

# AEI Enterprise Report

Restoring Liberty, Opportunity, and Enterprise in America



## Making an Impact

By Robert Doar

As Congress debates reconciliation, the debt limit, and infrastructure, AEI scholars are playing a critical role in shaping the national conversation on these issues and much more.

The stakes are high. Under consideration are the repeal of hard-won safety-net policies emphasizing employment and personal agency over government dependency, unprecedented government spending that will burden future generations, and an expansion of government that will fundamentally realign the relationship between individuals and the government.

Even as the political debates rage, AEI scholars' reputation for nonpartisanship and intellectual credibility has enabled them to serve as trusted advisers to policymakers on both sides of the aisle. **Scott Winship's** research on the work disincentives created by an expanded child tax credit is top of mind for Democrat and Republican officeholders. **Brent Orrell** emphasized the importance of noncognitive skills development to a special congressional roundtable.

**Michael R. Strain** visited the White House and told House Democrats that the economic recovery from the pandemic depended on rebounding workforce



Robert Doar  
AEI President and  
Morgridge Scholar

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participation and repaired supply chains, not more government spending. **Beth Akers** disparaged student loan forgiveness to committee staff in the House and Senate.

AEI scholars have also been influential in the many foreign and defense policy issues before Congress and the Biden administration. **Klon Kitchen** is alerting US Cyber Command staff on risks to American cybersecurity. **Mackenzie Eaglen** is advising Congressional Budget Office staff on how our defense budget can meet the demands set by our national security strategy. **Zack Cooper** is a go-to source for White House national security and foreign policy staff on navigating the complexities of the Australia–United Kingdom–United States alliance. And **Frederick W. Kagan** has kept the failure of the Afghanistan withdrawal at the top of policymakers’ minds through ongoing engagement with key senators and committee staff in both chambers.

These are just a few examples of how AEI scholars are active on the most pressing policy issues today. But what makes AEI distinctive is that while our scholars have tremendous impact on the daily discussions on Capitol Hill, they are also able to take a long-run view. Their work shapes the direction and tone of the future policy debates and brings attention to challenges that are not yet widely recognized.

**Scott Gottlieb**, who is the subject of this *Enterprise Report’s* Q&A, is perhaps the best recent example of this sort of impact. Over the past two years, Gottlieb has appeared on television almost daily and provided policymakers and the public with the most reliable information and analysis on the COVID-19 pandemic. And now, his new book, *Uncontrolled Spread: Why COVID-19 Crushed Us and How We Can Defeat the Next Pandemic* (HarperCollins, 2021), provides a road map for what we can do to prevent the disastrous COVID-19 outcomes from happening again. Gottlieb’s book will be a critical resource for a generation of policymakers and medical professionals seeking to understand what went wrong and how to prepare for future threats.

And **Naomi Schaefer Riley’s** new book *No Way to Treat a Child: How the Foster Care System, Family Courts, and Racial Activists Are Wrecking Young Lives* (Bombardier Books, 2021) is bringing attention to the failures of the child welfare and foster care system and is changing the conversation about the system’s priorities and incentives in a way that will spur important reforms in the long term. In this *Enterprise Report*, you will also read about new books from AEI visiting fellows **Jay Cost** and **Diana Schaub** that offer a fresh look at two of America’s greatest leaders, James Madison and Abraham Lincoln.

AEI scholars will release several books in the coming months that will similarly shape public opinion and policy thinking in the long run. These include **Hal Brands’** *The Twilight Struggle: What the Cold War Teaches Us About Great-Power Rivalry Today* (Yale University Press, 2022), which will offer important historical context for the leaders who are responsible for formulating America’s foreign policy. And this spring, **Matthew Continetti** will release a major book assessing the conservative movement’s history and the hopes for its future.

You will also read about how the AEI Academic Programs team is bringing our scholars’ work to hundreds of college students, how we continue to reach state and local leaders through the growing AEI Leadership Network, our 10th annual housing center conference, and more. Thank you for being a part of our community and for your support, which makes all our work and impact possible.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'R. Doar', with a stylized flourish at the end.

## Steven E. Koonin Joins AEI

**Steven E. Koonin**, former under-secretary for science at the Department of Energy and leading theoretical physicist, joined AEI as a nonresident senior fellow focusing on climate science and energy policy. In May, Koonin released *Unsettled: What Climate Science Tells Us, What It Doesn't, and Why It Matters* (BenBella Books, 2021), which offers an up-close exploration of the many misconceptions and shortcomings in the mainstream presentation of climate science and proposes potential solutions. Koonin serves as an authoritative, discerning voice in the policy debates regarding the appropriate response to our changing climate.

Koonin obtained a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in theoretical physics and serves as a professor of information, operations, and management sciences at New York University's Stern School of Business; professor of civil engineering at the Tandon School of Engineering; and



professor of physics at the College of Arts and Sciences. He was also the founding director of New York University's Center for Urban Science and Progress. Earlier in his career, Koonin taught theoretical physics for more than three decades at the California Institute of Technology, where he served as chairman of the faculty and later provost for almost a decade.

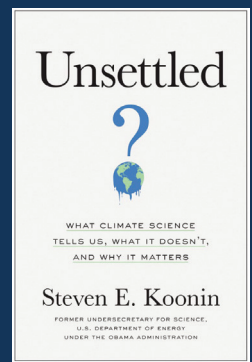
To follow his work at AEI, visit [www.aei.org/profile/steven-e-koonin/](http://www.aei.org/profile/steven-e-koonin/).

## Housing Center

### 10th Annual Housing Conference

More than 330 industry leaders, academics, policymakers, and others attended the 10th annual AEI housing conference on November 17–18. This annual event is a premier gathering for stakeholders from across the housing sector to discuss the center's expansive housing data, best practices for measuring housing trends, walkable-oriented development, and the history of mortgage lending and risk. Additionally, the conference considered ways to provide economically sound opportunities for lower-income households to build income and grow wealth. Led by AEI Housing Center scholars **Stephen D. Oliner**, **Tobias Peter**, and **Edward J. Pinto**, the sessions and speakers included:

- **Peter and Pinto** on the Housing Center's findings on systemic racism and discrimination in property values, appraiser practices, and mortgage lending;
- **Howard Husock**, Peter, Pinto, and Salim Furth (Mercatus Center) on housing and neighborhood solutions;
- **Angela Rachidi**, **W. Bradford Wilcox**, James Heckman (University of Chicago), and Isabel Sawhill (Brookings Institution) on family formation;
- **John P. Bailey**, **Nat Malkus**, **Robert Pondiscio**, and **Ian Rowe** on K–12 education, education access, and university preparation;



### Climate, Energy, "Crisis," and Transition: A Conversation with Steven Koonin

In October, Koonin was joined by Robert McNally, president of Rapidan Energy Group, to discuss the state of climate science and the economic impacts of a changing climate. In his first event as an AEI scholar, Koonin used the findings of his book, *Unsettled*, to explain why the media, politicians, and many scientists portray climate science in an alarmist way that contradicts the reality of the science as documented in official climate reports and publications. Koonin offered policy and academic solutions to bridge this gap and set forth a more accurate representation of the reality of climate science.

To watch the event video, visit [www.aei.org/climatecrisis](http://www.aei.org/climatecrisis).

- **Beth Akers**, **Mason M. Bishop**, **Brent Orrell**, and Rachel Lipson (Harvard University) on university education, career preparation, employment opportunities, job availability, and job retraining; and
- **Michael R. Strain**, **Ryan Streeter**, **Scott Winship**, and Nathaniel Hendren (Equality of Opportunity Project) on the state of upward mobility.

To learn more or view the event video, visit [www.aei.org/events/10th-annual-housing-conference/](http://www.aei.org/events/10th-annual-housing-conference/).



# AEI Gathers for Annual Irving Kristol Award Dinner and Lecture



Mary Ann Glendon was presented with the 2021 Irving Kristol Award by Robert Doar, following introductory remarks from former Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who studied and worked under Glendon at Harvard Law School. Yuval Levin then engaged Glendon in a wide-ranging conversation on her life of public service, academic work, and hope for the future.

On November 3, members of the AEI community gathered online and in person in Washington, DC, to honor Mary Ann Glendon, the Learned Hand Professor of Law, emerita, at Harvard University, with the Irving Kristol Award. Glendon is the 19th person to receive the Irving Kristol Award, which recognizes her work advancing human dignity.

In addition to her scholarly contributions to legal and social thought in several widely translated works, Glendon has been a dedicated public

servant. She served on the President's Council on Bioethics, served on the Commission on International Religious Freedom, and, most recently, chaired the State Department's Commission on Unalienable Rights. Glendon is also a recipient of the National Humanities Medal and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

To learn more or watch the conversation between Amb. Glendon and Yuval Levin, visit <https://kristol2021.aei.org/>.

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**"As for advice, I really can't improve on the advice that Václav Havel and Karol Wojtyła gave to Eastern Europeans in the most difficult years: **Live in truth and call good and evil by name.**"**

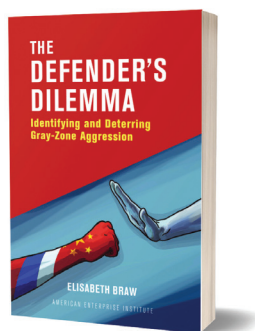
**—Mary Ann Glendon,**  
Learned Hand Professor of Law, emerita,  
Harvard University

## Foreign and Defense Policy

### New Book Addresses Rising Threat from Gray-Zone Aggression

**Elisabeth Braw's** newly released book, *The Defender's Dilemma: Identifying and Detering Gray-Zone Aggression* (AEI, 2021), is attracting significant attention on Capitol Hill and from European governments, the business community, and military officials. Braw's timely book provides critical analysis of the range of gray-zone aggression directed against the West and strategies for deterring it. She stresses that it is in the interest of all members of society to play a role in gray-zone defense and deterrence, especially as attacks—such as the Colonial Pipeline attack earlier this year—become more frequent and damaging.

Braw discussed the book in a private roundtable with members of the national



security community, Capitol Hill staffers, and business leaders, and she is discussing the book's proposals widely with leaders in Western governments and NATO. *The Defender's Dilemma* was the inspiration for a recent amendment to

### What Is Gray-Zone Aggression?

Gray-zone aggression can be understood as state-directed operations against another state that are not associated with routine statecraft and are meant to advance a country's foreign objectives without the use of military force. Simply put, the gray zone is the space between peace and war.

the National Defense Authorization Act calling for a study to be submitted to Congress on the United States' capabilities to conduct and respond to gray-zone campaigns.

To learn more or read the digital version, visit [www.aei.org/the-defenders-dilemma/](http://www.aei.org/the-defenders-dilemma/).

# AEI Hosts National Student Conference on Hispanic Politics



In October, AEI Academic Programs attracted 80 students from across the United States for its second National Student Conference on Hispanic Politics. Hosted at the Miami campus of Florida International University (FIU), and in partnership with FIU and the Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute, the conference highlighted the Hispanic community's diversity of thought and reached an audience that might not otherwise be exposed to AEI and our values of free enterprise, human dignity, and opportunity. Nearly half of participants described themselves as liberal or leaning liberal, and half identified as low-income or first-generation students.

Panel discussions included:

- **Hal Brands** and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (former US representative and chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee) discussing Latin America and the

Caribbean in an era of strategic competition;

- **Scott Winship** and Isabel Soto (American Action Forum) on realizing American promise and disparities in economic mobility;
- Carlos Díaz-Rosillo (FIU Adam Smith Center for the Study of Economic Freedom) on #SOSCuba and the Cuban protests;
- Luis Guillermo Solís (former president of Costa Rica and director of the Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center at FIU) on statecraft in Latin America; and
- **Matthew Continetti**, Sabrina Rodríguez (*Político*), and Bianca Padró Ocasio (*Miami Herald*) on the future of the American electorate.

**"This community of scholarship, where expertise and nuance matter, and issues are debated without dehumanizing one another, is exactly what college students need. In this chaotic season of American public life, I look forward to how this AEI community can continue to be a refuge from the winds of illiberalism and a place for students and faculty to grow."**

—Jeff Pickering

## New Director Leads Initiative on Faith & Public Life



**Jeff Pickering** recently joined AEI as the director of the Initiative on Faith & Public Life. Previously, Pickering was the director of media relations at the Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission, where he also directed the internship program and cohosted the podcast *Capitol Conversations*.

The Initiative on Faith & Public Life provides Christian college students with formational educational and professional opportunities. Reflected in all its programs and

resources are AEI's core values: a commitment to democracy and free enterprise, solidarity with those at the margins of our society, and an appreciation for a robust competition of ideas.

To learn more, visit [www.faithandpubliclife.com/](http://www.faithandpubliclife.com/).

## Academic Programs Resumes Programming at AEI

In October, AEI Academic Programs hosted its first in-person student programs at AEI headquarters since February 2020. Nearly 200 students and faculty participated in AEI Academic Programs' Fall Leadership Conference and the Initiative on Faith & Public Life's Fall Summit. Programming included panels, discussions, networking, and leadership training activities. Participants heard from scholars including **Alex Brill, Daniel A. Cox, Yuval Levin, Brent Orrell, Angela Rachidi, Jenna Silber Storey, Kori Schake, Benjamin Storey,** and **Adam J. White**. Students also learned how to be effective leaders and advocates for AEI on their campuses.

**"This conference gave me insight on more conservative ideologies, which is something I don't see that much on my campus. This conference taught me to respect and engage with people who have opposing views as me and still be civil. I will bring this ideology—that no one is anyone's enemy—with me. Ultimately we are all trying to do what is best for our communities, and what we should do is communicate effectively and in a civil manner with one another."**

—**Montserrat Garcia Rodriguez**,  
Conference on Hispanic Politics participant,  
St. Mary's University '24

# Q&A

## with Scott Gottlieb



**Scott Gottlieb** is a senior fellow at AEI and served as the 23rd commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration. Since the earliest days of the COVID-19 pandemic, Gottlieb has advised numerous government officials and policymakers and kept the public informed through his weekly appearances on CBS's *Face the Nation* and op-eds in the *Wall Street Journal*. Gottlieb is the author of the *New York Times* bestseller *Uncontrolled Spread*:

*Why COVID-19 Crushed Us and How We Can Defeat the Next Pandemic* (Harper-Collins, 2021), which provides insight into how our pandemic response failed and how our country could better protect itself from future infectious disease outbreaks. At AEI, he focuses on improving public health through entrepreneurship and medical innovation and expanding regulatory approaches to maintain patient and physician autonomy. Additionally, Gottlieb is a special partner with the venture capital firm *New Enterprise Associates* and serves on the boards of *Action*, *llumina*, *Pfizer*, and *Tempus*.

### **What is the most important lesson you hope policymakers draw from the pandemic?**

Even if a disease like COVID-19 could have been foreseen, we still wouldn't have been ready for it. We need an approach that prepares us for unforeseen risks and focuses on establishing core capabilities—not just trying to guess which virus will threaten us. We shouldn't accept that we'll be able to anticipate the next threat or that even a predictable risk (like a pandemic strain of flu) won't adapt in some sinister way that allows it to slip past our countermeasures. We need to tie our future strategies to the epidemiology and biology of diverse categories of potential threats and the social construction of disease.

### **Why is pandemic preparedness important for our national security?**

America's dismal experience with COVID-19 leaves us little choice but to expand the tools we use to become informed of new risks. In bolstering our

pandemic preparedness, our purpose shouldn't be merely to blunt the impact of the next pathogen that emerges, but to make sure that a calamity on the scale of COVID-19 can never happen again and that the US can never be threatened in this way again. It has become clear that we need to better leverage our intelligence assets—as much for advancing our public health goals as for guarding against adversaries who would try to exploit the resulting chaos to weaken our response.

### **How can people's confidence in public health officials be regained?**

The application of public health requires public trust. Government officials often make the mistake of trying to answer every question. Sometimes—when you lack data, when you're confounded—the most reassuring message is to admit what you do not know. Inevitably, you may be accused either of overreacting, if your worst projections don't materialize, or of underreacting, if the situation spirals out of control. But if people reject the public health measures, we fail. Making the case

for our actions, and galvanizing support for them, will be essential to the success of future public health actions.

### **What steps can be taken to facilitate a smooth transition as society adjusts to COVID-19 as an endemic pathogen?**

We're going to need to think differently about respiratory pathogens generally in the wintertime. Flu is burdensome enough. With the dual threat of COVID-19 circulating alongside flu, it's going to require us to take more precautions to reduce the risk of respiratory diseases during peak seasons. We were far too complacent about these risks in the past. That doesn't mean these risks will dominate our lives, but it will mean that certain precautions will become more commonplace. I think more people are going to use masks on a voluntary basis in the winter. We'll have to improve air quality and circulation in confined spaces. People will be encouraged to stay home from work if they are sick. We may look to reduce the density in some spaces during peak flu and COVID-19 seasons. The use of home diagnostics will be routine. I think you're going to see a new veneer of safety superimposed upon normal life.

### **You've been affiliated with AEI on and off since 2002. What keeps you coming back to AEI?**

AEI has been my intellectual home for almost two decades. The Institute has given me the support I need to advance new ideas and challenge conventions. It has encouraged me to challenge current orthodoxies, and it has been courageous in its support of its scholars. The most important part of my relationship with AEI is the support I get from colleagues who help me refine my ideas, review articles for me, and make my work better. The people give this institution its unique courage and character.

To follow all of Gottlieb's work, visit [www.aei.org/profile/scott-gottlieb/](http://www.aei.org/profile/scott-gottlieb/).



## AEI Podcast Spotlight



### **What the Hell is Going On?** Covers the Afghanistan Retreat

Even after developments in Afghanistan dropped from the daily headlines, **Danielle Pletka** and **Marc A. Thiessen** continued to draw attention and offer context around the consequences of withdrawal through their popular podcast, *What the Hell Is Going On?* Episodes dedicated to Afghanistan include:

- **Frederick W. Kagan** on the Taliban takeover, President Joe Biden's decision, the role of the Afghan army, and the impact on al Qaeda (August 18);
- Amb. Ryan Crocker on the execution of the Afghanistan evacuation and the national security ramifications of American withdrawal (September 1);
- Patrick Dowdell, the son of a New York City firefighter who died on 9/11, on his time serving as a US Army captain in Afghanistan and Iraq (September 8);
- Elliot Ackerman, author and veteran of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, on the botched withdrawal, private evacuation efforts, and how we can all do our part to help Afghan partners (September 15); and
- Yaroslav Trofimov, chief foreign affairs correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal*, on reporting from Afghanistan, the global balance of power now that the US has left, the goals and priorities of the Taliban, and what the Chinese and Russians are up to (September 22).

Visit [www.aei.org/tag/what-the-hell-podcast/](https://www.aei.org/tag/what-the-hell-podcast/) to listen.

## AEI Leadership Network Hosts Fall Summit

On September 21–23, AEI hosted a virtual summit for the 16th cohort of the Leadership Network (LN). With the addition of these new members, the LN now counts more than 1,200 members in 46 states across the country. Several topics were covered in two days of programming, including:

- A discussion of how we can build a 21st-century opportunity agenda that increases upward mobility for all, featuring **Scott Winship** in conversation with Brookings Institution Senior Fellow Richard Reeves and moderated by **Angela Rachidi**;
- A conversation between **Frederick M. Hess** and 50CAN President Derrell Bradford, moderated by **Nat Malkus**, on the importance of increasing opportunity for all students through effective reforms at the state and local level and how the COVID-19 outbreak has affected education across the United States; and
- An exchange with **Jonah Goldberg** and **Ramesh Ponnuru** on why tough conversations about big issues are still needed, especially as we progress into a post-pandemic world.



“Although the future of American prosperity and security is threatened by political polarization, economic and social upheaval, and malicious foreign actors, **I was deeply encouraged by the resilience, brilliance, and dedication of my LN colleagues and AEI’s scholars to make a difference in their communities and in the nation as whole.** Whether it was educational policy, social welfare and antipoverty policy, or how to repair the frayed social fabric of our communities and institutions, I was inspired by my conversations with LN colleagues and the panel discussions with AEI scholars. There are solutions out there, and AEI is leading the charge in supporting scholars and community leaders in implementing those solutions.”

—**Oliver Thoma**, Senior Associate, King and Spalding LLP

To learn more about the Leadership Network, visit <https://www.aei.org/leadership-network/>.

## New Trustee Elected to AEI Board



**Geoffrey S. Rehnert** joined AEI’s Board of Trustees this fall. He is the co-CEO and cofounder of Audax Group, an alternative asset management firm specializing in private equity and private debt investments in middle-market companies, which has raised over \$27 billion of investment capital. Before founding Audax Group, Rehnert was a

general partner and managing director at Bain Capital Inc., which he helped start in 1984. He previously worked at Bain & Company and Morgan Guaranty Trust Company (now JPMorgan). Rehnert also serves on the Dean’s Strategic Council at Stanford Law School, the board of the Duke University Management Company, and the boards of directors of Beth Israel Deaconess and the Joslin Diabetes Center in Boston.

## New Scholar Joins AEI Economics Team



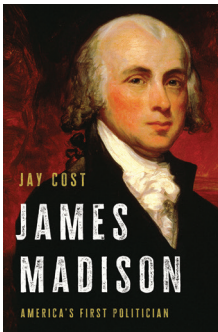
**J. Howard Beales III** recently joined AEI as a visiting senior fellow. Beales began his career at the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), where

he later served as the director of the Bureau of Consumer Protection. For more than three decades, he taught strategic management and public policy at the George Washington University. At AEI,

Beales will focus on the FTC, consumer protection, advertising regulation, and government regulation of the economy. He is working on a coauthored paper with Timothy J. Muris, former FTC chairman who joined AEI as a visiting fellow in the spring, on the FTC's move to enhance its rulemaking authority.

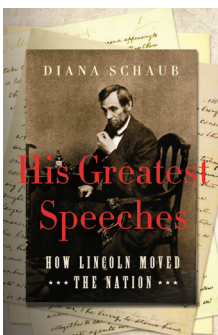
To follow all of his work at AEI, visit [www.aei.org/profile/j-howard-beales/](http://www.aei.org/profile/j-howard-beales/).

## New Books from AEI Scholars Offer Historical Insight to Current Issues



**Jay Cost** recently released a profound new book, *James Madison: America's First Politician* (Basic Books, 2021), which sheds light on the many supposed contradictions embodied by one of the foremost founding fathers. Cost demonstrates that to properly understand James Madison, he must be viewed primarily as a working politician, dedicated exclusively to the craft of politics. As Cost highlights, Madison was dedicated to reconciling differences in a diverse republic—a principle from which we stand to learn much today.

To learn more or order the book, visit [www.aei.org/madisonbook](http://www.aei.org/madisonbook).



**Diana Schaub** offers an expert analysis of Abraham Lincoln's three most powerful speeches in her new book, *His Greatest Speeches: How Lincoln Moved the Nation* (Macmillan, 2021). Through line-by-line analysis, Schaub shows how the Lyceum Address, the Gettysburg Address, and the Second Inaugural reveal Lincoln's rhetorical genius and his insight on our national character. Schaub's exposition is a helpful guide to consider the perennial questions of American purpose and identity.

To learn more or order the book, visit [www.aei.org/lincolnbook](http://www.aei.org/lincolnbook).

## Support AEI

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## Make Free Enterprise Your Legacy

For more than 80 years, AEI scholars have been tackling our nation's greatest challenges by producing work that bolsters free enterprise and innovation, strengthens our communities, defends our nation's founding values, and revitalizes America's leadership in the world. One of the best ways you can ensure that AEI can carry out this mission far into the future is by including AEI in your life and estate plans. Planned gifts provide AEI with long-term financial stability, guaranteeing the Institute has the means to continue our important work for years to come.

If you would like to learn about making a planned gift, including will or trust provisions, charitable remainder trusts, and charitable lead trusts, please visit [www.aei.org/donate-about/planned-giving](http://www.aei.org/donate-about/planned-giving) or contact Nicole Ruman-Skinner ([n Skinner@aei.org](mailto:n Skinner@aei.org); 202.862.7189).



## Applications Now Open for 2022 Summer Honors Program

AEI's Summer Honors Program is the premier educational opportunity for talented undergraduates seeking a deeper understanding of public policy challenges, a greater appreciation for substantive dialogue across ideological divides, and a stronger foundation for pursuing a career in the policy world. Students can apply to participate in one of the fully funded, intensive, weeklong courses, offered in June.

To apply or nominate a student, visit [www.aei.org/summer-honors-program/](http://www.aei.org/summer-honors-program/).