




The Andrew W. Marshall  
FOUNDATION

# 2023 ANNUAL REPORT





“ The changes that we now see in the security environment of the United States will force another major effort of rethinking our situation, our goals, and our strategies. It might, therefore, be a period in which a new generation of strategic thinkers will emerge as a result of the critical experiences they will go through in the next decade. ”

Andrew W. Marshall

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# Letter from the Chair



When I reflect on the past year, I am moved by the transformative work within our community. The Andrew W. Marshall Foundation's mission to cultivate a new generation of strategic thinkers has never been more crucial, and I am honored to share the remarkable progress we have achieved.

At the core of our work lies a fundamental question: How can we empower bold, original thinkers to contribute to the long-term national security of the United States? This question guides our every action. We believe change comes from interdisciplinary thinking, collaboration, and tireless experimentation.

In 2023, we saw the power of this approach through experiments like Chain-Writing, in which participants explored future scenarios that imagined the United States had lost its superpower status. This experiment demonstrated how interdisciplinary thinkers engaging in a multidisciplinary environment can shed light on critical questions. From the participants in our experiments in 2023 and previous years, to every individual daring to challenge the status quo, we have nurtured and continue to nurture innovative ideas and support intellectual growth. Through these efforts, the Foundation remains committed to fostering a culture of curiosity, courage, and openness among a diverse array of people dedicated to shaping the future of the United States.

I am profoundly grateful to each of you for your unwavering support of our mission.

With my deepest appreciation,

**Jaymie Durnan**

*Co-founder and Chair*

Over his career, Jaymie Durnan has served in senior roles in the private sector, the government sector, and the nonprofit sector. He is honored to have been a friend, confidant, and mentee of Andy Marshall for more than four decades. Andy and Jaymie cofounded the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation in 2017.





# About the Foundation

## Our Purpose and Mission

The Andrew W. Marshall Foundation (AWMF) is developing generations of strategic thinkers who will have an enduring impact on U.S. national security. We accomplish this by finding and fostering new voices eager to explore the strategic challenges facing the United States.

To fulfill this mission, we:

- Promote interdisciplinary thinking on long-term U.S. national security issues, thereby encouraging innovative perspectives, ideas, and analytical focus areas that empower new voices and generate fresh insights.
- Preserve the contributions Andrew Marshall and his colleagues made to U.S. national security and ensure their work continues to guide future generations.

## Our Values

### Curiosity

The desire to learn, discover, take risks, and experiment.

### Openness

The embrace of uncertainty with an eagerness to have one's work challenged.

### Courage

The fearlessness to challenge long-held views with logical and credible analysis.

### Contribution

The drive to mentor others and actively shape the future rather than react to it.

## Recipients of Our Support

We support new voices—curious explorers from all walks and stages of life who embrace new approaches, perspectives, insights, and disciplines in the broad field of national security. These individuals have a high tolerance for uncertainty and a passion for shaping the future.

# Our History

In 2016, AWMF cofounders Andrew Marshall and Jaymie Durnan formalized long-held discussions to establish a foundation aimed at continuing Marshall's legacy of fostering new thinking about the nature and character of the long-term competitions facing the United States. Following Marshall's passing in 2019, AWMF, with support from friends and advisors, launched its activities in 2021. Grounded in Marshall's belief in embracing uncertainty, the Foundation's experiments encourage new perspectives on the future of U.S. national security. By championing Marshall's values and supporting individuals committed to shaping the future of national security, the Foundation perpetuates Marshall's impactful legacy.



## **Andrew W. Marshall (1921–2019)**

Andrew W. Marshall dedicated his career to bringing substantive and interdisciplinary perspectives to the diagnosis of long-term competitions facing the United States. Over his seven-decade career, including 25 years at the RAND Corporation and over 40 years as the Director of the Office of Net Assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, he supported new voices, rigorous analysis, and the defense of the United States.

# Our Work

## **Experimentation**

Our activities are rigorous experiments to identify new perspectives on the fundamental questions facing the future. We seek insights into what best fulfills our mission, what can be improved, and what might change if we modify a particular factor. We constantly seek new ideas, new types of experiments, and new areas of analytical interest that help us find and foster new voices.

Throughout our experiments, we are exploring. Who participates in our experiments? What medium do they need to convey their ideas? What support is required to develop their ideas? How do we encourage people to courageously challenge current orthodoxies?

# Charitable Activities

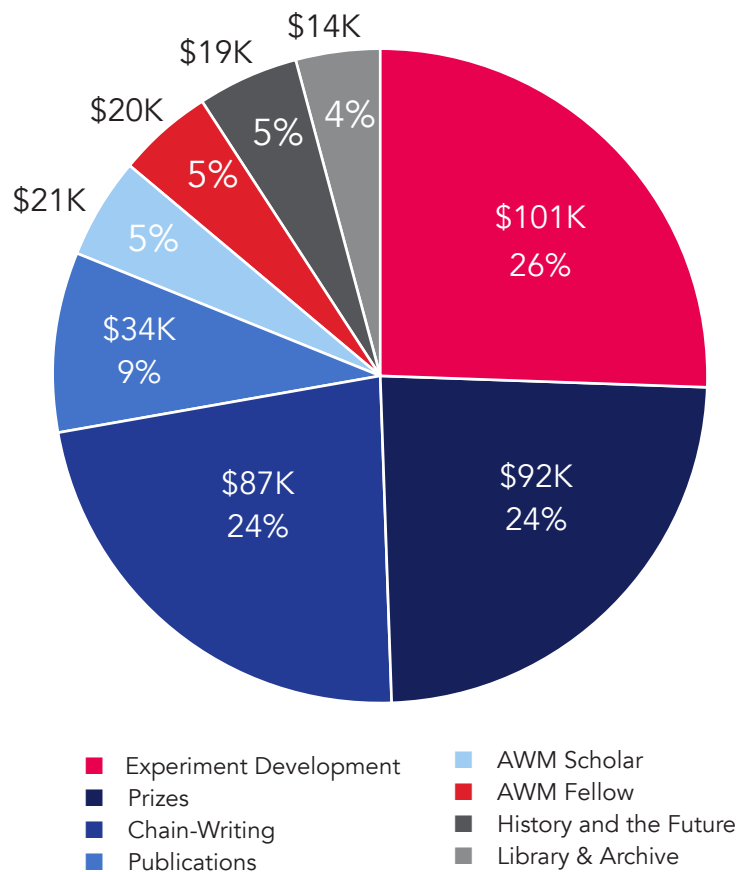
In 2023, the Foundation's charitable activities comprised work on and direct funding for three experiments and three other projects. They also included ongoing support to new voices from previous years' experiments, such as the 2021 and 2022 Paper Prizes and Examining History to Explore the Future.

## ■ Experiments:

- Paper Prizes
- Chain-Writing
- Andrew W. Marshall Scholar
- Andrew W. Marshall Fellow
- History and the Future

## ■ Projects

- New Experiment Development
- Publications
- Andrew W. Marshall Library



"This moment, more than ever, needs the skills and priorities that Andrew Marshall embodied: that we slow down, that we understand the problem, that we find the right question, that we ensure it has been challenged and improved by others, and finally...that we bring together those small, intellectually diverse groups with the courage to create, not simply to please."

— Melissa Flagg, AWMF Advisor

# Chain-Writing

## It is 2053. The United States is no longer a superpower. What happened?

This is the question AWMF posed to the public during the summer and fall of 2023. What might occur between 2024 and 2053 for the United States to experience a “rapid, severe, and significant loss” of power? We characterized this shift as a “collapse,” but left the particulars of its definition up to the public.

The experiment was divided into three phases, each covering a 10-year period leading to the future state of 2053, when the United States was no longer a superpower. We called for submissions exploring each 10-year period, starting with 2024–2033. The winning submission of the first phase became the first link in the chain, the starting prompt for the second phase, 2034–2043. This continued to a third phase, thus creating a three-link chain.


More than 100 people submitted exploratory narratives. In each phase, submissions were reviewed by a panel that selected the top three submissions to be voted on by the public. These public votes determined the winner of each phase.

The experiment provoked critical thinking on broad national security issues by posing a bold and uncomfortable question that encouraged exploration of internal dynamics and societal adaptability. Through writing the chain, participants engaged in interdisciplinary collaboration and shed light on various perspectives and potential futures. The objective was not to predict or project the future, but to encourage exploration and inquiry, foster a deeper understanding of complex issues, and invite readers to draw their own conclusions and ask new questions.

“Reviewing the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation’s ingenious three-step Chain-Writing challenge provided a fascinating look into potential world futures, allowing both the writers and the reviewers a chance to imagine fascinating threads into the future. It was a pleasure to read the truly creative spins.”

—Sharon Beermann-Curtin, Reviewer





"The Chain-Writing experiment provided a welcome space for creative thinking in the realm of policy analysis. It was an innovative and provocative exercise that helped push the boundaries of imagining the future of American power and its place in the world."

—Kevin L. Schwartz, Finalist, "UPCC v. Sanchez"

## The Chain

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### 2024–2033

#### A Small White Mouse in Dresden

Lance Menthe

A scientific error becomes a worldwide sensation. The surprising longevity of a small, white lab mouse sets off a frenzy among pharmaceutical companies and prompts societal shifts as humanity confronts the prospect of significantly prolonged lifespans. Against a backdrop of political maneuvering and societal challenges, the global community grapples with the implications of this groundbreaking development, raising questions about intergenerational dynamics and the future of civilization.

### 2034–2043

#### The Methuselah Treatment

Patrick Hutson

Dubbed "meth" for its addictive quality, the Methuselah treatment for longevity has far-reaching consequences, transforming wealthy societies into gerontocracies consumed by healthcare costs for their increasingly elderly populations. As aging leaders extend their tenures and political landscapes shift, countries in the Global South avoid the pitfalls of addiction and capitalize on their youthful demographics to assert newfound influence. This reshapes power dynamics and challenges traditional norms of international governance.

### 2044–2053

#### Reflections 100 Years After the Collapse

Thomas J. Shattuck

In a poignant reflection on the demise of American primacy, the 2153 minister for Earth affairs recounts his departure from his homeland in 2053, seeking refuge in the safety of the first lunar colony. As the United States grappled with internal decay and geopolitical shifts prompted by a resilient mouse, its global relevance waned. This culminated in a loss of power as emerging forces reshaped the international order, leaving America relegated to the sidelines of history.

## Finalists

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### 2024–2033

**"Compacts and Crisis,"** by Patrick Hutson

**"No Single Event,"** by David E. Degenhardt

### 2034–2043

**"UPCC v. Sanchez,"** by Kevin L. Schwartz

**"A World Behind,"** by Jan Osburg

### 2044–2053

**"The Sick (Old) Man of the West,"** by Daniel R. Mahanty

**"The Global North Strikes Back,"** by Jason Rimmelin

"Participating in the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation's 2023 Chain-Writing contest was a great experience—intellectually stimulating and invigorating. It helped me think bigger and along much longer timelines than what I usually do in my day job. At the same time, the perspective the resulting stories provide can and should inform short- and mid-term analysis and decision making."

—Jan Osburg, *Finalist, "A World Behind"*

"The Chain-Writing experiment allowed me to think outside the box of my usual focus areas and think beyond the short term. Gaming out how the United States would cease to be a superpower 30 years from now was an interesting thought experiment to push the boundaries of the normal. The Foundation has been extremely supportive of my professional development and has embraced me into their growing family. I look forward to continuing to engage with the Foundation in the months, years, and decades to come."

—Thomas J. Shattuck, *Winner, "Reflections 100 Years After the Collapse"*



# Scholar and Fellow

AWMF's Scholar and Fellow experiments give new voices the time, resources, and guidance to take novel approaches to explore strategic questions facing the United States. Fellows spend two years in residence at a host institution and Scholars are sponsored for one year by a partner organization.

In keeping with the spirit of Andy Marshall's legacy, Scholars and Fellows are valued for their original thinking and are expected to think broadly and creatively. The partnering organizations and AWMF provide the Scholars and Fellows with the resources to review and refine their work.

## **Jake Bebber**

*2022–2023 Andrew W. Marshall Scholar*

In 2023, Jake continued his term sponsored by Hudson Institute's Center for Defense Concepts and Technology. In his forthcoming paper, "Cognitive Competition, Conflict, and War: An Ontological Approach," Jake illuminates the emergent threat landscape and develops a comprehensive ontology to dissect cognitive manipulation. Jake proposes a structure for understanding cognitive threats that also aims to empower decision makers to navigate the evolving cognitive domain with precision and forethought.

## **Owen J. Daniels**

*2022–2024 Andrew W. Marshall Fellow*

In 2023, Owen continued his term at the Center for Security and Emerging Technology at Georgetown University. In addition to exploring broad questions related to U.S. technology strategy, particularly in the context of U.S. partners and allies and their relationships with U.S. competitors, Owen began work on a book exploring the prospect that artificial intelligence could initiate a revolution in military affairs. This book is inspired by his prize-winning paper for the Foundation, "The AI RMA: The Revolution Has Not Arrived (Yet)," available in written and audio formats in AWMF's Digital Library.

## **Jordan Schneider**

*2023–2024 Andrew W. Marshall Scholar*

In 2023, Jordan began a term sponsored by Hudson Institute's Center for Defense Concepts and Technology. Through his ChinaTalk podcast, Jordan's scholarship includes long-form discussions with experts across disciplines that explore how technology, operational concepts, and organizations drive and respond to changes in the character of war. These conversations draw on one of the oldest forms of scholarship—dialogue—to reveal how military paradigms evolve and how this evolution can help America and its allies deter and dissuade aggression.



"Joining the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation has been a career- and life-changing experience. Working with the Foundation has exposed me to ideas and frameworks I might otherwise not have encountered, but most importantly, it has connected me with a network of intellectually rigorous, inquisitive, and supportive people. The Foundation has helped me ensure I am asking the right questions and has provided me with the tools and resources to chase down the answers."

—Owen J. Daniels, AWM Fellow

"Without the support of the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation, I would not have been able to devote the past two years toward deep learning on how cognitive warfare is changing the character of war. They have linked me with experts in the field to allow me the freedom to explore the topic while shaping it to best meet the needs of senior decision makers. Their willingness to support non-traditional research and dive deep on questions others may not be considering is a testament to the legacy of Andrew Marshall and I am proud to be associated with them!"

—Jake Bebbler, AWM Scholar

"It's been a joy and a privilege to be the 2023–2024 Andrew W. Marshall Scholar. This scholarship has given me the encouragement, feedback, and connections to take my work on technology and national security through the ChinaTalk podcast into weirder, deeper, and ultimately more interesting places. Some of the shows this scholarship helped enable have been the most thought-provoking of my seven years running the show."

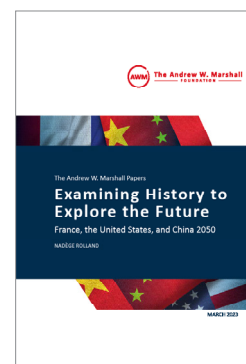
—Jordan Schneider, AWM Scholar

# 2023 Publications

## Examining History to Explore the Future: France, the United States, and China 2050

Nadège Rolland

Can the history of Western countries' relations with China yield insights into patterns of change and consistency? Would identifying these patterns enable Western powers to steer their actions in a direction that favors success or, at a minimum, limits the potential for failure? This paper summarizes the main elements of work conducted by two author teams—one French and the other American—published under the collection, *Examining History to Explore the Future*. AWMF thanks the Richard Lounsbery Foundation for its generous support of this project.



“People [should] study...history of all kinds: military history, of course, but also economic and technological history. The history or analysis of past wars is a major antidote to the narrow focus of many existing methods of analysis of defense issues. Most discussion of strategy and defense programs is, if anything, too focused on technology and weaponry and not enough on the other factors that often dominate actual warfare.”

—Andrew W. Marshall

## Franco-Chinese Relations from Yesterday to Tomorrow and the Future of the CCP

Paul Charon, Antoine Bondaz, Pierre Grosser, and Stéphane Malsagne

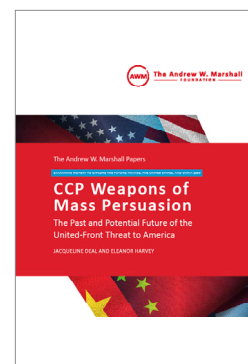
What can be learned from the long and eventful relationship between France and China? To what extent does this history affect the beliefs of the actors who formulate and implement France's China policy? What scenarios can be conceived in France about the future of the Chinese Communist Party and relations between France and China? This paper, part of the collection, *Examining History to Explore the Future*, provides the beginning of an answer to these three questions.



## CCP Weapons of Mass Persuasion: The Past and Potential Future of the United Front Threat to America

Jacqueline Deal and Eleanor Harvey

The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP's) approach to the United States today reflects the party's formative competitive experiences a century ago. This paper, part of the *Examining History to Explore the Future* collection, traces the CCP's repertoire for strategic competition back to the Chinese Civil War. It then analyzes the application of this toolkit to the United States across a series of interactions from the late 1930s to the present. The paper concludes with two alternative visions of how the coming decades could unfold, hinging upon Washington's ability to counter Beijing's ongoing subversion campaign.



## "The Incalculable Element": Ancient Innovations for Modern Security Problems

Emily A. Davis

Many unanticipated dangers—military, political, technological, foreign, and domestic—shadow the U.S. national security landscape. This has created a need for adaptive and inventive leadership, but what does this leadership look like? This paper explores insights from Thucydides' discussion of how the Sicilians, inspired by the unconventional guidance of the general Hermocrates, facilitated Sparta's defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. Hermocrates spurs his listeners to reflect on their limitations and biases at a time when facing imminent peril head-on would seem to call for nothing but confidence.



## America's Reactive Foreign Policy: How U.S. Organizational Culture and Behavior Advantages China

Elliot M. Seckler and Travis Zahnow

Is the U.S. government basing strategic competition with China on U.S. interests, or is it reacting in ways that advance the strategic goals of the Chinese Communist Party? This paper argues that, because of its organizational culture, the U.S. foreign policy community approaches strategic competition in ways that disadvantage the United States. Through an analysis of the political, military, economic, and psychological condition of U.S. foreign policy, this paper posits that the United States has formed a reactive strategy toward China that leaves it vulnerable to China's competitive strategies.



The Andrew W. Marshall Papers are also available in audio format. Find them in AWMF's Digital Library, or on Spotify and Apple Podcasts.





# Special Thanks

The Andrew W. Marshall Foundation thanks all those who have supported us since our founding through their gifts and grants.

## 2017–23 Gifts and Grants

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Phyllis Speer  
Ronald St. Martin  
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## People

### New Voices

Jake Bebber  
Yelena Biberman  
Antoine Bondaz  
Don Casler  
Benjamin Chang  
Paul Charon  
Julia Coff  
Owen J. Daniels  
Emily A. Davis  
Jacqueline Deal

David E. Degenhardt  
Evan M. Dudik  
Pierre Grosser  
Ella Harvey  
Patrick Hutson  
Ido Levy  
Daniel R. Mahanty  
Stephane Malsagne  
Lance Menthe  
Jan Osburg

Jason Rimmelin  
Kevin L. Schwartz  
Elliot M. Seckler  
Thomas J. Shattuck  
Jordan Schneider  
Arthur Tellis  
Tom Welch  
Treston Wheat  
Travis Zahnow  
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Founded by Andrew W. Marshall and Jaymie A. Durnan, with the continued support of generations of people who worked for, worked with, or were mentored by Andy Marshall, the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization. The people and work it supports are impartial and intellectually fearless.

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