented military and economic support to Ukraine, viewing the conflict as a critical fulcrum in the long brewing confrontation between Western-style democracies and increasingly autocratic powers in Russia and China. Last year on the eve of the Russia invasion, Putin and Chinese President Xi Jinping even met to announce a strategic alliance and “friendship without limits.”

For its part the United States has already pledged more than \$54 billion of support for Ukraine, and the Biden administration has articulated ambitious strategic goals.

“We want to see a sovereign, independent and viable Ukraine emerge proudly from this conflict able to repel any future Russian aggression,” said National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan, speaking at the Aspen Forum, which CSPP Senior Fellow James Kitfield covered. “Our other objective is to ensure that Russia’s invasion of Ukraine is a strategic failure for Putin. The lesson that goes forth to would-be aggressors needs to be that if you try something like this, it will come at a cost that is not worth bearing.”

China's Watching

Indeed, a major question raised by the conflict is what lessons Beijing might take from the Ukraine War, and how they might impact its oft-stated plans to reunify with Taiwan, by military force if necessary. Beijing has reportedly been disturbed by the poor performance of the Russian military and weaponry, and by the fact that Putin has managed to drive the United States and its European allies closer together.

The resilience and courage of the Ukrainian people in the face of Russia's unprovoked war of aggression and countless war crimes have inspired free peoples around the world.

“For all those reasons I think the Chinese are a bit unsettled by the Ukraine War, but I still wouldn't underestimate President Xi's determination to assert China's control over Taiwan,” said CIA Director William Burns, speaking at the Aspen Forum. “I suspect that the lesson China is drawing is that [in a Taiwan scenario] it has to amass overwhelming force, control the information space, shore up its economy against potential Western sanc-



tions, and do everything possible to drive a wedge between the United States and its allies in the Indo-Pacific region,” said Burns. “So I still think Xi is determined to ensure that he has the capabilities to undertake such action against Taiwan if he chooses to move in that direction, and the risks of him actually doing that become higher the further into this decade we travel.”

Rethinking the Unthinkable

As last year came to an end Russia was launching withering missile strikes on Ukraine’s electric grid and energy infrastructure, provoking Kiev to respond by using drones to attack air bases deep inside Russian territory. As a result a troubling question has darkened the counsels of top U.S. officials to a degree not seen since the darkest days of the Cold War: What if Russian President Putin sees himself backed into a corner and about to lose the war in Ukraine, and possibly his leadership position in the Kremlin?

“We have not faced the prospect of Armageddon since Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” President Biden told a crowd

last fall. “We are trying to figure out: What is Putin’s off ramp? Where does he find a way out? Where does he find himself where he does not only lose face but significant power?”

For a long time Russia has had a doctrine of increased reliance on tactical nuclear weapons and a strategy of “escalate to de-escalate.” Along with a steady stream of nuclear saber rattling coming from Russian officials and commentators, the possibility of the first use of nuclear weapons since the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II cannot be easily dismissed. Concerns about such a possible escalation are clearly behind the Biden administration’s refusal to supply Ukraine with long-range missile systems and fighter aircraft that might reach into Russia proper, and the White House’s oft-stated determination that U.S. forces not become directly involved in the conflict and risk “World War III.”

“As a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and chief of the Air Force, which controls two legs of the strategic nuclear triad – ICBMs and bombers – my role is to discuss possible options and the risk associated with each if the president should request them,” said General Charles Brown, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, when asked at the Aspen Forum about Russia’s possible use of nuclear weapons in Ukraine. “First we need to understand the message we want to send, keeping in mind that it’s all about deterrence. The goal is not to get into a broader conflict than exists today. We also need to pay a lot of attention to risk, so that options don’t lead you down a slippery slope of escalation.”

Rose Gottemoeller is the former Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, and Deputy Secretary General of NATO. “There are no signs yet that Russia has raised the operational readiness of its strategic nuclear forces, but we are all worried about the dreadful case of a single, tactical nuclear strike against a Ukrainian ground target or over the Black Sea,” she said in Aspen. “I think Putin still feels that his forces are making progress in Ukraine, but the moment he feels like they are stumbling, that will be the most dangerous moment. I am concerned about that scenario.” □



A Colder Peace in the Indo-Pacific

Historians may one day look back on 2022 as the year a Sino-American “Cold War” began in earnest. Last year’s Party Congress and coronation of Xi Jinping as the supreme leader for an unprecedented third term, coupled with the Biden administration’s escalation of technology sanctions on China, marked a wholesale shift in how Beijing and Washington perceive each other. Coming after Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and the announcement of a Sino-Russian partnership “without limits,” perceptions of threats and adversaries are changing dramatically, not only for U.S. and Chinese policymakers, but also for government and business leaders around the world.

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has launched a series of projects and initiatives designed to better inform policymakers, lawmakers and business leaders about the coming period of great power competition. If history does not repeat but rather rhymes, to paraphrase Mark Twain, then our leaders need to fully understand the unique tenor to the period of growing competition and tension that is now dawning.

In the original Cold War, while tensions between Washington and Moscow grew in Europe, it was the outbreak of the Korean War that forged the U.S. and allied consensus on the need to unite for the long struggle to come. Currently the flashpoints between Washington and Beijing can be found in the Straits of Taiwan and the South China Sea. Yet it has been Russia’s unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine that has awoken policymakers to the profound dangers of this period, leading to a geostrategic shift away from globalization and towards a more complicated competition.

Navigating the shoals of this dangerous period will require a careful balance between embracing our strengths and fortifying our weaknesses, while being clear eyed about the scope of the challenges ahead. While the challenges presented by a rising China are profound, for instance, we do not confront the kind of clear divide between blocs that the Iron Curtain delineated. Our economic interdependence with China remains significant, though it must increasingly be reevaluated. We need to increasingly source supply chains for strategically critical technologies at home or



As the status quo and rising superpowers, the United States and China increasingly find themselves in direct competition, and disagreeing on a host of fundamental issues that include trade, human rights and Beijing’s threats against democratic Taiwan.

among allies who share our values, while also reconsidering supply sources in other fields such as green technology, fin-tech, and automated systems.

In China, political changes continue to color the economic and technology picture. The 20th Party Congress made clear that this is now “Xi Jinping’s China.” The standing committee of loyalists capped a steady concentration of power in the supreme leader that has taken place over the past decade — often behind the scenes, other times very

We can see Xi Jinping's iron fist in the Uyghur genocide, in the crackdown on Hong Kong, in Beijing's bullying "wolf-warrior" diplomacy, and in the Chinese military's decade-long preparation for the invasion of Taiwan.

publicly. Gone is the former consensus-based system that served as a brake on one-man rule of China.

China's leadership cadre of loyalists is now focused solely on enabling Xi Jinping's priorities, and his whims. We see those priorities, and Xi's iron fist, in his "Zero-Covid" strat-



egy, in the Uyghur genocide, and in the crackdown on Hong Kong. We see it also in the debt-trap coercion underlying China's "Belt and Road" initiative, and in Beijing's repugnant "wolf-warrior" diplomacy on the world stage. Most sinister, we clearly see the target of Xi's obsessions in the Chinese military's careful, decade-long preparation for the invasion of Taiwan. Beijing's overreaction to last year's visit to Taiwan by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) – which included provocative Chinese military drills around the island's periphery — demonstrated the scope of China's ambitions in regards to its democratic neighbor.

The Biden administration's shift regarding the technolo-

gy competition with China reflects these growing tensions. The United States is now openly attempting to constrain China's technological advance. Halting Beijing's access to key U.S. technologies does buy some time, and may helpfully shut off some avenues of research and development. But the United States can no longer assume technological superiority over its great power rival, nor can we expect other countries to automatically follow our lead in this competition with our ascendant rival in the East.

On the issue of the threat posed by China there has been rare bipartisan consensus in Washington, D.C. In many ways the Biden administration has continued a tough line towards China that policymakers in the Trump administration began. An incoming Republican House majority is likely to propose even harsher economic measures. U.S. lawmakers and officials would do well to avoid the temptation, however, of trying to "out-China, China" by adopting policies that do more harm than good to our own international competitiveness (see "Geotech" coverage on page 32). Suffice it to say that U.S.-China economic co-dependence will increasingly be challenged by the growing geopolitical tension at the core of the relationship, and subsequent pressures in both capitals for decoupling.

This complex economic relationship between the United States and China distinguishes this period of great power competition from the Cold War. During the Cold War both sides occupied distinct economic blocs, and jockeyed for advantage primarily utilizing military forces, spies and diplomats. Success in this competition will depend just as much on financial markets, supply chains, critical infrastructure, and other sinews of economic power. As during the Cold War, however, America's natural advantage and force-multiplier will be our ability to attract allies to our cause, leading by example and proving that a liberal, rules-based order based on free enterprise and the rule of law is still far superior to any alternatives offered up in Beijing and Moscow. □

Democracy Requires Constant Nurturing



Polls have shown that a solid majority of Americans want politicians in Washington, D.C. to work together to get the nation's business done. Instead our political system too often produces hyper-partisanship and gridlock.

Since its creation of the bipartisan Commission on Civility and Effective Governance in 2018, CSPC has remained focused on supporting coalitions of government and business leaders of all stripes to reform our electoral system, and to promote

better cooperation and less dysfunction among elected leaders. Since that time the United States has suffered profound shocks to its political system, including a concerted effort to overturn the 2020 presidential election and a violent attack on the U.S. Capitol.

We have also witnessed persistent efforts by partisan actors to tilt our election system to their advantage, resulting in a continuing reduction of public faith in our politics. However, we have also seen rays of light in the form of sincere and successful efforts by citizens across the political spectrum to enact reforms that reduce the grip of partisan actors over our election systems. These reforms have incentivized compromise and consensus-building, putting our politics on a better path.

At the dawn of 2023 we have recently witnessed midterm elections that included federal and state races. Those elections revealed a promising rejection by voters of many of the most extreme candidates, and a dismissal of the notion that politicians can overturn legal election results based on evidence-free claims of “election fraud.” This was a very good omen.

Voter trust in our politics and institutions remains low, however, and we have a long way to go in loosening the grip of extreme partisans on our elections. Elected officials across the country continue to spend a great deal of time and energy gerrymandering political maps and distorting election rules to benefit their party, or protect incumbents from true competition. The inevitable result has been a toxic politics that incentivizes candidates to cater to the most extreme voters who dominate in narrow intra-party primaries.

Indeed in many cases, Secretaries of State who oversee the administration of elections are themselves elected in partisan competitions, rather than serving as nonpartisan election officials. In several recent elections they have even campaigned for higher office without resigning from their post as chief election administrator. This further casts doubt on the neutrality and fairness of the election process.

Eliminating Partisan Primaries

On the positive side of the ledger, there have been systemic changes that provide hope and reflect the growing demand of voters for a better way. Some states have begun adopting innovative approaches to elections, for instance, based on models used in municipal elections for years. The best recent example is Alaska, where in 2022 officials combined a “top-four” open primary with a “ranked-choice” (or instant runoff) general election. Voters participating in the primary used a ballot open to candidates of any party, or to independents, who were listed together. The top four finish-

ers then went on to the general election ballot. The result was the elimination of “closed” party primaries that tend to advance to the general election more extreme candidates that primarily appeal to the hard core party base. Little wonder that such candidates are less willing to work across the political aisle in the best interests of the country.

In the coming year, CSPC will continue to support activists who are working to reform our electoral system into one that rewards a spirit of cooperation and pragmatism in our elected leaders.

Alaska’s top four primary system incentivized candidates who appealed to a broader set of voters in order to reach the 50 percent threshold to win election. That often requires a runoff, which Alaska handled in one round of ranked-choice voting where voters were asked to choose who they would support if their first choice candidate did not win. The result was the re-election of a popular moderate Republican Senator, and a popular moderate Democratic Representative. The proof of concept in Alaska’s recent election provides momentum for similar reforms being considered by other states. In 2022 voters in Nevada chose to begin the process of adopting a similar ranked-choice system, for instance, albeit with a “top-five” primary. This also represents a very positive development.

The importance of eliminating partisan primaries cannot be overstated. Reforms of that system allow elected officials to compromise in ways that are required for our constitutional system of governance to work, even to achieve basic things like passing a budget on time. Lawmakers thus elected can work across party lines without fear of being defeated in a closed party primary by someone more extremely devoted to party dogma.

The use of ranked-choice voting produces general elections with multiple candidates, with the winner having to pass the 50 percent threshold by appealing to a broader electorate. That is a corrective to the old plurality system that advances candidates with a much narrower base of appeal. It tends to reward candidates who are willing to cooperate and compromise in order to get things done,

something polls show a majority of Americans strongly favor. Using ranked-choice as an instant runoff system also eliminates the need to hold costly runoffs that tax state resources and voter energy. Georgia is currently considering changing its runoff system to a ranked-choice general election ballot, for instance, rather than keep forcing voters to return to the ballot box for a runoff just a few weeks after a general election. Ranked-choice voting thus saves time and money, while preserving the ideal that the winning candidate will have to have the support of a majority of voters.

An embrace of ranked-choice voting reforms is now being considered by a number of other states. The biggest impediment to adoption is often its novelty. As more and more voters are exposed to ranked-choice voting, however, confidence in it will only grow. Other reforms, such as “approval voting” — where voters indicate all the candidates they approve of without ranking them — are also gaining steam as alternative electoral methods. The goal remains the same

“The importance of eliminating partisan primaries cannot be overstated. Reforms of that system allow elected officials to compromise in ways that are required for our constitutional system of governance to work.”

—CSPC President Glenn Nye III

– producing candidates that can appeal to a broader electorate, reducing the influence of candidates that appeal mostly to the fringe of either party.

In the coming year, CSPC will continue to support activist groups and individuals who are working diligently to reform our electoral system into one that rewards a spirit of cooperation and pragmatism in our elected leaders. Without such courageous and enlightened leadership, our nation will be unable to rise to the profound global challenges we face. □



CSPC President and former Congressman Glenn Nye speaks about election reform at the Democracy Summit, sponsored by the YPO Global Diplomacy Network and the YPO Democracy Group.

Section Three

Project Solarium 2023



THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) was originally established more than 50 years ago at the behest of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who longed for an institution that analyzed and captured the lessons of governance in much the same way that the

war colleges of his day captured the lessons of past military campaigns.

At the start of his presidency, Eisenhower showed his penchant for deep analysis by embarking on what became known as “Project Solarium” – a strategic review to evaluate different policy options in the early days of the Cold War. From that exercise, he developed the “Long Haul” strategy that balanced the threats the United States faced from abroad with the need for policies that enabled prosperity and strength at home. The result was America’s post-World War II ascendance as a global superpower and standard bearer for democracies and free peoples around the world.

“Project Solarium” is thus embedded deep in our DNA here at the Center. Through our Project Solarium programs, CSPC encourages “out of the box” thinking in addressing major national challenges, and looks to bridge the 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.

Space Force in a Time of War



Commercial space launches like this nighttime liftoff of a SpaceX rocket represent a revolution in access to space.

In the past year Russia's extended invasion of Ukraine highlighted the value and critical utility of commercial space in a way that had largely only been speculated about within the space community. From the surge of commercial imagery supporting open source intelligence gathering and intelligence professionals, to the use of SpaceX's Starlink communications network to replace and augment Kyiv's beleaguered network, the battlefield of Ukraine has served as a proving ground of sorts for commercial space capabilities. This is also the first shooting war in which the now three-year-old Space Force, and reconstituted Space Command, found themselves tangential participants.

In recognition of the increasing importance of the space domain in this era of great power competition, the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) and the Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence & Global Affairs have in recent years established a National Security Space Pro-

gram, regularly bringing stakeholders in the government and private sector together in support of the establishment of Space Force and the further leveraging of commercial space capabilities.

The space related tools and capabilities on display in

Ukraine were the result of considerable, long-term investment made by the commercial space industry, backed in many cases by the support (financial and otherwise) of the U.S. government. In fact, decisions made 10 to 15 years ago laid the groundwork for SpaceX's Starlink, as well as the Falcon 9 rockets that sent aloft the mega-constellation, the synthetic aperture radar capabilities that monitored Russia's military movements, and the broader community of commercial imagery. The Ukraine War thus dramatically highlights the necessity of making decisions and investments today that will generate results and advanced space capabilities in the future.

Fortunately there are reasons for optimism. The Space Force, and in particular Space Systems Command (SSC), are making investments in capabilities that are both proven and speculative. They are also increasingly looking at space as an entire eco-system, rather than just a collection of individual capabilities. The Assured Access to Space organization, the largest within SSC, is actively working to break out of the existing mold of requirements and acquisitions, and attempting to lean far forward in identifying and fielding next generation capabilities.

The recent absorption of the Space Development Agency into the Space Force could result in the former bringing its innovative "spiral design" approach to acquisition and development into the latter; it remains, however, an open question whether the flexible and go-fast culture of the small start-up can transform the behemoth battleship.

This tension between different approaches drives home another truth of the space sector—technology is not the issue, people and processes are. Space technology is rapidly maturing and developing at a pace far exceeding the most ambitious of current plans. Concepts that once were a decade or more from prototyping are routinely being fielded in experimental fashion. The issue at hand is how that technology transitions from proof-of-concept experimentation through to program-of-record acquisition. Ultimately, that is a very human and bureaucratic challenge.

To the Space Force's credit, it is working to change a risk-averse and plodding culture of acquisition (an issue facing the entirety of the Department of Defense). The main challenge ahead is the blending of two very different cultures—the fast innovative and iterative approach of the commer-

cial space sector, and the measured, focused, and bespoke demands of the Department of Defense. To date the twain have not yet met.

Looking beyond acquisition, there is a doctrinal and strategic gulf in the United States' approach to space. In the past space has largely been relegated to the fringes of strategic thinking and restricted to a small community of space professionals. This resulted in a narrow community of very bright thinkers, but bright thinkers that did not always closely communicate with more terrestrial focused counterparts, nor craft truly joint space doctrine. The result are fundamental questions that are yet to be answered: How will the United States respond to an at-

The United States is developing its own assessments of lessons-learned from Russia's war in Ukraine, especially concerning the role of space systems. But undoubtedly so is China.

tack on its commercial satellite networks? What are the red-lines for the United States on orbit that an adversary cannot cross without serious consequences? How will America's space capabilities integrate with those of its allies (who are rapidly following Washington's lead in creating their own space commands and forces)? Much like the cyber domain, the strategic concepts underpinning this environment are embryonic at best, and at worst not considered at all.

The United States is developing its own assessments of lessons-learned from Russia's war in Ukraine, especially concerning the role of space systems. But undoubtedly so is China. There is also the risk in learning the wrong lessons from a war with some unique aspects, as much as there is a risk to not learning the right lessons. Whilst Russia has not yet used its counter-space capabilities (save for a cyber-attack against Ukraine's space-enabled communications), that is not to say that they won't resort to anti-satellite weapons in the future, or that China would not in a similar situation regarding an attack on Taiwan. □

Russia as Dangerous Pariah

Nearly ten-months into the war in Ukraine (at the time of this report's drafting), the outcome of the conflict remains unclear. Not surprisingly, the question of how this war ends remains unclear, though increasingly discussed. Calls are emerging for Kyiv and Moscow to reach a diplomatic settlement, but thus far these remain relatively rare and infrequent. Most of the discussion has focused on meeting Kyiv's immediate needs and ensuring Ukraine's survival, but as the war continues, there will undoubtedly be increased calls for discussion as to the future resolution of the conflict.

Ukraine's most avid supporters in the West and President Volodymyr Zelenskyy have adopted a maximalist perspective on victory in this war. Especially in light of Ukraine's marked successes in recent offensives, there are increasing calls for Kyiv to retake Crimea in addition to expelling all Russian forces from the eastern portion of the country. This is unsurprising as no Ukrainian leader could push for anything short of maximalist ends. This may change in the future, but there is no incentive for al-

experts on arms control and hybrid war, policymakers and authors who have written books on the Putin regime, all to better understand Russia's role in the great power competition that we believe will decisively shape the era to come. Russia's reckless invasion of Ukraine and threats to unleash nuclear Armageddon (see page 30) have lent urgency to those ongoing discussions.

While the outcome of the Ukraine War may be in doubt, the war's impact on Russia becomes clearer by the day. Af-

ter nearly three decades of economic connectivity in an era of globalization, Russia's economy has been largely severed from the West. Utilizing personal and business sanctions, suspension of Russian banks from global banking networks, oil and energy price caps and restrictions, and technology embargoes, the West has worked to isolate Russia from the global economy. Even assuming the war ended soon and the sanctions were lifted immediately thereafter (which they will almost certainly not be), it could take nearly a decade for the Russian economy to recover.

Politically, President Vladimir Putin has become a pariah on the world stage even as he turns increasingly authoritarian at home. The irony is that Moscow was winning the confrontation against Ukraine prior to the war's outbreak. Through the use of coercive diplomacy and military threats against Ukraine and non-kinet-

President Vladimir Putin has become a pariah on the world stage even as he turns increasingly authoritarian at home. Now he finds himself presiding over a hollow economy and a restive population unnerved by his so-called "special military operation" in Ukraine.

lies to undercut this message. The reality is that this war may stop in the near-term, but it is unlikely to end barring any significant change in the leadership of Russia

In recent years the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has convened "Russia hands,"

ic bullying of Europe, the Kremlin maneuvered itself into a strong position vis-à-vis Kyiv. Through thought and deed, the United States made clear that it was most interested in pivoting toward the Indo-Pacific region and the pacing threat posed by China. All of that was undone with Russia's February 2022 invasion.

Putin finds himself presiding over an increasingly hollow economy and a restive population unnerved by his drafting of some 300,000 Russian men for his so-called "special military operation" in Ukraine. The Pentagon estimates that Russia has already lost an estimated 100,000 troops killed or wounded. That has left the Russian dictator governing with ever more iron-fisted repression, putting the country on a course akin to the late-era of former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

And yet the West is prone to underestimating Russia's ability to muddle along in this manner. As much as the Western alliance might hope for an end to Putin's leadership, hope is not a strategy. While the next Russian leader might not share Putin's grandiose vision of becoming a modern day "Peter the Great," whoever follows him in the Kremlin may not necessarily prove a marked improve-

ment. They could even be worse. There is an ingrained, revanchist belief among the national security elite in Russia that the country deserves the status of a great power, and that view relies more on nuclear weapons than economic vitality. And in the Russian decidedly 19th century worldview, great power status demands a privileged sphere of influence in its "near abroad."

For many years the West made the mistake of treating Putin's Russia like a normal country, continuing to do business as usual with Moscow and prostrate itself before Russian energy and oil supplies. Even after Putin declared the West his enemy, launched hybrid wars against European allies, invaded Georgia in 2009 and annexed Crimea in 2014, the Western response was typically weak sanctions and a return to the status quo.

Even today, the West's shortsightedness on Russia is reflected on its immediate fixation on the battlefields of Ukraine, and failure to think creatively about, and plan for, its post-war relationship with Russia. A continued absence of strategic thinking on that critical question will shape the long-term security of the transatlantic alliance every bit as much as the outcome of the Ukraine War. □



President Vladimir Putin rules an increasingly totalitarian Russia with a clique of hawkish advisers drawn from the military, intelligence and security services.

Roundtables with Noted Experts

Throughout the year, the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) convenes discussions with leading authors, journalists, and policy experts to gain their insights into the critical issues affecting America's national security and foreign policy. After the worst impact of the pandemic passed, CSPC was thankfully able to return to in-person events in 2022, which afforded participants a chance to interact more intimately with these experts and participate in substantive discussions.

Unsurprisingly, a key focus this past year was on Russia's expanded invasion of Ukraine, the first major state-on-state conflict in Europe since World War II. Following the February 2022 outbreak of war, CSPC brought together experts Drs. Ben Noble and Jade McGlynn to discuss Russia's domestic politics; Michael Kofman, Dr. Nora Bensahel and Lt. Gen. David Barno to talk military adaptation in wartime; and three former ambassadors to Russia from the United States, Great Britain and France to discuss Europe-

an perspectives on the conflict. A highlight of the year was a discussion between Joshua C. Huminski, Director of the Mike Rogers Center for Intelligence & Global Affairs, and the Economist's Shashank Joshi on all things security and defense.

Over the course of the year, and as we returned to more frequent in-person meetings, CSPC also welcomed Dr. Andrew Monaghan, Anna Arutunyan, Mark Galeotti, Ali Wyne, and Dr. Bilyana Lilly for in-person discussions about

Over the past year, CSPC hosted numerous discussions with notable experts and authors who examined Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, the rise and challenge of China, and the pivot of U.S. national security and intelligence agencies towards a new era of great power competition.





their timely books on Russia, Ukraine, strategic competition, and information warfare.

While the war in Ukraine was the central focus of the year, America's pivot to the Indo-Pacific remained a key driver of policy discussions at the Center. After opening the year with an in-depth discussion on the U.S. defense posture towards China with former Pentagon official and author Elbridge Colby, CSPC also explored how strategic competition with China was manifesting itself in Hollywood and popular entertainment in a discussion with *The Wall Street Journal's* Erich Schwartzel. To better understand General Secretary Xi Jinping and his policies, we also convened a conversation with

two German reporters—Stefan Aust and Adrian Geiges.

Strategic competition with Russia and China involves far more than just hard power. The Center's events reflected this reality with deep explorations of what the CHIPS and Science Act and its provisions on semiconductors meant for U.S. industry; how to better protect intellectual property and innovation in this era of great power competition; and next steps the United States needs to take in its broader contest with Beijing. The Center also continued its exploration of the critical nexus of national security and commercial space, and began a program to ascertain lessons that need to be learned on

pandemic preparedness.

In the year ahead, CSPC will continue to convene experts on Russia, Ukraine, China, and more, as well as on critical subjects such as technological competition, strategic arms control, and intelligence. CSPC will also reconvene panels to reevaluate progress on issues such as Ukraine's performance against Russia, and the United States' competition with China. As part of this overall effort, the Center will also seek to inform and educate incoming members of Congress on these critical issues, and help develop policy recommendations to ensure America's leadership in all areas of strategic competition. □



Averting Nuclear Armageddon

As conventional Russian military forces faced multiple setbacks in their war of aggression in Ukraine in late 2022, President Vladimir Putin began recklessly repeating veiled threats to use the world's largest stockpile of nuclear weapons to reverse the course of the conflict. After illegally annexing large swaths of eastern Ukraine, the dictator pledged to defend them as if they were actually Russian territory.

"If the territorial integrity of our country is threatened, we will certainly use all the means at our disposal to protect Russia and our people," Putin said in a televised address. "I'm not bluffing."

One person who took those threats seriously was President Joe Biden, who noted that nuclear threats have not darkened the counsels of the major powers in 60 years. "We have not faced the prospect of Armageddon since [President John. F.] Kennedy and the Cuban missile crisis," said Biden.

Indeed, the worst tensions in U.S.-Russia-China relations in a generation have prompted many experts and historians to draw parallels with the Cold War. Unfortunately,

and the Cuban missile crisis, all of which pushed the major nuclear powers to the brink of Armageddon.

Little wonder that the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists has reset its "Doomsday Clock" to just 100 seconds to midnight, putting the world "at doom's doorstep."

Rebuilding Strategic Stability

In recent years, the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has convened a group of notable arms control experts and Russia and China hands to recall some of the muscle memory from the construction of a nuclear arms control regime that kept the Cold War from going hot for decades.

The group credited the Biden administration for taking steps to try and stabilize a roiling geopolitical landscape early on. Confronted in early 2021 with the imminent sunset of the New START (Strategic Arms Reduction) Treaty – the last treaty limiting the size of the nuclear arsenals of the United States and Russia, which possess 90 percent of the world's nuclear weapons – Biden and Russian President Vladimir Putin extended the treaty for the maximum of five years. The extension gave U.S. and Russian negotiators critical time and breathing room to begin discussing a host of thorny issues that must be addressed in a follow-on agreement, and in broader strategic stability discussions.

The Biden-Putin Summit in Geneva in June 2021 was another positive first step towards lowering the temperature of the rhetoric between the two strategic rivals. While some news accounts were critical of the summit for failing

With Russia threatening to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine, the prospect of Armageddon has darkened U.S. presidential counsels for the first time since the Cuban missile crisis.

ly, these rising tensions come at a time when the carefully constructed Cold War architecture of nuclear arms control and verification treaties, de-confliction agreements and open communications channels is near collapse. As military provocations and brinkmanship increase dramatically, the current era of major power competition starts to bear an alarming resemblance to the darkest early years of the Cold War, when missteps and miscalculations created potentially existential crises like the Berlin Blockade, the Korean War



As part of its aggressive nuclear weapons modernization, Russia has introduced six new nuclear weapons delivery systems, including a long-range hypersonic glide vehicle.

to achieve more substantive “deliverables,” the two leaders agreed to launch an ongoing, bilateral “Strategic Stability Dialogue” to lay the groundwork for future arms control treaties and confidence-building agreements.

That positive momentum has understandably stalled as a result of Putin’s reckless and illegal invasion of a sovereign Ukraine, but the need for a continued dialogue between the world’s nuclear weapons superpowers has arguably never been greater.

In November 2022, Biden and Chinese President Xi Jinping also met in Bali, Indonesia, on the sidelines of a G-20 Summit. Though their lengthy discussion yielded no substantive breakthroughs on sensitive issues such as Taiwan, arms control, human rights and trade, Biden rightly stressed the need for more regular strategic stability conversations and more “guardrails” to help Washington and Beijing manage an increasingly adversarial and acrimonious relationship between the world’s status quo and rising superpowers.

Certainly new guardrails and action are urgently needed to avoid adding a runaway nuclear arms race to an already volatile geopolitical competition. As part of its nuclear weapons modernization, Russia has introduced six new nuclear weapons delivery systems, including a long-range

hypersonic glide vehicle. After China successfully tested its own hypersonic missile, and satellite images revealed that Beijing is constructing more than 200 ICBM silos, the Pentagon warned that China is currently on track to triple or even quadruple its arsenal by decade’s end. For its part the United States is also modernizing its nuclear triad of submarine launched ballistic missiles, nuclear-capable aircraft, and intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

The world is currently living through a period of great instability as it copes with the aftershocks of the worst global pandemic since 1918, one of the worst economic shocks since the Great Depression, the most dangerous and destructive war in Europe since World War II, and the worst tensions in major power relations since the early days of the Cold War. These crises come at a time when the treaties and multilateral institutions that are the foundation of the international order and strategic stability are visibly weakening, and in danger of collapse. In the past such periods of deep economic distress and geopolitical tensions have given rise to dark political forces, and are ripe for confrontation among nation-states. History will not judge kindly leaders who stood complacent while a runaway nuclear arms race was added to that already volatile mix. □

The Race for “Geotech” Supremacy



Over the past years, the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has continued to closely examine the critical technological competition between open societies and authoritarian regimes as part of our “Geotech” project. We can confidently report that both the White House and Congress are pushing ahead with a wide range of policies to support American innovation, and protect U.S. leadership in cutting-edge technologies.

These efforts come at a time of growing international tensions. Washington has awoken to the geostrategic challenge posed by both China and Russia, as evidenced by Beijing’s increasingly coercive threats against democratic Taiwan and Moscow’s unprovoked war on a neighboring democracy in Ukraine. Our report thus seeks to highlight the actions taken by the Biden administration and Congress to meet this threat, and, working closely with allies and partners, to win this race for “Geotech” superiority.

The United States is in a race with China for supremacy in the technologies of the future, to include artificial intelligence (AI), quantum computing and 5G and 6G communications networks.

The tectonic plates of geo-strategy shifted dramatically over the past year with Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, and Chinese leader Xi Jinping’s consolidation of power in China. As Moscow assaulted Ukraine and illegally annexed large swaths of Ukrainian territory, we saw a greater degree of solidarity among the nations traditionally considered part of the West. We also witnessed reticence among many nations in the Global South towards sanctioning Russia.

Alongside punishing financial sanctions levied against Russia, the West also moved to restrict Moscow's access to critical technologies. These measures certainly degraded the Russian war machine, but the outcome of the Ukraine conflict still depends as much on military production and supply lines as advanced technologies. Lessons about access to technology, its use in combat, and how it will determine the balance of military power are still being written on the battlefields of Ukraine as of this writing.

In China, Xi Jinping's coronation to a third term has centralized power to a degree not seen since the days of Mao. That concentration of power comes as China is engaged in a decade-long military buildup, and is engaged in increasingly coercive military provocations targeting Taiwan. Domestically in China pandemic-related restrictions and political repression have increased. While "zero COVID" as a pandemic control strategy failed, the shutdown of major cities and quarantining of millions of citizens at the order of a single man reflects the new political reality in China. International business leaders must consider the full implications of this kind of centralized dictate as they consider their reliance on Chinese supply chains and manufacturing.

Tensions over Taiwan also highlight how quickly vital supplies of semiconductors could be disrupted if it came to conflict.

Gloves Come Off

The United States and China now find themselves in an open technological competition, with the gloves increasingly off. The Biden administration has thus made clear that the United States will work to not only maintain its edge in certain critical technologies, but also to restrict China's ability to develop them further.

Given this unstable and worsening geopolitical environment—and considering its impact on the critical technologies that will define future economic and military strength—the Biden administration and Congress advanced a number of key executive and legislative Geotech priorities last year. After years of legislative wrangling, for instance, the CHIPS and Science Act became law in 2022,

providing support for U.S. leadership in semiconductor technologies and manufacturing.

Bipartisan infrastructure legislation that became law in 2021 is also providing support for broadband internet. The Inflation Reduction Act legislation supports a range of green energy investments, which are a key battleground in the competition with China, and addresses the security of critical supply chains. With a new Republican majority

The United States and China find themselves in an open technological competition, and the gloves are coming off as the Biden administration makes clear that it will work to maintain its technological edge and restrict Chinese tech development.

in the House, the window for passing such major pieces of legislation may have passed for the Biden administration. Its primary challenge now is to carefully and efficiently spend the billions of dollars already authorized for technology programs, while balancing what amounts to an emerging U.S. industrial policy with the concerns of allies already complaining about U.S. subsidies for industry.

Beyond legislation and executive efforts to strengthen our industries and their competitive edge, the Biden administration and Congress have also announced policies to protect our critical technologies, supply chains, and infrastructure from China. These measures range from expanded export controls on semiconductors to restrictions on Chinese equipment in U.S. telecom infrastructure.

An Economic Decoupling

Legislation highlighting Beijing's Uyghur genocide and forced labor practices is now being applied to supply chains in China. Combined with China's own policies, an economic decoupling is becoming apparent—especially at high levels of technology. Attention is increasingly turning to investment and financial ties between the world's two preeminent powers. With new proposals for examining outbound investment now under consideration, managing this economic decoupling in a way that avoids counterproductive, unintended consequences takes priority.



Advanced robotics are among a host of technologies that will define economic and military power in the future.

Given these challenges in our economic relationship with China, it is important to build other partnerships in order to reassert U.S. economic leadership globally. The Biden administration's major geo-economic foray in this area is the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF). With the United States' rejection of the Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement, the region has moved ahead with its own geo-economic and trade agenda. The IPEF is a welcome step forward for U.S. re-engagement in the region. It will require further fleshing out, however, to allay concerns about its lack of a legislative foundation and meaningful trade elements such as defined market access.

Deeper coordination is also needed between the United States and its European partners on technology policy, trade, standards, and supply chains. Economic and secu-

rity uncertainty, combined with improved transatlantic relations, are creating a favorable environment for progress on this front.

For instance, the 2022 EU-U.S. Data Privacy Framework and accompanying Executive Order on civil liberties protections for EU citizens are milestones in the long-standing dispute over transatlantic data transfers. Work continues at the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council, and while the Council is still in its early rounds of discussions, it offers the potential for meaningful breakthroughs that will accelerate U.S. and European competitiveness.

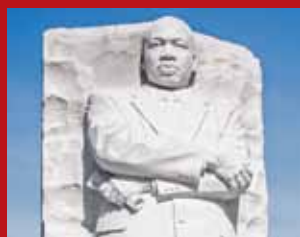
To its credit the Biden administration has worked closely with allies in multilateral forums to coordinate Geotech policies and develop joint economic initiatives. Such partnerships with allies can protect supply chains through increased near-shoring and "friend-shoring." Still, recent legislation, new rules on supply chains, and government support for U.S. industries has some allies concerned about the impact on their own economies. These concerns can be mitigated by an emphasis on expanding trade partnerships, harmonizing data and digital policies, and encouraging co-innovation and co-development with partners overseas.

Throughout the past year, CSPC continued its engagement with U.S. and allied policymakers, private sector leaders, and academic experts regarding strategically critical technologies. Thanks to the return of international travel, we were also able to once again conduct in-person meetings of international experts, both in Washington, D.C. and overseas. We thus are looking forward to a productive and cooperative 2023. □

Given the tensions in our economic relationship with China, it is important that the United States builds partnerships with other like-minded democracies in order to reassert U.S. economic leadership globally.

Section Four

Celebrating Leadership & Building Tomorrow's Leaders



AS A CASUAL WALK around the Washington Mall will attest, at crucial moments in our history America has been blessed with extraordinary leaders. As the principal author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson found the words that breathed life into ideals that would inspire a young nation. After winning

America's Revolutionary War and serving two terms as our first president, George Washington amazed the world by voluntarily giving up power. Abraham Lincoln ended slavery and preserved the union through a bloody Civil War. Franklin Roosevelt pulled the nation through the Great Depression and led it to victory over tyranny in World War II. Martin Luther King Jr. led a peaceful civil rights movement to end the officially sanctioned prejudice and bigotry of Jim Crow, bending the arc of history towards justice.

Indeed, there was nothing inevitable about the rise of the United States to superpower status during the "American Century." Success in building the liberal world order, let alone victory in the Cold War and development of the world's most productive economy, required enlightened leadership in both the White House and Congress, and the support of an informed citizenry.

At the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) we have always viewed as a core mission the recognition and celebration of enlightened leadership, and the development of the next generation of national leaders of character. We do that each year through our Presidential Fellows Program of gifted students, which recently celebrated its 50th Anniversary; and with 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.

Celebrating Bipartisan Leadership & Strategic Vision

A core mission of the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) is to recognize and celebrate enlightened leadership. In 2022 we were proud to bestow our *Publius Award* for bipartisan leadership in government to Senators Lisa Murkowski, R-Alaska, and Angus King, I-Maine. The *Publius Award* draws its name from the pseudonym used by the authors of the Federalist Papers: Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. The statesmanship of these Founders helped guide the United States from the broken politics of the Articles of Confederation in favor of a new Constitution built around the principles of pragmatism, compromise and shared power.

At a time when our nation's politics are beset by increasing levels of division and vitriol – and when faith in democratic institutions is eroding – the leadership, pragmatism and civility demonstrated by Senators Murkowski and King stand out. They have worked together to deliver for their states, and the country, on matters of national defense, foreign policy and electoral reform. Reflecting the principles of bipartisanship and placing love of country before devotion to party, these Senators embody the principles of our Founders. By example they demonstrate that remaining true to strongly held ideals is no barrier to bringing Americans together to solve our shared challenges. □



CSPC President Glenn Nye, Sen. Lisa Murkowski, R-Alaska, and Sen. Angus King, I-Maine (above), at CSPC's 2022 "Publius Awards" presentation.

CSPC Trustee Maury Bradsher (left) and CSPC Vice President Dan Mahaffee take advantage of the view from the rooftop during the pre-awards cocktail hour.

The U.S. military color guard kicks off the awards dinner (right).





The audience enjoys a light moment during presentation of the Publius Awards.

CSPC Trustee Roy Kapani during the Pledge of Allegiance.

Ambassador Thomas Pickering, CSPC Chairman, and guest enjoy the festivities.

A Roll Call of Enlightened Leaders

Each year the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) honors leading public servants of character and integrity with one of our four awards: the *Publius Award* for leadership and bipartisanship in government; the *Eisenhower Award* for leadership in national security affairs; the *Hamilton Award* for economic or fiscal leadership; and the *Thurgood Marshall Award* honoring champions of equality and justice.

Some of CSPC's notable past award winners include: Supreme Court Justices Rush Bader Ginsberg and Sandra Day O'Connor; Senator Susan Collins, R-ME; Senator Joe Manchin, D-WV; Senator Dianne Feinstein, D-CA; Senator Roy Blunt, R-MO; Congressman Steny Hoyer, D-MD; Senator Bob Corker, R-TN; Senator Mark Warner, D-VA; Senator Bill Frist, R-TN; Senator John Breaux, D-LA; Defense Secretaries Leon Panetta, Chuck Hagel and Ash Carter; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen; Chairman of the Federal Reserve Ben Bernanke; and Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge. □



The late Congressman and civil rights icon John Lewis posthumously received CSPC's inaugural *Thurgood Marshall Award* (above).



The late Ash Carter, former Defense Secretary, receiving CSPC's *Eisenhower Award* for national security leadership (above).

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



CSPC President Glenn Nye speaks with 2019 *Publius Award* recipients Governor John Hickenlooper of Colorado and Governor John Kasich of Ohio (left).

Adm. Mike Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, receiving CSPC's *Eisenhower Award* (below).



After her death in 2020, Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg posthumously received CSPC's inaugural *Thurgood Marshall Award* (above).

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



CSPC Trustee Paula Dobriansky speaks with *Eisenhower Award* recipients Heather Wilson, former Secretary of the Air Force, and Gwynne Shotwell, President and COO of SpaceX (left).

Inspiring America's Future Leaders

After a two-year pandemic-induced hiatus, the Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) welcomed the return of the Presidential Fellows Leadership Conference in Washington, D.C. last year. During the five-day conference, Fellows

engaged with policymakers, lawmakers, business executives, and thought leaders to discuss key national challenges and opportunities. Tarun Chhabra, an alumnus of CSPC's Presidential Fellows Program, and the Senior Director for Technology and National Security at the National Security Council, spoke to the Fellows about the evolving role of technology in geopolitics. An all-star panel of journalists that included Laura Barron-Lopez, the White House Correspondent for the PBS News Hour, analyzed President Joe Biden's first two years in office. Senators Angus King and Lisa Murkowski discussed the political reforms that their respective states have implemented to build a healthier political environment.

Presidential Fellows from the 2020-2021 cohort who were unable to convene in-person during their Fellowship year were also invited to participate. Other alumni joined the fun during our Presidential Fellows Alumni and Friends Reception on the sidelines of the conference.

We ended the 2021-2022 Fellowship year with the publication of our Presidential Fellows Review, an anthology of

the best original research produced by the Fellows. An impressive 25 authors were featured.

As we celebrated the accomplishments of one class, we prepared to welcome the next. For the first time, CSPC opened up the Fellowship to every single college student in the United States through our new "At-Large Initiative." Interested students can now apply directly to CSPC for admission to the program, as opposed to applying to their colleges or universities, which must be CSPC partner institutions. We established an Advisory Board made up of five Presidential Fellows alumni to set the criteria for selection and choose the finalists. For the 2022-23 cohort, the Advisory Board selected four At-Large Fellows, a group that includes an active duty service member and a



Presidential Fellows pose for a photo at CSPC's 2022 Awards Dinner honoring Senators Lisa Murkowski and Angus King.



Presidential Fellows taking a photo in front of the Capitol building prior to a meeting with Congressman Jim Himes' staff.



International Presidential Fellows from Canada, Mexico, and Spain visiting Mount Vernon.



recipient of the prestigious Truman Scholarship.

This initiative marks an important step in the evolution of the program at a critical juncture for our country. Through the Presidential Fellows program, the Center is doing our part to help stem the tide of extreme polarization in our society. Our mission is to educate the next generation of civic-minded leaders, while instilling a commitment to civil dialogue and public service.

In the year ahead, CSPC aims to sustain and grow the At-Large Initiative with the help of our alumni base and supporters. We will continue to connect our Fellows with influential figures in American politics, support their growth through mentorship, and encourage their intellectual curiosity through high-level research and writing. □



Presidential Fellows join Senator Lisa Murkowski for a photo at the 2022 Awards Dinner.



(Photos above from top:) CSPC's President and CEO, Glenn Nye, moderating a fireside chat with Tarun Chhabra, Senior Director for Technology and National Security at the National Security Council. Mr. Chhabra is an alumnus of the Fellows program.

Senator Angus King in conversation with Presidential Fellow Kevin Chisolm II.

Presidential Fellows pose for a photo outside of the Finnish Embassy prior to a meeting with Embassy staff to discuss Finland's potential accession to NATO.

Convening Congressional Staff

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) works to generate innovative solutions to current national challenges through research and strategic convening. In a time of extreme partisanship, it's critical that policymakers of all political affiliations have the opportunity to exchange ideas on the important issues we face as a country. With this in mind, CSPC launched "How We Got Here," a salon-style event series for Congressional staff focused on pressing foreign policy and national security topics. The sessions are bicameral and bipartisan, and feature subject-matter experts sharing their knowledge in an off-the-record setting. This structure allows for a civil but frank exchange of views among Congressional staff responsible for shaping U.S. foreign and national security policy.

The Center initially launched the series in February of 2020. After a long pandemic hiatus, we were finally able to resume convening this year. Our conversations focused on great power competition. We invited distinguished guests to lead discussions on Vladimir Putin's foreign policy strategy in and beyond Ukraine; India's role in the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, aka "the Quad," and the Indo-Pacific security environment more broadly; and U.S. efforts to stand-up the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF), and renew U.S. economic engagement in the region as a counter to Chinese influence and economic coercion. Despite an environment of heightened partisan tensions, there is recognition on Capitol Hill that national security challenges require unity and consensus. We are proud to offer a forum for building that consensus.

As we look to a new Congress we will continue to cover issues related to great power competition, as well as digital freedom and technological competition. Subjects we will explore include Russia's ongoing war in Ukraine and U.S. competition with China, both of which continue to



CSPC recently launched a series of bipartisan, salon-style events bringing Congressional staff together with subject-matter experts in national security and foreign policy.

drive interest on Capitol Hill in our relationships with our chief rivals. In that regard the digital space is more contested than ever, and it represents the new frontier in the battle between authoritarian and democratic governments. Finally, geo-technology competition continues to heat up. The passage of the CHIPS and Science Act of 2022 represented a major investment in U.S. efforts toward supremacy in the critical area of microchip innovation and production. However, passage was just the first step. CSPC will continue examining how the provisions of the CHIPS act are implemented, how issues left out of CHIPS are addressed, and what new areas of focus will require Congressional attention or action in the coming year. □

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 his new book *In the Company of Heroes: The Inspiring Stories of Medal of Honor Recipients from America's Longest Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq* (Center Street), CSPC Senior Fellow and award-winning national security correspondent James Kitfield examines what the nation's longest wars looked like to the brave troops at the tip of America's spear, revealing why many senior military leaders consider these post-9/11 volunteers the nation's "New Greatest Generation." In his recent book *Twilight Warriors* (Basic Books), Kitfield analyzes the lessons that U.S. soldiers, spies and special agents learned after nearly two decades fighting a global war against terrorists and insurgents.

In *The Statesman* (Rowman & Littlefield), the late David M. Abshire, former CSPC President and adviser to presidents, imparts the lessons learned from a rich career and life spent in public service. CSPC Reports offer creative solutions and specific recommendations to address complex challenges facing the nation. 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

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) publishes two anthologies on the subject of presidential and Congressional leadership: *Triumphs & Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*, and *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Congress*. Through case studies we ask some of the top historians, journalists and political scientists in the country to identify the lessons learned from past presidents and Congresses, the better to understand current events. 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 on leadership, as well as the pitfalls that any administration or Congress would do well to avoid. Historians will long note, for instance, the monumental crises that welcomed President Joe Biden on his first day in the Oval Office: the worst global pandemic in more than a century that has claimed the lives of more than one million Americans; the commensurate economic disruption that is the worst since the Great Depression; and the first violent transfer of presidential power since the Civil War. Add in the worst international tensions in major power relations since the Cold War and extreme partisanship in Washington, D.C., and the headwinds that faced the Biden presidency in its first year were hurricane strength.

And yet the crises and challenges that Biden has confronted are not altogether ahistorical. The same powerful forces that both empowered and constrained his modern predecessors shaped Biden’s first two years in the Oval Office, for

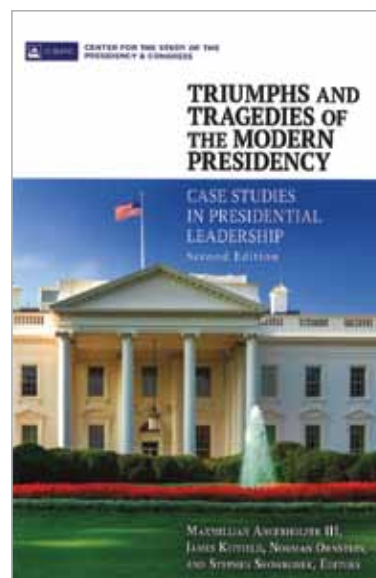
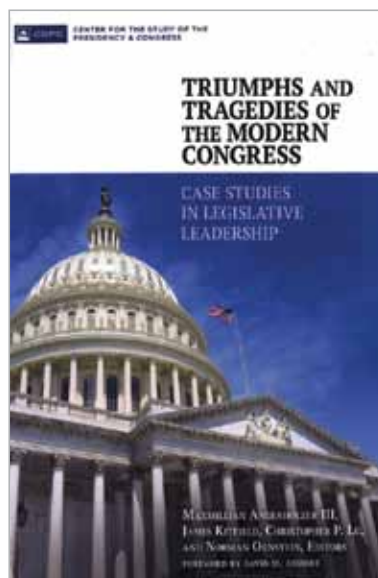
good and ill. In that sense Biden’s triumphs revealed familiar alignments of political actors and motivations, just as his tragedies followed a recognizable script. As Mark Twain reputedly mused, “History doesn’t repeat itself, but it rhymes.”

The administration fell into a common trap, for instance, of trying too hard to reverse the previous administration’s legacy too fast. While its attempt to enact a more humane immigration policy is to be commended, for instance, the Biden administration arguably moved too quickly to roll back its predecessors policies in its critical first months—when election winds are strongest—resulting in a preliminary injunction by a federal court halting Biden’s proposed changes, and an immigration crisis on the southern border with Mexico.

Like FDR, LBJ, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump, Biden’s party initially enjoyed majority control in Congress, though its margins were razor thin in both the House and the Senate. That meant a united Republican opposition was able to use the filibuster requiring a 60 vote majority to thwart major policy initiatives such as voting rights and criminal justice legislation.

However, like LBJ before him, Biden used his decades of experience in the U.S. Congress to notch major legislative achievements. Impressively, he used his good relations with key Members of Congress to sign and pass a bipartisan, \$1 trillion infrastructure bill, enacting a key piece of his

domestic agenda that will funnel billions to states and local governments to upgrade outdated roads, bridges, and transit systems. In achieving legislation to upgrade America’s aging and fraying infrastructure, Biden succeeded where his recent predecessors had failed, making good on his promise to seek bipartisan solutions when possible. □



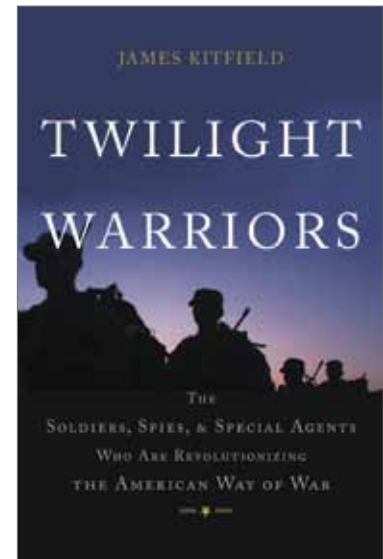
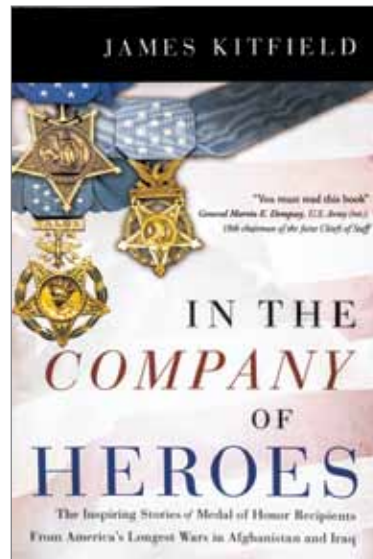
Lessons from America's Longest Wars

The U.S. military's chaotic withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021 in the face of a resurgent Taliban brought a tragic end to the longest wars in U.S. history. After two decades of fighting terrorist insurgencies in Afghanistan and Iraq, a war-weary American public was ready to close the final chapter on these bloody and largely dispiriting post-9/11 conflicts.

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) views it as a core mission, however, to capture the historical lessons of the United States' major conflicts, the better to inform current and future national security leaders on mistakes to be avoided, as well as on hard-won successes. In two recent books on the post-9/11 conflicts, CSPC Senior Fellow and award-winning national security correspondent James Kitfield set about capturing those historical lessons.

In *Twilight Warriors: The Soldiers, Spies and Special Agents Who Are Revolutionizing the American Way of War* (Basic Books), Kitfield chronicles the fight against a determined and adaptive enemy, drawing on his extensive reporting from the frontlines. Lessons he brings to life with compelling anecdotes include it "takes a network to defeat a network." Under the pioneering leadership of General Stanley McChrystal, Joint Special Operations Command adapted to the global networks of Al Qaeda and the Islamic State by incubating its own network-centric model of military operations. That model relies on an unprecedented synergy that developed in the war zones between Special Operations Forces, intelligence and law enforcement agencies, and conventional military forces. Many national security experts credit that synergy with keeping the United States free from another catastrophic terrorist attack in the decades since 9/11.

The *Wall Street Journal* lauded *Twilight Warriors* for providing "an enlightening tour of 21st century counterterrorism – its successes 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."

While they collectively represent less than one percent of the population, America's military personnel disproportionately shouldered the burden of our nation's longest wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Unlike their forebears, they are members of an all-volunteer military that was created after Vietnam with the abolishment of the draft.

With *In the Company of Heroes: The Inspiring Stories of Medal of Honor Recipients from America's Longest Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq* (Center Street Books), Kitfield tells their stories through the eyes of 25 post-9/11 recipients of the Medal of Honor, the nation's highest award for valor. Theirs are stories of never surrendering despite harrowing odds, of facing death and finding the courage and faith not to be cowed, of wearing their scars like badges of honor. There is wisdom and warrior fierceness in these narratives, but also acts of profound tenderness and self-sacrifice.

General Martin Dempsey (Army-ret.), the 18th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said of *In the Company of Heroes*, "If you've ever wanted to truly understand bravery, explore the real meaning of sacrifice, or deeply appreciate the cost of our freedoms, then you must read this book." General David Petraeus, (Army-ret.), former senior commander of U.S. and allied forces in both Afghanistan and Iraq, said "This important book describes brilliantly why those of us privileged to lead our men and women in combat truly consider them 'America's New Greatest Generation.'" □

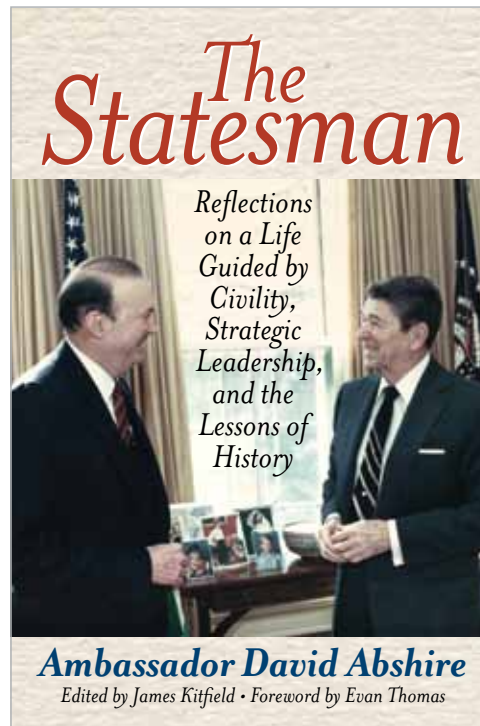
The Scourge of Incivility

As we enter 2023, the nation has just completed mid-term elections in which some of the most divisive and uncivil candidates in key races were soundly rejected by a majority of voters. It remains to be seen if this finally represents a breaking of the fever that has seen some of the most divisive hyper-partisanship and crudest political discourse in Washington in living memory, culminating in the disgraceful sacking of the U.S. Capitol by a violent mob on January 6, 2021.

The Center for the Study of the Presidency & Congress (CSPC) has long viewed it as a core mission to capture the lessons of history to better inform our leaders of the best path forward, however, including by publishing the posthumous memoirs of the late David M. Abshire. Abshire was the former Chairman and President of the Center, co-founder of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and a U.S. Ambassador to NATO. Among his many government positions, Abshire was special counselor to President Ronald Reagan during the Iran-Contra controversy.

In the following excerpt from his memoir “*The Statesman: Reflections on a Life Guided by Civility, Strategic Leadership and the Lessons of History*,” (Rowman & Littlefield) Abshire presciently warned how a marked increase in incivility in our political discourse was threatening the long term health and security of our democracy.

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. 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 the spirit of consensus-building and compromise that created it in the first place. Today, too many politicians seem utterly opposed to 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

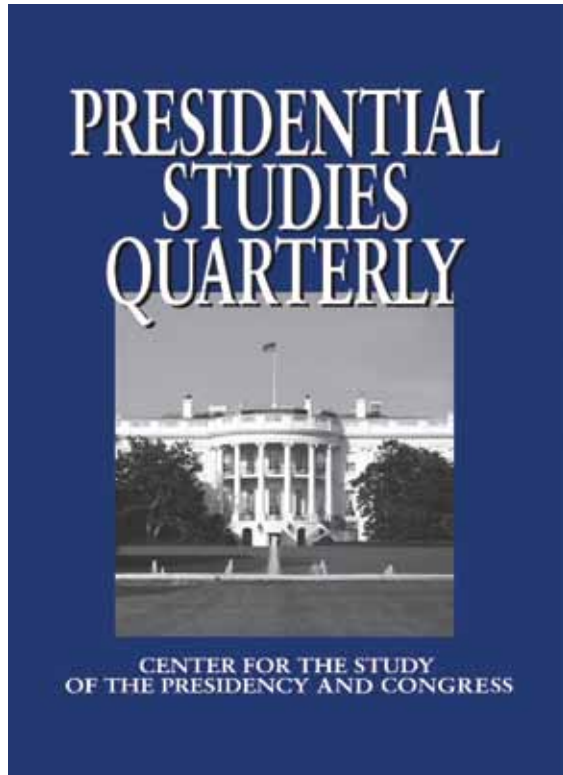
compromise and cooperation, the essential ingredients of democratic governance. Without them our leaders lack the political consensus required to take the country to higher ground. So on top of this deficit in civility and trust, we also confront a leadership deficit.

We as a people are living with the bitter fruits of this dysfunction. We can see it in the political gridlock that led to the downgrading of the United States' credit rating for the first time in history. It's evident in the routine budgetary impasses that diminish the strength of an already stressed U.S. military even as dangers gather, and in domestic infrastructure that was once the envy of the world, now crumbling into disrepair and obsolescence. It's there for all the world to see in a political discourse of embarrassing crudeness and banality. We are in danger of becoming a nation so absorbed by our divisions and bitter internal squabbles that we no longer attempt great deeds, nor dare lead free peoples. □

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" (Rowman 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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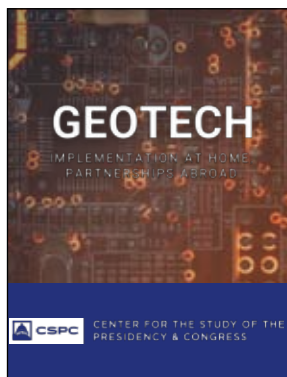
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Crafting Novel Solutions to National Challenges

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.

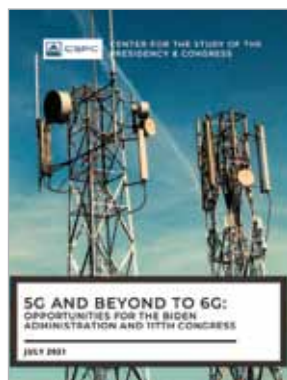
Owning the “Geotech” Future



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

develop a Geotech strategy that recognizes the existential stakes involved and leverages allies and partners.

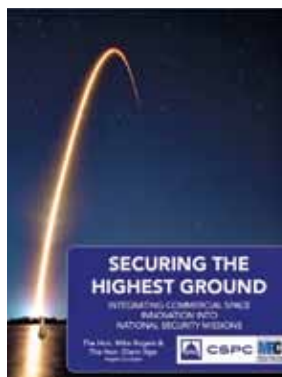
Dominating Future Networks



In the past two years, the CSPC Geotech project has explored the growing competition between open societies and authoritarian regimes for leadership in advanced technologies vital both for economic prosperity and national security. Few technologies are more important in that regard than development of “5G” and

“6G” (for 5th & 6th generation) broadband cellular networks. These advanced networks will connect cellphones, and provide the essential infrastructure for a wired future in which virtually everything is connected to the “internet of things.”

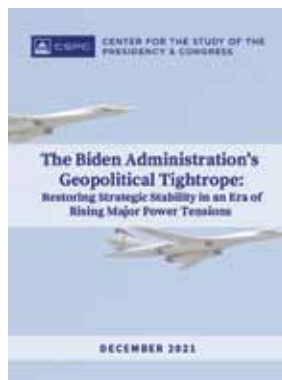
Winning the Space Race



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

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

Averting a Nuclear Arms Race



The need to halt a dangerous spiral in major power relations, and an emerging nuclear arms race, weighs heavily on the Biden administration and Congress. Both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue will need to make rebuilding a foundation for strategic stability a top priority. Achieving such a bipartisan consensus in this hyper-partisan moment will undoubtedly prove

difficult, but absolutely necessary. □

All reports available at www.thepresidency.org.

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