



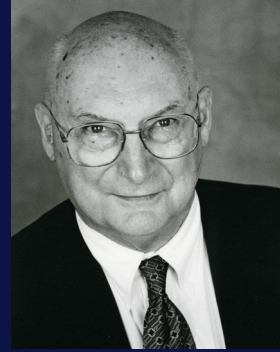
The Andrew W. Marshall  
FOUNDATION

# 2024 ANNUAL REPORT



# Our History

## Andrew W. Marshall (1921–2019)



Andrew W. Marshall dedicated his life to advising senior government officials on issues of strategic importance to the future national security of the United States. Over his seven-decade career in national security, including 25 years at the RAND Corporation and over 40 years as the founding Director of the Office of Net Assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, he and his colleagues and staff played a pivotal role in defining, designing and refining the intellectual architecture that provided substantive and multi-disciplinary perspectives to the diagnosis of the long-term competition facing the United States. This architecture included understanding the flaws of the Soviet Union during the Cold War and the implications of new information technologies, new organizations, and the rise of economic and military competitors.

After Andy retired from government service in 2015, he continued to engage in rigorous discourse with friends, mentees, and former colleagues to discuss ideas and offer advice (if one was lucky, over an elaborately prepared gourmet meal). In 2016, he and Jaymie Durnan formalized long-held discussions to establish a foundation aimed at cultivating curious strategic thinkers who are engaged with hard questions facing the United States.

Following Andy's passing in 2019, The Andrew W. Marshall Foundation (AWMF), launched operations in 2021 with a mission to honor his legacy by strengthening and expanding this community. As Andy did, the Foundation continues to find, nurture, and encourage the people who will shape our future over the next two to three decades, and beyond.

"We are at a major turning point in the history of the world. A new structure is emerging, a more multipolar world with more complex alliance arrangements.... It is to be hoped that new centers of strategic thought and innovation will arise and a new generation of strategists...will develop to deal with these problems."

- Andrew W. Marshall, 1991.



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# Letter from the Chair



We are pleased to provide you with our Annual Report for 2024, prefaced by a reflection on the truest legacy of Andrew W. Marshall. However, before we start, I would like to address the disestablishment of the Office of Net Assessment.

On March 13, 2025, the Secretary of Defense ordered the disestablishment of the Office of Net Assessment (ONA) pending a review by and recommendation from the Deputy Secretary of Defense. For many of us who worked for and with Andy it was a surprising moment. No one can know what Andy would say about the Secretary's decision, but I believe he would agree that while no institution can or should last forever, legacies built on insight and truth can, and do, ripple forward through the generations. At this time, therefore, it is particularly important to preserve the legacy that Andy left us.

## Andy's Legacy

Andy's most enduring legacy lies not in the hundreds of shrewd analytical assessments, war game designs, and practical advice he provided to successive Secretaries of Defense and myriad officials throughout the U.S. Government from 1973, when he became ONA's founding Director, to January 2015, when he retired. Rather it exists in the people that he and his colleagues found, and the way they fostered them forward, over the seven decades of his life he dedicated to the national security of the United States.

As valuable as ONA's treasure trove of analyses remains even today, the people and Andy's method of engaging them in ever-higher strata of intellectual rigor are more valuable still. What Andy and his staff accomplished from his small, cramped, and inauspicious Pentagon office remains relevant to the long-term competition we face today and will face tomorrow.

Andy had a keen eye for talented thinkers, young and not-so young, alike. His forte was tirelessly mentoring that talent to get the best out of them. Whether they came from military or civilian backgrounds, Andy found ways to deploy their eclectic, thoughtful, and questioning curiosity toward practical ends. Working with Andy, they honed their intellectual skills so as to conceptualize the broadest kinds of policy issues and goals.

Andy was ever sensitive to the need to match high intellect with steady temperament, so he encouraged those around him to accept a high tolerance for uncertainty as they peered forward five, ten, or even twenty years. As Andy had always done, too, they read history of diverse kinds, and they learned how to slow themselves down and focus well enough to truly listen.

Above all, they remained, like Andy, above the tongue-clacking fray of partisan politics, stayed loyal to the best interest of the United States, and displayed the courage to challenge stale orthodoxies and outdated paradigms, sometimes even at the risk of their own career advancement.

Andy understood better than most that while change is constant, the enduring contributions of people and their ideas lives on. He knew that people are ultimately more important than things in all facets of war and peace: The best machines on the planet will not avail if those using them lack broad situational awareness, so become unable to grasp and connect all the dots relevant to their success. Andy thus took close to his heart General Helmuth von Moltke's adage, so beloved by President Eisenhower, that it's not the plan that matters so much as the planning—not the nouns in a world full of things so much as the verbs that define and express human agency.

It is with Andy's truest legacy in mind that we now present our annual assessment of the Foundation's past year. We promise to continue to pursue our mission to honor his legacy of finding and fostering successive generations of creative interdisciplinary thinkers—and to the best of our ability, we will do it Andy's way.

## Our Mission

We at the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation do not measure achievement by dint of quantifiable numbers of people, publications, or clicks. For us it is more important to find, nurture, and support—just as Andy did—the very highest caliber strategic thinkers to shape the future of the long-term strategic competitions America faces over the next two to three decades, and beyond. One can count people, but one cannot count their quality.

In focusing on this mission, we find it appropriate to remember what Andy looked for in a strategic thinker:

How does one become a strategic thinker? What sort of training or apprenticeship is useful? What is a strategist? These are all difficult questions. For one thing there are problems of defining strategic thinking, or what strategy is. These definitional problems seem to be intractable, and to some extent it may be a matter of recognizing strategic thinking when one sees it. But, in general, strategy, as contrasted to tactics, deals with the coordination of activities at the higher levels of organizations. Strategy also focuses on longer-term goals and reflects a cast of mind that focuses on shaping the future rather than simply reacting to it...

[I]n the national security area ... there is a constant tendency to think of military strategy as related principally to the application of resources in a potential future war and the general guidance for more detailed planning for more specific contingencies. The result is that there is relatively little discussion of strategies for the peacetime management of our military organizations and for the allocation of resources over time so as to develop more efficient, effective, competitive military forces with appropriate doctrines and concepts of operations. Given the existence of nuclear weapons, the highest priority objective for the United States has been deterrence of large-scale war. In

this we have been largely successful. Therefore, the strategic management problem in our national security establishment has been the peacetime competition to preserve and indeed enhance in the future our ability to deter the Soviet Union from actions adverse to our interests. Now even this definition of our priority objective may need serious amendment as we move into a more truly multipolar world.<sup>1</sup>

What backgrounds and experiences are conducive to sound strategic thinking? Again, in Andy's words:

There is no specific set of disciplines that must be mastered to be a strategist. People who think strategically come from a number of different backgrounds. ...But what seems to be central is a cast of mind that is questioning, eclectic, able to devise the broadest kinds of issues and goals, and able to formulate appropriate ways of achieving those goals. A high tolerance for the uncertainty that necessarily accompanies any effort to think forward five, ten, or twenty years is required. For many people, some period of intense involvement in an important, large-scale project or enterprise has proved to be crucial. ...But above all, if I had a suggestion to make, it would be that people study, in any case, at least read, 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.<sup>2</sup>

With Andy's words as our lodestones, we will continue to focus on finding and fostering the types of intra- and interdisciplinary people who are engaged with the hardest and most critical questions facing the United States. Our approach remains steady to encourage innovative perspectives, experimental analytics, and the elaboration of focus areas that empower strategic thinking and generate fresh insights.

1 Andrew W. Marshall, *On Not Confusing Ourselves: Essays on National Security Strategy in Honor of Albert & Roberta Wohlstetter*, Eds. Andrew W. Marshall, J. J. Martin, & Henry S. Rowen (Westview Press, 1991), pp. 302-3.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 310.



## 2024 in Review

Over the past year the Foundation has increased its outreach efforts. We have initiated collaborations with groups and individuals from around the world. We have engaged people from many disciplines and backgrounds, and we have especially expanded our contacts with those outside U.S. national security policy/strategy organizations. United by an interest in deepening the analytic rigor required to think about the future, these dialogues have inspired new inquiries and highlighted the role perceptions play in both great power competitions and alliance relationships.

Even as we built new connections, we continued to support members of our core community. Andrew W. Marshall (AWM) Fellows and AWM Scholars continued their deep research foci on organizational decision-making, human cognition, artificial intelligence, technology strategy, and other broad questions related to U.S. national interests. As in earlier years, their work has led to provocative conversations and briefings that have engaged interdisciplinary people from across the strategic community.

2024 has also been a harvest year. Our AWM Inaugural Scholar and several of our AWM Paper Prize Winners used the experience and mentorship they received to take new professional career positions. Their ongoing experience will nourish their growth into the kind of synoptically creative strategic thinkers Andy would have recognized and appreciated.

This past year has also been a time of introspection. We sought new ways to understand the organizational, technological, cultural, political, and military

dynamics of the evolving U.S. national security environment. As part of this thought process we asked AWM Advisor Melissa Flagg to draft a series of essays designed to engage the community in a conversation about America's R&D funding priorities, and the important broader questions we should be asking about our long-term strategic interests. We invite you to join that conversation, which is becoming especially critical at this moment of transition, not just in the context of research funding but also in understanding where our national interests lie.

Additional activities we began developing in 2024, and will support throughout 2025, will bring an interdisciplinary eye to thinking about challenging questions facing the United States. We encourage you to join us in identifying and thinking about these questions and look forward to sharing the results.

We are profoundly grateful to each of you—scholars, fellows, experiment participants, donors, advisors, and friends of the Foundation—who have provided generous and unwavering support for our mission.

Andy Marshall and his colleagues, first at RAND and then at the Office of Net Assessment, understood full well that the future is unknowable to any degree of useful detail. But they also knew that failing to exert effort to think about its possible contours tended historically to add gratuitous danger to inevitable surprise. That is why we need, and will always need, to find and support those exceptional people who struggle to ask the right questions, and labor to craft the fine balance of steadfastness and resiliency we need to shape the emerging future.

Finally, thank you to Amy Suski, our Managing Director, and our Advisory Group, Jesse Ausubel, Dan Patt, Melissa Flagg, and Matt Daniels, for all their support and wisdom.

With my deepest appreciation,

**Jaymie Durnan**

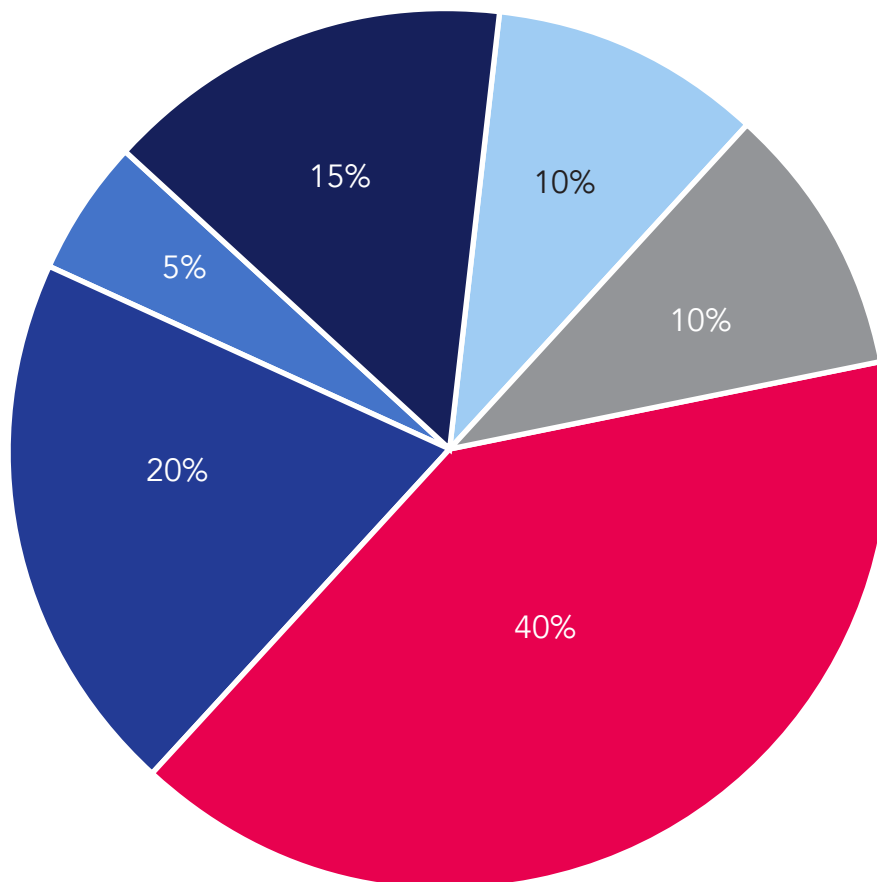
Co-founder and Chair

*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*

# Charitable Activities

The work of the Andrew W. Marshall Foundation (AWMF) is focused on finding and fostering inter-disciplinary thinkers who bring different perspectives to questions about the implications of long-term competitions facing the national security of the United States. In addition, we support publications and the continuing development of the Andrew W. Marshall Archive and AWMF Digital Library as resources for curious minds to better understand not just who Andy and his colleagues were, but, also, how they thought, and what they considered to be important. Toward these ends, the Foundation worked on and/or provided direct funding for the following activities in 2024:

- Fostering, Outreach, and Community Building
- Experiment Development
- Andrew W. Marshall Scholar
- Publications
- Andrew W. Marshall Fellow
- Andrew W. Marshall Archive and AWMF Digital Library



# Fostering, Outreach, and Community Building

In 2024, we further expanded the community Andy started by engaging with hundreds of people worldwide. These individuals share qualities that Andy would have appreciated: analytical rigor, the courage to challenge the status quo, a high tolerance for uncertainty, and a passion for shaping the future.


"I am deeply grateful to the AWM Scholar Team for continuing their support advancing research and recommendations into this emerging domain of warfare. You have been instrumental not only in promoting the importance of cognitive warfare to the policy community but also shaping our understanding of the cognitive space. I am looking forward to continued collaboration and future exploration!"

—Cmdr. Jake Bebber, Cyber Operations Branch Head for U.S. Special Operations Command; AWM Scholar

"The Andrew W. Marshall Foundation has been an extraordinary source of inspiration, collaboration, and mentorship. I have found through the Foundation a community of interdisciplinary thinkers who are generous with their insight, guidance, and support; and the impact of this on my scholarship, my career, and my life has been profound. I am so grateful for this remarkable Foundation and its commitment to finding, encouraging, and enabling people like me. It is a truly special community that has changed the course of my life for the better."

—Julia Coff, Ph.D. candidate in the NYU Stern Department of Management and Organizations; 2022 AWM Paper Prize Finalist





"The foundation has been extremely helpful in advancing my ideas and supporting my more out of the box thinking that doesn't typically have a home at traditional think tanks. I primarily think about the present-day issues, so focusing on future-oriented issues that utilized my experience is very important to me."

—Thomas Shattuck, Senior Program Manager, Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania; AWM 2023 Chain-writing Winner

"AWMF is a community of inspired and inspiring individuals, and this emboldens me to work more creatively and boldly. With the support that I received from AWMF, my new research agenda on the security implications of biotechnology (with a focus on the prospect and potential of genetic warfare) is on solid footing."

— Dr. Yelena Biberman, Associate Professor of Political Science at Skidmore College; 2021 AWM Paper Prize Finalist

"I enjoy AMWF's competitions and informal networking events. My paper prize finalist paper was a great exercise for me and preparation for a potential publication. The people I have met at AMWF are great and will continue to be important parts of my network."

— Ido Levy Ph.D. student at American University; 2021 AWM Paper Prize Finalist

"[P]articipating in the initial round [of chain-writing] last year inspired me to leverage the "fictional narrative" approach for my RAND work, and I actually ended up using it for a chapter in one of the reports..."

— Dr. Jan Osburg, Senior Engineer, RAND; 2023 AWM Chain-writing Finalist

# Scholar and Fellow

Our Scholar and Fellow programs give people the time, resources, and guidance to explore tough questions facing the United States over the next several decades. Fellows spend two years in residence at a host institution and Scholars are sponsored for one year either by a partner organization or the Foundation. Irrespective of when their terms end, the Foundation continues to recognize them as AWM Scholars and Fellows throughout their careers and intellectual development.

In keeping with the spirit of Andy Marshall's legacy, Scholars and Fellows are valued for their original thinking and ability to think broadly and creatively. Together with the partnering organization, the Foundation provides the Scholars and Fellows with the resources to review and refine their work, including outline and draft review, feedback sessions with advisors, and coordination with subject matter experts.

## **Robert "Jake" Bebber, PhD**

*2022–2024 Andrew W. Marshall Scholar*

With the sponsorship of Hudson Institute's Center for Defense Concepts and Technology and support of AWMF, in 2024, Jake completed his paper, "Cognitive Competition, Conflict, and War: An Ontological Approach." In this paper, Jake illuminates the emergent threat landscape and develops a comprehensive ontology to dissect cognitive manipulation. By integrating neuroscience and technology, 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. Jake's ongoing work focuses on cognitive decision-making in peace and war continues to generate interest within the policy-making community and beyond.

## **Benjamin A. Chang**

*2022–2023 Andrew W. Marshall Fellow*

The Foundation's inaugural AWM Fellow, Benjamin Angel Chang, spent over a year in residence at Georgetown's Center for Security and Emerging Technology (CSET), where he explored broad questions related to U.S.-China competition, using his expertise in artificial intelligence as a framework for structured thinking about this hard problem. This year Benjamin began new roles as an adjunct political scientist at RAND and Resident at Constellation focusing on the national security implications of artificial intelligence.

## **Owen J. Daniels**

*2022–2024 Andrew W. Marshall Fellow*

Prior to becoming an AWM Fellow, Owen was the winner of the 2021 AWM Paper Prize on New Revolutions in Military Affairs. His prize-winning paper, "The AI RMA: The Revolution Has Not Arrived (Yet)," led to Owen being awarded a publishing contract for a book exploring artificial intelligence (AI) along with organizational operational and cultural changes that could initiate a revolution in military affairs. While drafting his book, Owen continues his AWM Fellow term at the Center for Security and Emerging Technology (CSET) at Georgetown University, where he serves as Associate Director for Policy Analysis and writes on a range of AI topics ranging from military to regulatory innovation.



## **Carl O. Pabo, PhD**

*2024–2025 Andrew W. Marshall Scholar*

At the end of 2024, the Foundation welcomed Dr. Carl O. Pabo, noted biophysicist, as a new Scholar. Carl previously served as Professor of Biophysics at MIT and Investigator at the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, after appointments at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard and B.S. from Yale (*summa cum laude*). Carl focuses on implications of a mismatch between the capacity of the human mind and the complexity of current strategic challenges facing the modern world. He is developing new “cognitive scaffolds” to help bridge this gap and thus help society overcome this dangerous crisis of complexity.

## **Jordan Schneider**

*2023–2024 Andrew W. Marshall Scholar*

In 2024, Jordan completed his term sponsored by Hudson Institute’s Center for Defense Concepts and Technology. Through his ChinaTalk podcast and newsletter, Jordan’s scholarship included long-form discussions with experts across disciplines that explore how technology, operational concepts, and organizations drive and respond to changes in the character of the competition between China and the United States and its allies.

## **Arthur Tellis**

*2021–2022 Andrew W. Marshall Scholar*

The Hudson Institute hosted Arthur Tellis as the inaugural 2021 AWM Scholar. Arthur’s culminating paper, “Immaterial Competition: Rethinking the Roles of Economics and Technology in the US-China Rivalry,” argues that the drivers of the U.S.-China geopolitical competition render economic and technological competition subordinate to military competition. Currently, Arthur serves as an operations research analyst in the Office of the Secretary of Defense Cost Assessment and Program Evaluation, focusing on cyber and intelligence capabilities.



# Archive and Library

The Foundation continues to review the Andrew W. Marshall Archive and add resources to the publicly available AWMF Digital Library including books, memoranda, research papers, audio files, and videos. We invite all members of our community to help us build these historically significant resources by sharing links to or hard copies of any material by Andy Marshall, related to him, or inspired by his approach. By developing and sustaining a robust archive of primary sources and searchable online digital library, our aim is to enable further research, increase public understanding about Andy's contributions to strategic thought, and inspire new lines of inquiry.

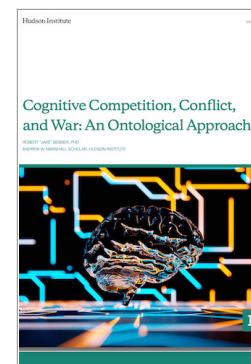
## Publications

The publications the Foundation supports are not ends in themselves but means to foster strategic thought and engage the community in a conversation about the important questions we should be asking about our long-term interests. In 2024, the Foundation provided developmental support for the publications listed below.

### **Cognitive Competition, Conflict, and War: An Ontological Approach**

*Robert "Jake" Bebbler, PhD*

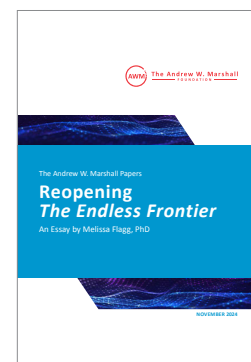
The character of war has evolved from the precision strike and stealth regime developed in the late Cold War-era to operations and technologies that target an opponent's decision-making. This shift has taken many forms, such as gray zone operations, hybrid warfare, little green men, and salami-slicing operations and tactics. Cognitive warfare represents the culmination of this evolution in how countries conduct military operations and calls into question whether traditional kinetic operations alone are necessary to achieve an aggressor's objectives.



### **Reopening The Endless Frontier**

*Melissa Flagg, PhD*

This essay is the first in a series of essays by Melissa that spans strategy, R&D, and national security topics. The essay begins with a challenge to the R&D community to stop treating Vannevar Bush's 1945 prescriptions as eternal truths and instead embrace his actual legacy: the methodical analysis of current challenges to create novel solutions. In the face of waning domestic trust in the federal government and an increasing role of industry in R&D – as Bush himself would likely advise -- we need fresh frameworks for modern challenges, not attempts to recreate a past that no longer exists.



## The New Gap in America's R&D Funding Landscape

Melissa Flagg, PhD

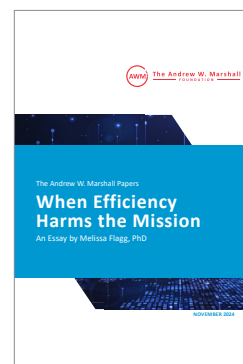
This second essay builds on the previous essay examining Bush's legacy, but shifts focus to a critical question: How can we bridge the gap between our nation's impressive research capacity and the practical needs of American communities? The answer, it proposes, lies not in abandoning Bush's vision, but in applying his problem-solving approach to today's context – creating new mechanisms to ensure our scientific enterprise serves all Americans, not just those pursuing profit or prestige. This may be a moment where the federal government has to fundamentally re-envision a new additional role in our S&T ecosystem.



## When Efficiency Harms the Mission

Melissa Flagg, PhD

This third essay delves into the hidden costs of prioritizing efficiency above all else. While efficiency often provides tidy, short-term gains, it can undermine the resilience and adaptability needed to respond successfully when our strengths are rendered less effective. This essay challenges us to rethink our obsession with centralized control and quantifiable outcomes, proposing a shift toward a decentralized, competitive approach that embraces longstanding American strengths of diversity, tension, and creativity. Drawing from lessons in war, innovation, and policy, the essay argues that focusing on mission over function is key to true national security.



"We are in a moment of transition and our current emerging problems resist our old solutions. It's critical that we spend some time reflecting on what frameworks we need to foster resilience in an uncertain world rather than jumping straight to solutions."

-- Melissa Flagg, AWMF Advisor

# Special Thanks

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

## Gifts and Grants

Andrew W. Marshall	General Atomics Aeronautical	Jonathan Paris
Anonymous	Systems, Inc.	Lucian Pugliaresi
Amy Alving	Robert and Jean Gough	Benjamin Riley
Jason Aquino	Steven Hall	Michael Schrage
Jesse Ausubel	Matthew Hallex	Frank Sensenbrenner
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John Deutch	Andy Macak	Doris and Stanley Tananbaum
Raymond DuBois	Joanne Mackey	Foundation
Jaymie Durnan	Jason Matheny	E.B. Vandiver III
	James McAleese	Laurence Zuriff



# Our Community

The Foundation appreciates the hundreds of people who have supported our mission by sharing their ideas, talent, and experience. The ripple-effect of these contributions cannot be quantified but endures as a living testament to Andy.

In addition to supporting the AWM Scholars and Fellows, AWM Paper Prize winners and finalists, and team members listed below, the larger community has been invaluable in vetting new projects, developing critical questions, and introducing us to an ever-expanding network of strategic thinkers.

Jake Bebbber	Evan M. Dudik	Jordan Schneider
Yelena Biberman	Pierre Grosser	Kevin L. Schwartz
Antoine Bondaz	Ella Harvey	Eliot M. Seckler
Don Casler	Patrick Hutson	Thomas J. Shattuck
Benjamin Chang	Ido Levy	Arthur Tellis
Paul Charon	Daniel R. Mahanty	Tom Welch
Julia Coff	Stéphane Malsgne	Treston Wheat
Owen J. Daniels	Lance Menthe	Travis Zahnow
Emily A. Davis	Jan Osburg	Linda Zhang
Jacqueline Deal	Carl Pabo	
David E. Degenhardt	Jason Rimmelin	

## 2024 Advisory Group

Jesse Ausubel  
Matthew Daniels  
Melissa Flagg  
Daniel Patt

## 2024 Leadership and Staff

Jaymie Durnan, *Co-founder and Chair*  
Stephanie Papa, *Executive Director (through March 2024)*  
Amy Suski, *Managing Director*



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Founded by Andrew Marshall and Jaymie Durnan, with the continued support of generations of people who worked for, worked with, or were mentored by Andrew 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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