

AMERICA FIRST: THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMICS AS AN INSTRUMENT
OF NATIONAL POWER ON ACQUISITION POLICY

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Strategic Studies

by

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

AMERICA FIRST: THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMICS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POWER ON ACQUISITION POLICY, by MAJ Kristen D. Pietrasz, 108 pages.

As policy objectives change from administration to administration, the acquisition process within the Department of Defense (DOD) must adapt to the changes to maintain modernization and readiness efforts. The National Security Strategy (NSS) outlines the use of national power, to include the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic instruments. Although the military instrument is the primary focus for policy changes within the DOD, it is important to recognize that economic objective shifts may impact acquisition processes. The methodology for the research was an applied professional case study method, using professionally accepted documentation to determine causal or correlative relationships between economic policy objectives and acquisition efforts. This research includes a review of NSS and economic policy documents from the Bush, Obama, and Trump Administrations, as well as acquisition efforts and policy updates from 2001-2018. The goal of the research is to determine if a predictive model can be developed for acquisition leaders that guides policy development based on the economic instrument of national power as outlined in the NSS.

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ACRONYMS

ASA(ALT)	Assistant Secretary of the Army (Acquisition, Logistics and Technology)
DOD	Department of Defense
FORSCOM	United States Army Forces Command
GSA	General Services Administration
NASA	National Aeronautical and Space Administration
NSS	National Security Strategy
TRADOC	United States Army Training and Doctrine Command
U.S.	United States

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem

With this order, I am directing every single agency in our government to strictly uphold our Buy American laws, to minimize the use of waivers, and to maximize Made in America content in all federal projects. And for the first time ever, we are going to crack down on foreign bidders that used dumped steel and other subsidized goods to take contracts from workers like you.

—Donald J. Trump, *Remarks on Buy American Hire American Executive Order*

Administration driven changes to policy and law directly inform and influence the National Security Strategy (NSS). The strategy details the employment of the various instruments of national power. Awareness of policy shifts is important during the development and application of the economic instrument of national power. As policy shifts occur, the Department of Defense (DOD) and the United States (U.S.) Army must lean forward and adapt to changing conditions, while remaining postured to defend the Nation.

Small changes to policy may have large repercussions for the DOD. Leaders must understand the changes they may face based on based on congressional oversight, new strategic direction, and directives in executive orders. In a fiscally-constrained and readiness-driven military, a single executive order or piece of legislation can have a large effect on the Soldier on the ground. For example, the Army experienced reductions in end strength directed by Congress in the National Defense Authorization Acts from 562,000 in Fiscal Year 2012 to 475,000 in Fiscal Year 2016 (National Defense Authorization Act of 2016). Operational requirements endured as troop levels declined. A sustained

reduction may lead to a strain on readiness and risk the ability to accomplish global missions.

Economic policy changes will influence various military policies and practices, with a significant impact on acquisition. Law, regulation, statute, and policy govern the Army acquisition process. As changes in economic policy and law occur, regulations and policies adjust to comply with federal law. The effects of these changes are not immediately understood and have impacts that require revision of regulation and policy after the fact. As the changes intersect with acquisition policy, the Army must make adjustments and prioritizations within its current budget and programming.

Recent changes to cybersecurity policies and information technology procurement in the DOD are examples of how a directive from the executive branch becomes acquisition policy. In February of 2016, then President Barack Obama issued an executive order establishing a commission to develop recommendations for procurement, management and governance of federal information technology systems (U.S. President 2016). An update to the Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation System on October 21, 2016, included language on safeguarding defense information and reporting instructions for cyber incidents. The new requirements were stringent and required all contractors and subcontractors to have adequate cybersecurity measures in place (SECDEF, GSA, NASA 2016). This posed a problem to smaller businesses that did not previously require such robust cybersecurity to run their organizations. Now, small organization must build out a cyber infrastructure capable of complying with the rule to make bids or take part in a larger contract. This could impact pricing and timeliness of delivery of products.

This study will recommend policy options for acquisition leaders based on the economic instrument of national power. The research will identify current domestic and foreign acquisition policies. The combination of historical patterns, strategic commentary on potential policy shifts, and historical acquisition policies will allow for development of an analytical framework. The purpose of the framework is to develop a predictive model for acquisition leaders to reference during the policy development process. Scholarly literature exists on the NSS, the changing economic policies and impacts, and the changes to the acquisition process in response to strategic shifts, executive orders, and legal changes. The intent is to provide a predictive acquisition model based on analysis of an administration's forthcoming NSS to allow the acquisition community to start forming options sooner rather than later.

Primary Research Question

The author's primary research question is "Can one build a predictive model for acquisition leaders that guides policy development based on the economic instrument of national power as outlined in the NSS?" Leaders in the Acquisition Corps would benefit from such a model because it allows flexibility and responsiveness in the policy change process. This research paper will explore the feasibility of constructing a model for use that will guide policy development, while accounting for changes in the NSS and subsequent economic policy actions.

Secondary Research Questions

To provide insight to this question, the author must study and answer several secondary research questions. The following secondary research questions will provide insight to the primary questions:

1. What were the economic policy choices consistent with “America First” included in the NSS?
2. What were the historical economic positions or policies within the NSS over the past seventeen years?
3. How does one assess economic policies within the previous NSS using an analysis model? How will one structure this model?
4. What are the opinions of the strategic thought leaders on economic policies of the NSS?
5. Can acquisition leaders build acquisition policy options before the economic instrument of NSS shifts?
6. What major acquisition initiatives and efforts have occurred since 2001?

As a military officer, the author is considered qualified to conduct research and complete a thesis on this topic. The author attended several DOD acquisition courses and is currently serving as an Army acquisition officer. The author had the opportunity to see the impacts of policy change to the procurement and fielding of Army equipment to soldiers in previous assignments. In an effort to better understand potential impacts to acquisition programs, the author is motivated to conduct the research and provide a thesis on how shifts in the United States economic policy affect change in Army acquisition policy.

Background

The leadership of the United States uses the instruments of national power to advance the national interests and achieve strategic objectives. The four instruments are diplomatic, informational, military, and economic. Officials use the diplomatic instrument to engage with other states to work cooperatively to help advance objectives, interests, and values of the United States. Leaders use the informational instrument to support national security across a variety of mediums and events. Leaders employ the military instrument both in the U.S. and across the world in an effort to support national security goals. Use of military in the United States includes employment of National Guard units during natural disasters. Lastly, the intent of the economic instrument is to ensure a strong United States economy, with access to global markets and resources to ensure the ability to construct and maintain a strong defense (DOD 2017, 12-14).

Military leaders tend to focus on the use of the military instrument of national power, as it informs and directs actions to be taken by the military. However, leaders must consider all the instruments of national power when preparing strategies or planning operations. The economic instrument of national power is especially important to consider, as it will influence budget, foreign cooperation, and military readiness.

Policy and law shift with each change in presidential administration. Many processes across the DOD and the Army are not postured to respond immediately. The Army acquisition system has rigid processes that are not responsive to shifts in policy. The government funds programs years in advance, with product contract awards spanning over several years. A sudden change to the way the United States procures components, supplies, and end items are will have cost and schedule impacts. The changes may result

in reduced readiness, obsolete technology, and inability to maintain equipment. While there have been changes to the Defense Acquisition System in recent years, to include the implementation of a rapid acquisition process known as urgent capability acquisition, these reforms have been largely the result of congressional legislation and not predictive modeling or anticipation. (DOD 2017, 92-99).

Assumptions

The current administration's proclamations, executive orders, emerging legislation and the NSS will produce changes in defense acquisition policy. The administration's priorities are derived from various documents that may introduce changes to current policy or may generate new policies for military acquisitions.

The United States will continue resourcing forces for engagement in a variety of conflicts and execution of security force assistance missions. The Army will simultaneously develop capabilities for the future operational environment. Evolving threats will contribute to the requirement to maintain readiness, resourcing, and development of technology.

Definitions

The United States Army acquisition process is laden with acronyms and verbiage that are exclusive to concepts and actions taken within the Army acquisition framework. In an effort to avoid confusion, the following definitions are provided:

Acquisition Category. Categories that determine levels of review, decision authority and procedures based on program classification. Category I programs are major defense acquisition programs that require more than \$480 million in research,

development, testing, and evaluation costs or more than \$2.79 billion in procurement costs. Milestone decision authorities are Undersecretary of Defense, Acquisition, Technology and Logistics, component acquisition executive, or Department of Defense Chief Information Officer. Category II require no more than \$185 million in research, development, testing, and evaluation costs or no more than \$835 million in procurement costs. The decision authority is the component acquisition executive. Lastly, for Army purposes, the category III programs are those that do not meet the criteria for category II programs. The component acquisition executive designates the decision authority for these programs (DAU 2018a).

Army Cost Position. Sub-element of the DOD Component Cost Position. This is the cost position established by the Army from the cost estimate and the Program Office Estimate prior to Milestone A, B, C, and Full Rate Production decision (DAU 2018a).

Army Requirements Oversight Council. Committee that validates the requirements document for the materiel solutions (DA 2017a, 9).

Capability. As defined by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction 3170.01I, capability is the ability to complete a task or execute a course of action under specified conditions and level of performance (CJCSI 3170.01I, 23 Jan 2015). This study will reference capabilities as materiel solutions or products that allow users to complete tasks or courses of actions, as described by the CJCSI.

Defense Acquisition System. The management process used by the DOD to provide systems and capabilities to users (DOD 2007, 2).

Free Trade. A trade position that advocates letting states or other entities buy and sell products as needed or desired (George 1886, 47).

Independent Cost Estimate. Independent estimate for Major Defense Acquisition Program or Major Automated Information System. Considered independent because the estimate is prepared by an entity external to the organization managing the program. Also analytically independent because the estimate is free from bias. The estimate covers all costs for the entire life cycle of the program, to include sunk costs (DAU 2018a).

Initial Capabilities Document. Document that outlines one or more new capability requirements. The document includes capability gaps and directs intent to eliminate gap via non-materiel or materiel solutions (DAU 2018a).

Joint Requirements Oversight Council. The council that assists the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff to identify, assess, and validate joint military requirements to meet objectives in the National Military Strategy (DAU 2018a).

Lead Systems Integrator. Contractor or group of contractors hired by the federal government to manage a large-scale defense acquisition program. The integrator is responsible for all or nearly all aspects of the program, to include determining requirements, developing technology, selecting procurement sources, procuring the components for the system or systems, and conducting tests (Grasso 2010, 1).

Liberalism. An economic theory advocating cooperation and collaboration to allow multiple actors to benefit (O'Brien and Williams 2013, 13-14)

Mercantilism. An economic theory focused on the protection of a state's wealth and economic interests (Irwin 1991, 1296).

Milestone B. The point in the program that the decision authority gives approval to enter the Engineering and Manufacturing Development phase (DAU 2018a).

Program. Referenced as an acquisition program. This is a directed and funded effort to provide a new, improved, or maintained weapon or information system that meets a validated need (DOD 2007, 2).

Protectionism. A trade position concentrated on protecting domestic supplies, services, and commodities from external competition (George 1886, 28).

Requirement. A requirement is the need for personnel, equipment, or other services to perform operations as directed (DAU 2018a).

The Army Plan. The five-part strategy guidance document developed and published by senior Army leadership. The plan includes the Army vision, the Army strategic plan, Army planning guidance, the Army program guidance memorandum, and the Army campaign plan (DA 2015, 23-24).

U.S. Army Forces Command. The largest U.S. Army command. This unit is responsible for providing land forces to combatant commanders. The organizations are tailorable to fit requirements across the range of military operations (FORSCOM 2018).

Limitations and Delimitations

There are several limitations and delimitations to the research. The NSS is a document developed as a requirement of the Goldwater Nichols Act of 1987 (Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986). As a relatively new requirement, the NSS documents are only available from 1987-2017. Many legislative and executive economic policy efforts are not realized during a presidency, so the author will use reports to give the reader understanding of the economic climate during each administration.

Previous administrations published seventeen NSS documents over the last thirty-one years. To provide detailed insight on both NSS and economic policy documents, a delimitation to this research is a focus on the five strategies released over the past seventeen years. In addition, the author focuses only on the economic instrument of national power. There are acquisition efforts and policies related to the military instrument of national power, but this research differs because it concentrates on only the economic objectives within the NSS.

A delimitation in the research is the restriction of possible policy changes that would likely result in changes to Army acquisition policy. In an effort to provide a thorough analysis, the research will present a policy focus. The policies of interest include federal acquisition, trade, commerciality, and the Buy American Act. An additional delimitation is the restriction on the number of global strategic thought leaders included in the research. Limiting positions and assertions on proposed economic policies will provide a more constructive overview on those policies that are published or enacted in the future.

Significance of Study

President Trump's NSS contained language that may change the use of the economic instrument of national power and could have consequential effects on military policy and practice. This research will provide information intended to inform leaders in the Army and provide options for acquisition process changes as economic policies shift. The study will examine the possibility of developing a predictive model for the acquisition community that incorporates economic changes derived from the NSS. A predictive model will allow acquisition leaders to adjust use of resources by getting ahead

of policy changes, allowing rapid development of capabilities that are not delayed by a slow bureaucratic response.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines the existing literature related to NSS and acquisition policy and regulation to develop an understanding and assist in answering the primary and secondary research questions. The literature review concentrates on the NSS of the Bush, Obama and Trump Administrations, the Buy American Act, defense acquisition policies and regulations related to the economic environment, and recent executive orders published by President Trump. Lastly, the literature review summarizes the opinions expressed by several strategic thought leaders. The purpose of the inclusion of thought leaders is to gain further insight into potential outcomes of the most recent NSS.

National Security Strategy

The Goldwater-Nichols Act introduced mandatory reporting for a NSS in 1986. The law required an annual report from the President to Congress on NSS. This report required a description of the interests, goals and objectives in a worldwide context for the United States, outlining the items vital to national security. Outlined in the document are foreign policy, global commitments, and defense capabilities. The strategy must describe the administration's proposed short and long term uses of diplomatic, informational, military and economic instruments of national power (Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986).

Administration of President George W. Bush

President George W. Bush released his first NSS in September 2002. The economic strategy focused on global economic trade through free markets and

unencumbered trade flow. Advancement of prosperity and freedom in the world enhanced national security. Continuing the efforts put in place by the Clinton administration, the Bush administration worked on economic engagement with other countries, emphasized pro-growth policies, alteration of tax policies that provide incentives for work, worked to eliminate corruption, developed financial systems to maximize capital use, and encouraged free trade that allowed for growth of technology and opportunities (U.S. President 2002, 17).

The Bush administration laid out a strategy to achieve free trade. This included launching new global trade negotiations focused on agriculture, manufacturing and services; promoting regional initiatives such as those outlined in the Free Trade Area of the Americas; and moving forward with multiple bilateral free trade agreements to include those developed with Chile and Singapore (U.S. President 2002, 18). The administration acknowledged that economic policy progress could only be made with the cooperation of Congress and through this relationship the members of Congress were able to pass the Trade Promotion Authority, which assisted with trade liberalization. There was a presentation of laws that ensured trade agreements were fair, resolved disputes, addressed new regulations, and deterred abuse of trade practices. As free trade developed, the administration emphasized helping American industries and workers adjust to changes, making sure that free trade did not come at the expense of American employment. Lastly, there was focus on protecting the environment and enhancing energy security in the global economy (U.S. President 2002, 19).

In the opening remarks of the 2006 NSS, President George W. Bush acknowledged that the nation was at war, but stated that fear should not push the United

States into isolationism or protectionism. Rather, the Nation should continue on the path of free trade in the international economy. International economic challenges included corruption and poor governance, which could decrease economic growth in some countries; dependence on foreign oil, which was usually imported from unstable countries; economic integration, which meant the global economy would have impacts on the local, smaller economies of the world; and restriction of the free flow of capital in some nations. Lastly, the threat of protectionist policies put the benefits of free trade and open markets at risk (U.S. President 2006, 27).

To address these challenges, the Bush Administration laid out a strategy that focused on continuing to open the markets and integrate developing countries. In a continued response to the threat of protectionism across the globe, the administration wanted to break down trade barriers, develop trade agreements, and reform international financial systems to reduce instability and encourage growth. Open, integrated, and diversified global energy markets would reduce energy dependence and provide energy security. (U.S. President 2006, 28).

The administration also addressed the War on Terror by discussing the economic plan for the Iraqi government. The goal was to work with the Iraqis to restore their infrastructure, reform their economy and build their institutional capacity to administer services, conduct rule of law and build civil society. Infrastructure required rebuilding to meet the demand of Iraq's growing economy. Iraq required a self-sustaining economy built on market principles. Lastly, the Iraqi institutions lacked the ability to maintain the infrastructure (U.S. President 2006, 13).

Administration of President Barack Obama

President Barack Obama published his first NSS in May 2010. The economic security strategy was multi-faceted, focusing on prosperity and broken down into several objectives, to include strengthening human capital through education, enhancing innovation, achieving balance and sustainable economic growth, accelerating development, and good stewardship of taxpayers' dollars (U.S. President 2010b, 28-35).

The administration focused on developing the American workforce to strengthen economic security. The first objective was to improve education for the American people on all levels, beginning in grade school and progressing through high school. The strategy also outlined a need for improvement in adult trade skills education. Investing in science, technology, engineering and math education and increasing international education exchanges were key objectives. Additionally, there was a push for immigration reform (U.S. President 2010b, 28-35).

To enhance and strengthen prosperity, there was an emphasis on the development of science, technology, and innovation. This included reducing reliance on fossil fuels, thus reducing energy dependence. The administration wanted to invest in research and expand international science partnerships as well as grow America's space capabilities. Technology protected the nation from asymmetrical attacks through supply chain and communications infrastructure security. (U.S. President 2010b, 31).

After the 2008 recession, the administration emphasized both balanced and sustainable growth of the economy. Preventing instability in the international economy, increasing domestic savings, creating a global demand for American exports, and opening foreign markets would promote economic growth. The United States needed to

work to build cooperation with partners throughout the world and help deter existing threats to the global financial system (U.S. President 2010b, 33).

The administration wanted to accelerate development and provide transparency to the American taxpayers. This involved investing in development by helping allies and assisting poor countries develop their economies. At the same time, the administration focused on working to reduce the federal deficit, helped reform acquisition policies and processes, and ensured the American people understood what the budget was being used for (U.S. President 2010b, 33-34). The Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Logistics and Technology, the Honorable Frank Kendall, implemented several policy changes, to include the addition of the policies and procedures for urgent capability acquisition. The changes stemmed from the DOD's desire to rapidly deploy systems to soldiers operating in contingency environment to reduce risks and overcome emerging and imminent threats. This policy streamlined the process to get capabilities to the user quickly and efficiently (DOD 2015, 145). The benefits of streamlining the process were twofold: allowing rapid deployment of equipment to the warfighter while reducing costliness of lengthy program actions.

President Barack Obama released his final NSS in February 2015. In this document, the economic objectives were very direct and succinct, echoing the objectives of the 2010 NSS. The administration wanted to continue to educate the American people to increase competitiveness and incomes. As partnerships with the international community strengthened, job creation and flow of commerce would result. After recovering from economic crisis of 2008, a requirement remained for the United States to continue to shape and develop international economic order to ensure stability.

Additionally, there was a focus on working with partners to help bring nations out of extreme poverty with transformative investments, assistance with governance and energy sustainability (U.S. President 2015, 15-17).

The advancement of technology, innovation and energy security were also top priorities for the Obama Administration. In an effort to break ties of energy dependence, the administration focused on investing and developing affordable and reliable energy to strengthen the economy. In concert with this, investment in technology would give Americans a competitive advantage in the global economic arena (U.S. President 2015, 15-17).

Administration of President Donald Trump

President Donald Trump released his NSS on 18 December 2017. His strategy continued the declaration of the administration's policy to put America first. The strategy identifies competitor states and seeks to promote American prosperity. The strategy subtly departs from the National Security Strategies of past administrations, with several differences related to trade and more focus on domestic prosperity (U.S. President 2017g, 17-23).

The policy identifies the competitive global environment of which the United States is part. Departing from the previous administration, President Trump declares outright that China and Russia are challengers to American power (U.S. President 2017g, 2). It is important to understand that there may be economic implications with the competitive states. The extensive trade deficit between the United States and China is an example of an economic area of contention.

The NSS outlines an economic strategy that includes rejuvenating the domestic economy, promoting fair and reciprocal trade relationships, and protecting national security innovation in the United States. To boost the domestic economy, the administration focused on reducing regulations that inhibited growth, introducing tax reforms that improved American posture to compete, and improving infrastructure. In addition to these priorities, the administration also placed emphasis on the reduction of federal debt through efficiencies, restrained federal spending and ensuring global competitiveness through support of education and apprenticeships (U.S. President 2017g, 17-19).

The administration plans to enforce free and fair economic relations with global partners. New trade agreements and modification of existing agreements is a priority action for the administration. In addition, there is a focus on countering unfair trade practices and corruption in an effort to develop successful business climates. By working with global partners with similar priorities, the United States leadership will facilitate creation of new market opportunities and promote free market competition (U.S. President 2017g, 19-20).

Similar to previous administrations, the Trump Administration prioritized research, technological innovation, and energy security. Priorities for the administration include understanding the technological trends, retaining innovative individuals, using private sector expertise, and fielding innovative products. In addition to innovative practices, there is a focus on protecting intellectual property and data infrastructures. Lastly, the administration will pursue energy dominance by reducing regulatory barriers,

promoting export of energy resources, energy security for the United States, and allowing access to multiple energy resources (U.S. President 2017g, 20-23).

The literature review shows that the use of the economic instrument of national power did not change drastically throughout the changes in administration. Each new President deliberately assessed and adjusted this instrument of national power according to the global political climate, using sanctions to punish aggression and trade to bolster struggling societies. Each administration used economic power to work with nations that sought mutual benefit and security through trade policies, international investments, and sharing of technological advances. The latest NSS from the Trump Administration captures many of the same objectives as previous administrations, but does have a distinct focus on trade partnership changes and rejuvenation of America's domestic economy. The use of the economic instrument of national power drives budgetary decisions and could impact modernization efforts. Understanding the application of the economic instrument is important for acquisition leaders and leaders must acknowledge changes when developing policies, regulations, or drafting government contracts with external parties.

Buy American Act

The U.S. federal government must abide by the rules laid out in the Buy American Act when entering into contracts with external parties. Upon assuming office, President Trump reiterated the need to maintain a preference for American-made products. This is of interest to the acquisition community because there may be changes to the current use of waivers or established policies regarding execution of the Buy American Act.

The Buy American movement emerged as a result of the economic collapse of the 1930s. The gross national product was falling, construction projects slowed to a halt, and many manufacturing, factory, and farming jobs ceased to exist. President Herbert Hoover held firm to his belief that the economy would self-correct, urging Americans to invest and funding public works projects. However, the economy continued to fail and jobs continued to dwindle. William Randolph Hearst, a newspaper tycoon, proposed a solution to the problem and the Buy American campaign was born (Frank 1999, 58-59).

Although Hearst championed the Buy American movement, the campaign was successful due to the state of the nation and the urgency felt by the American people. Following World War I, the United States moved towards isolationism. Debts from Allies remained unpaid and Great Britain moved towards its own Buy Britain campaign, fueling American contempt for those it helped during the Great War. Congress, the American citizens, and eventually the President were convinced that Buy American would turn the economic focus inward and help turn around the dismal financial state (Frank 1999, 61-66).

The 72nd Congressional Session introduced The Buy American Act of 1933 (BAA). Title III of the Act of March 3, 1933, mandated a preference for U.S. manufactured products in federal procurements. The BAA focused on limiting government contracts for public use items to only items that Americans produced. The language allowed for exceptions, including inconsistency with public interest, unreasonable cost, and products that were not produced at a sufficient quantity within the United States. Items created for use outside of the United States were not subject to the law (Act of March 3 1933).

The BAA evolved through the years and currently falls under U.S. Code Title 41, Chapter 83, Section 8301-8305. The statute specifies procurement of “allowable” materials for public use. The department head must determine if the procurement is inconsistent with the public interest or if the cost is unreasonable. Exceptions exist that state that the law does not apply to items used outside of the United States, where quantities are not sufficient, or items contracted for less than the micro-purchase threshold of \$3,000 (U.S. Code of Federal Regulations 2016).

The addition of the requirement for the Secretary of Defense (SECDEF) to submit a report to Congress on purchases by the DOD from foreign entities ties the BAA to federal defense procurement. As a result of several revisions, the current requirement is to present the report within 60 days after the end of the fiscal year (National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998). The report must list all waived procurements and those allowed under reciprocal defense procurement memorandums of understanding, Trade Agreements Act of 1979, and international agreements that include United States (U.S. Code of Federal Regulations 2016).

The Code of Federal Regulation provides guidance on the implementation of the BAA in federal contracts. This includes use of waivers, definitions of end products and commercially available off-the-shelf (COTS), qualifying countries and federal contract clauses. This is solidified in the language in Part 12 of the FAR, Acquisition of Commercial Items, stating that commercial off-the-shelf items are not subject to the laws under 41 USC. §§ 8302-8303 (Federal Acquisition Regulation 2018).

On 18 April 2017, President Trump published an executive order on the Buy American laws. Reiterating the existing Buy American Act, President Trump ordered that

it will be the policy to maximize the use of goods, products, and materials produced in the United States. In addition, the policy would enforce laws regarding the entry of workers from other nations into the United States for work. The president ordered agencies to enforce and comply with Buy American laws, and minimize the use of waivers. He ordered an assessment of compliance with Buy American policies and use of waivers. In addition, he requested the development and proposal of policies to guide compliance. As part of this, President Trump ordered the assessment of impacts of all free trade agreements on government procurement and impacts on domestic procurement preferences. The order contained requirements on the judicious use of waivers from Buy American laws (U.S. President 2017c).

Defense Acquisition Policies and Regulations

Trade Agreements Act

President Jimmy Carter enacted the Trade Agreements Act on 26 July 1979, which was later codified as U.S. Code 19, Chapter 13. The enactment of the Trade Agreements Acts helped foster an open global trading system, expand commerce opportunities of the United States through international trade and improve the existing rules of international trade. It also provided a means to enforce the rules (Trade Agreements Act 1979). Procurement is eligible from countries that are part of the World Trade Organization Government Procurement Agreement; the North American Free Trade Agreement; free trade agreements entered with the United States after 31 December 31 2003, and before 2 January 2 2005; the Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement; free trade agreements entered with the United States after 31 December 2005, and before 2 July 2006; the United States-Oman

Free Trade Agreement; the United States-Peru Trade Promotion Agreement; the United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement; the United States-Colombia and the Trade Promotion Agreement; and the United States-Panama Trade Promotion Agreement. The Buy American Act allows the follow countries equitable consideration for procurement:

Table 1. Free Trade Agreements and Participating Nations	
World Trade Organization (WTO) Government Procurement Agreement Countries	Armenia, Aruba, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea (Republic of), Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan (known in the World Trade Organization as “the Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu (Chinese Taipei)”), Ukraine, or United Kingdom
Caribbean Basin Countries	Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bonaire, British Virgin Islands, Curacao, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saba, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Eustatius, St. Maarten, or Trinidad and Tobago
Least Developed Countries	Afghanistan, Angola, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Kiribati, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Timor-Leste, Togo, Tuvalu, Uganda, Vanuatu, Yemen, or Zambia
Free Trade Agreement Countries	Australia, Bahrain, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Korea (Republic of), Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Oman, Panama, Peru, or Singapore

Source: VA 2017.

The rule of origin determines whether an item is a product of a country. A country satisfies the rule of origin requirement by growing, producing, or manufacturing an item

or article. In addition, the item or article satisfies the rule of origin requirement if the imported item is substantially transformed into a new or completely different product. The transformed items must have a different name, different characteristics or a use different from the original materials (Trade Agreements Act 1979).

The Federal Acquisition Regulation contains the Trade Agreement Act provisions under subpart 25.4. The Trade Agreements Act allows the President to waive the Buy American requirements for the procurement of items from eligible countries. The President delegated the authority to the United States Trade Representative (Federal Acquisition Regulation 2018).

Berry Amendment

The Berry Amendment requires DOD to procure certain items from American sources. Congress originally passed the amendment as part of the 1941 Appropriations Act, with the intent to protect American industries. Formerly 41 U.S.C. § 2533a, the amendment currently falls under 10 U.S.C § 2533a, known as Title 10-Armed Forces (DAU 2017). The amendment requires the DOD to procure food; clothing; tents; certain textiles; equipment manufactured using fibers, yarns, or fabrics; and hand and measuring tools from American sources (U.S. Code of Federal Regulations 2016).

There are some exceptions to the amendment. If the product is not available in required quantity or quality from the United States, exceptions for procurement may apply. The law permits procurements outside the United States under the following conditions: the purchase is in support of combat operations, by personnel on vessels in foreign waters, emergency procurements, and if there is an urgent need (U.S. Code of Federal Regulations 2016).

Federal Acquisition Regulation Part 25

Part 25 of the Federal Acquisition Regulation contains the policies and procedures for procurement of foreign items, services, and materials, as well as contracts performed outside of the United States. This portion of the regulation outlines the procedures to comply with the Buy American Act, Trade Agreements Act, American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, and other international agreements. Items procured from Commissary resale and items that fall below the simplified acquisition threshold are exempt from the Berry Amendment (Defense Procurement and Acquisition Policy 2014). Along with these procedures, additional rules outline contract performance outside the United States, how to evaluate foreign offers, prohibited sources, and handling customs and duties (SECDEF, GSA, NASA 2018).

2017 Army Acquisition Directives

In the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2016, Congress directed the Army to streamline and coordinate the requirements, acquisition, and budget processes. The acting Secretary of the Army provided guidance on acquisition reform efforts via the Army Directive 2017-22. Streamlining the process for development and approval of requirements is the focus of Acquisition Reform Initiative 1. Currently, the timeline for requirements generation is 3-5 years. The intent of the initiative is to reduce this timeline by 2 years (DA 2017b, 1-2).

To accomplish this, the Secretary of the Army directed the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Acquisition, Logistics and Technology) (ASA(ALT)) to update Army Regulation 70-1. The updates include establishing the role of science and technology in the acquisition process, combining the Initial Capabilities Document Army Requirements

Oversight Council and Materiel Development Decision Army System Acquisition Review Council, combining the Army Requirements Oversight Council Milestone A and B concurrence forums for Acquisition Category I programs, and eliminating augmented contractor support to capability developers. The U.S Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) has an active role in the requirements process, working to prioritize, synchronize, and integrate doctrine, organizations, training, and materiel requirements (DA 2015, 58). The commander of TRADOC will propose updates to the regulation related to science and technology roles in collaboration teams, cross-functional team structure, staffing timelines for requirements documents, Future Force Development Strategy, require Army commands to comment on requirements, and establish key system attributes of Acquisition Category I, II, and III systems. The Secretary of the Army also directed members of the Army Staff to provide input as well. The Secretary required the Deputy Chief of Staff G-3/5/7 to develop a threat-based strategy and provide guidance to The Army Plan and modernization efforts (DA 2017b, 1-2).

The acting Secretary of the Army published Acquisition Reform Initiative 3 (Improving the Integration and Synchronization of Science and Technology) to integrate science and technology efforts into development of concepts, capabilities and materiel solutions. The intent of the initiative is to provide a method to identify, refine, and implement science and technology into the acquisition process, with measurable methods to assess the effects of implementation of science and technology (DA 2017c, 1-7). The integration of science and technology early and often in the acquisition process will allow the DOD an opportunity to explore capability options and pursue continued technological overmatch.

The Secretary of the Army directed the ASA(ALT) to update Army Regulation 70-1 and include science and technology planning guidance, understand the Cross-Functional Team pilots, develop an overarching Army science and technology strategy, conduct a science and technology program review semiannually, establish the Army Science Conference, and establish an annual technology symposium. In addition, the ASA(ALT) directs the United States Army Research, Development and Engineering Command elements to establish metrics for tracking science and technology initiatives. Science and technology advisors assist milestone decision authority personnel for all Acquisition Category I, II, and III programs from creation through Milestone B (DA 2017c, 1-7). A common theme across the acquisition reforms centers on quickly getting technologically advanced systems to the warfighters that meet the requirements of the changing operation environment.

The acting Secretary of the Army published Acquisition Reform Initiative 4 (Streamlining Test and Evaluation and Minimizing Redundant Testing) to facilitate streamlining the test and evaluation process and identify means to reduce program cost and schedule. The Secretary of the Army directed ASA(ALT) to update Army Regulation 70-1 to include requirements for compliance with cybersecurity testing during all phases of test and evaluation. In addition, ASA(ALT) must notify the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army when a program has a test cost increase of more than ten percent (DA 2017d, 1-6).

The U.S. Army Forces Command Commander (FORSCOM) will provide feedback on capabilities and provide Soldiers to test the equipment prior to fielding for feedback. TRADOC representatives will provide feedback on test results and ensure Soldier involvement to provide recommendations for changes to capability documents.

The U.S. Army Materiel Command will provide field performance data on fielded systems and develop processes to maintain visibility of system performance. Lastly, the Commander of Army Test and Evaluation Command will provide personnel to be part of Cross-Functional Teams to help write requirements that can be feasibly tested and notify the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army of any test delays within 180 days of identification of the delay (DA 2017d, 1-6).

The acting Secretary of the Army published Acquisition Reform Initiative 5 (Aligning Sustainment Policy to Foster Cost Efficiency and Improved Readiness) to bring acquisition and sustainment policies together to improve readiness and cost efficiencies. ASA(ALT) must update the requirements of Army Regulation 70-1 to use standardized Failure Reporting and Corrective Actions System (FRACAS) software and ensures the transition to sustainment requirements in each program's life-cycle sustainment plan (DA 2017e, 1-8).

Updates to Army Regulation 700-127 include a requirements to brief product support strategy at each Milestone review. These Contract Data Requirements need an independent logistics assessment, intellectual property strategy, and developed sustainment outcomes during the contracting process. Future updates to Army Regulation 702-19 will include reliability and maintainability data as knowledge, skills, and abilities for programs, define critical manufacturing requirements, and outline the minimum manufacturing workloads for sustainment and readiness. The TRADOC Commander will work with the capability managers that generate requirements to establish reliability and maintainability as mandatory knowledge, skills, and abilities for future capabilities (DA 2017e, 1-8).

The acting Secretary of the Army published Acquisition Reform Initiative 6 (Streamlining the Contracting Process) to reduce contract award timelines. ASA(ALT) requires standardized contracting policies across the Army and the elimination of outdated policies that may slow down the contracting process. ASA(ALT) reviews thresholds for contracting approval authorities, identifies potential delegation of authorities to reduce timelines, reviews and reduces contract documentation requirements, increases standardization across practices, trains others for peer reviews, and creates a new Army contracting regulation with roles and responsibilities for customers including a standard contract requirements package (DA 2017f, 1-6).

Lastly, ASA(ALT) will write a legislative change proposal limiting the time to file protests to ten days in an effort to reduce protest periods. In addition, there will be a request to establish a statute allowing the Government to recoup costs associated with unnecessary or irresponsible protests. The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2020 will include updates to this legislation (DA 2017f, 1-6).

The Army Materiel Command Commander will establish a Contracting-Acquisition Review Board to facilitate collaboration among stakeholders for Acquisition Categories I, II, and III. The board will consist of commanders from the Life Cycle Management Command, U.S. Army Aviation and Missile Command, U.S. Army Communications-Electronics Command, U.S. Army Tank Automotive and Armaments Command, and the responsible program executive officers (DA 2017f, 1-6).

The acting Secretary of the Army published Acquisition Reform Initiative 7 (Improving Cost Estimation and Resourcing) in an effort to improve the cost estimate and resourcing processes and allow Army leaders to make informed and timely decisions. As

part of this initiative, ASA(ALT) will update Army Regulation 70-1. This update will include methods to develop cost estimates for the initial capabilities document and develop independent cost estimates for Army programs to link programmatic information across the different financial systems (DA 2017g, 1-6).

The Assistant Secretary of the Army (Financial Management and Comptroller) will update Army Regulation 11-18 to include validations of rough order of magnitude estimates to support initial capability documents for the Army Requirements Oversight Council and develop independent cost estimates for Acquisition Category II and III program milestone reviews. The Assistant Secretary of the Army (Financial Management and Comptroller) will brief the Army cost position and provide funding options to Army leaders (DA 2017g, 1-6).

In addition, the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Financial Management and Comptroller) must write a legislative proposal for the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019. This proposal will increase year of execution funding to allow for program adjustments as necessary and increase dollar limits for below threshold reprogramming efforts to \$50 million for research, development, test, and evaluation, and procurement funding, allow authorization by the Secretary of the Army to reprogram up to \$250 million for Rapid Acquisition Authority, and request a general funding appropriation of \$100 million, of which is not dedicated to a specific program (DA 2017g, 1-6). The reprogramming adjustments would be a significant change to the current limit of \$15 million in or out of each budget activity (DOD 2017, 1417-1418).

The Deputy Chief of Staff G-3/5/7 and ASA(ALT) will revise Army Regulation 700-142 to include the validation of the Program Manager's Materiel Fielding Plan. This

is to ensure that the plan is in accordance with the operational priorities of the Dynamic Army Resourcing Priority List; the Army Resourcing Priority List; the Integrated Requirements Priority List; and Headquarters, Department of the Army execution order (DA 2017g, 1-6).

The Deputy Chief of Staff G-8 will work with the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Financial Management and Comptroller) to update Army Regulation 1-1 to integrate program numbers into Army financial system to streamline the audit trail. Lastly, the G8 will update Army Regulation 71-9 and publish a Modernization Strategy update every two years. The update will include prioritization of efforts and investment as informed by The Army Plan (DA 2017g, 1-6).

The acting Secretary of the Army published Acquisition Reform Initiative 8 (Assessing Performance with Metrics) to implement a means to measure performance using metrics across all acquisition efforts and assign offices of primary responsibility for the metric implementation. The office of primary responsibilities will assist with the phased implementation of efforts across all stakeholder organizations. The process begins with Phase 0, which includes initial assessment and refining the metrics. Phase 1 includes collection of data and planning means to report metrics. Phase 2 includes actual reporting of metrics. The final phase, Phase 3, includes continued sustainment of metrics reporting (DA 2017h, 1-24).

ASA(ALT) serves as the office of primary responsibility for science and technology, acquisition, contracting and logistics lines of effort. The Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Financial Management and Comptroller) will serve as the office of primary responsibility for the resourcing line of effort. TRADOC will serve

as the office of primary responsibility for the requirements line of effort. The U.S. Army Test and Evaluation Command will serve as the office of primary responsibility for the test and evaluation line of effort (DA 2017h, 1-24).

It is important to consider the balance between existing acquisition reforms and emerging economic policies. Reforms may alter or cease if a competing policy or requirement emerges. Acquisition leaders must work to achieve success in both areas. Although current language in the NSS does not address acquisition reform directly, the use of economic instrument of national power may guide decisions as reformation efforts progress.

Trump Administration Executive Orders

Since the inauguration, the Trump administration has released several executive orders. A handful of the published orders are related to economic policy issues, as well as issues that may impact acquisition policies. The orders include addressing trade deficits, trade violations and abuses, cybersecurity, and supply chain resiliency and industrial base concerns.

President Trump published two trade-related executive orders on 31 March 2017. The first order focused on enhancing collection and enforcement of Anti-dumping, countervailing duties, and violations of trade and customs laws. Importers that break the rules expose domestic employers to unfair competition and reduce lawful revenue for the Federal Government. Countervailing duties are established when products are subsidized by a foreign government to sell the goods at a lower price than domestic manufacturers (CBP 2018).

To combat this, President Trump ordered the Secretary of Homeland Security to work with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce, and the United States Trade Representative to develop a plan that would force importers to provide security for both antidumping and countervailing duty liabilities through the use of bonds and other legal instruments. In addition, the team must identify other enforcement measures, prioritizing the enforcement of such measures (U.S. President 2017a).

In addition, President Trump ordered a report from the Secretary of Commerce and United States Trade Representative on significant trade deficits. The report required identification of those foreign trade partners that have a trade deficit with the United States for goods traded in 2016. The report must include the major causes of trade deficits, if the trade partners are imposing unequal burdens on United States commerce, the effects of the trade relationship on production of the manufacturing and defense industry bases, the effects of the trade relationship on employment in the United States, and identification of import and trade practices that may impact the national security of the United States (U.S. President 2017b).

On 29 April 2017, President Trump published an executive order on trade agreement violations and abuses. It is mandatory for the Secretary of Commerce and the United States Trade Representative to conduct a performance review of bilateral, plurilateral, and multilateral trade and investment agreements as well as trade relations with World Trade Organization countries. The performance reviews will result in a report of violations or abuses of trade agreements, unfair treatment by trade and investment partners, trade or investment agreements that failed to predict jobs or positively affect

trade balances, and lawful actions to correct any deficiencies identified (U.S. President 2017d).

President Trump published an executive order on strengthening cybersecurity of federal networks and infrastructure on 11 May 2017. This order identified the cybersecurity risk and mandated that risk management would occur as an executive branch enterprise effort. Agencies must provide a risk management report to the Secretary of Homeland Security and Director of the Office of Management and Budget. The report required the risk mitigation and acceptance from each agency head. In addition, the Secretary of Homeland Security and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget assess the risk management strategies and submit a plan to the President to protect the executive branch enterprise, address budgetary requirements for adequate protection, establish a process for assessing risk, and consolidate and update policies related to cyber risk management. The Secretary of Homeland Security assesses the infrastructure security requirements, response capabilities, deterrence options, workforce development and international cooperation on cybersecurity efforts (U.S. President 2017e).

On 21 July 2017, President Trump published an executive order to assess the manufacturing and defense industrial base, with an emphasis on supply chain resiliency. He ordered the Secretary of Defense, along with other agencies, to provide a report that identifies the materiel and goods that are critical to national security, the manufacturing capabilities required to produce the goods, disruptions to the supply chains of required goods, resiliency and capacity of manufacturing and defense industrial base, and causes

of supply chain deficiencies. In addition, recommendations of policy, legislative and regulations were necessary (U.S. President 2017f).

Strategic Thought Leader Commentary on National Security Strategy

Strategic political thinkers and pundits provided insight and commentary on the Trump administration NSS following its release. The Texas National Security Review published a roundtable edition with multiple commentaries on the NSS. The thought leaders provided their interpretation of the strategy and potential outcomes that may follow over the course of President Trump's time in office. Using a framework as discussed in the articles, the author focused on the impacts and use of diplomacy, information, military, and economic instruments of national power. Verbiage related to diplomatic relations signified discussion on use of the diplomatic instrument. Similarly, verbiage related to economic shifts related to an analysis on the economic instrument. Discussion on military efforts signaled an analysis on the military instrument. Lastly, language related to information warfare, information management, or information protection signified insight on the use of the information instrument. A summary of the roundtable articles and potential military actions derived from the commentary can be found in Appendix A.

Phil Levy focused on the economic objectives of the NSS. Levy previously served under the Bush administration as a senior trade economist and currently is a senior fellow at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, specializing on global economy issues. In the article, Levy discusses the impacts of the renegotiation of trade agreements and development of bilateral trade agreements to replace multilateral agreements. Currently, the only formal renegotiation that is in effect is the North American Free Trade

Agreement. This renegotiation will likely have repercussions with our neighbor nations of Canada and Mexico. The renegotiations may deter others from agreeing to the proposed revised bilateral agreements. Lastly, renegotiating and revising trade agreements is time consuming and the impacts will not be known for some time (Levy 2017, 20-24).

Emma Ashford and Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrinson discussed the diplomatic and economic objectives in the NSS, noting that the strategy was not drastically different from previous administrations. The differences were subtle, but the overall direction of the strategy kept with post-Cold War traditions. The president did not present the realist strategy that was expected based on his rhetoric, but a produced a primacy-based strategy identifying competitors. Departures from previous administrations included changes to immigration, border security and a strong focus on domestic economics. The economy policy writing in the NSS leaned towards a more closed American homeland, but still supported global trade so long as trade imbalances improved (Ashford and Itzkowitz Shiffrinson 2017, 4-10).

Andrew Hill analyzes the diplomatic and military challenges being addressed by the NSS. Hill currently serves at the Chair of Strategic Leadership at the United States Army War College. Hill notes the challenges being posed by rising competitors. To address this, he suggests that the military needs transformation rather than rebuilding. Simply rebuilding the military to an Operation Desert Storm level is does not appropriately address the threats being faced today (Hill 2017, 10-14).

Ben Buchanan discussed cybersecurity in the NSS. Buchanan currently serves as a postdoctoral fellow conducting research on cybersecurity and statecraft at Harvard's

Cybersecurity Project. Buchanan contends that the NSS does not adequately address the cybersecurity threats that our nation faces. Although there is a focus on risk management, network defense, information sharing, and layered computing defenses, there needs to be emphasis specifically on managing the threat of information operations from competitors. Information operations threats may include use of deception, propaganda or attacks on information networks. (Buchanan 2017, 14-16).

Zach Cooper and Mira Rapp-Hooper wrote on the delicate balance of Chinese-American competition and the impacts to relations with Asian nations. Cooper serves as a senior fellow on Asian Security at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, while Rapp-Hooper serves as a senior research scholar in the Paul Tsai China Center at Yale Law. They interpret that China is an economic threat, attempting to erode American prosperity. However, they suggest that the administration should avoid approaches that force the Asian countries to choose between the United States and China, which may put vulnerable states at risk. For example, an Asian country choosing to trade with the United States may trigger China to employ trade restrictions on that country for goods that are not imported from America. If there is a shift to a competitive China strategy, the United States would likely have to increase military presence in Asia to support the strategy (Cooper and Rapp-Hooper 2017, 16-20).

Carmen Medina focused on the methods to collect intelligence based on the strategic objectives. Medina was the former deputy director of intelligence for the Central Intelligence Agency. She argues that the strategy focuses of competitiveness, trade deals, and maintaining a technological edge require a different type of intelligence collection to understand the competitive threats. This includes the ability to gather information on

economic intelligence on competitor nations. In addition, she states that the strategy itself suggests using open-source information to deny attacks on United States citizens, which may be a new way to preventing attacks (Medina 2017, 24-26).

Bryan McGrath discussed the implications of the NSS in regards to use of seapower. McGrath serves as the deputy director of the Hudson Institute's Center for American Seapower. In his article, he argues that the NSS does not discuss the connection between military power and economic prosperity. Economic prosperity enables freedom of the seas and is provided by American seapower. Freedom of the seas will require deterrence in contested areas through rapid deployment of forces. Accomplishment depends on increased forward-deployed seapower (McGrath 2017, 26-30).

David Deptula wrote about the Airman's perspective of the NSS. A retired Air Force Lieutenant General, Deptula currently serves as the dean of the Air Force Academy's Mitchell Institute for Aerospace Power Studies. Deptula argues that the military is the backbone of the NSS. In his view, the military lacks funding, breadth, and readiness to overcome competitors. This is especially evident in the U.S. Air Force, which has outdated weapons systems and insufficient manning to combat global competitors (Deptula 2017, 30-33).

At this time, research linking the formation of acquisition policies and the use economic instrument of national power in the NSS is minimal and inconclusive across the Bush, Obama, and Trump administrations. In addition, a predictive model does not exist to date. Policy options generally stem from military directives or efforts guided by the administration. Although acquisition reform continues to develop and evolve, there

are not significant strategic links to economic policies or objectives. A multi-pronged approach in the policy development process, incorporating both Congress and the National Security Council, would benefit acquisition leaders and help to tie together initiatives across the executive and legislative branches.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The author used an applied professional case study methodology to develop a deeper understanding of the economic instrument of national power and its relationship to Army acquisition. Application of the case study in a professional context is the intent of the research. The case study will use professionally accepted information, frameworks and models to inform a chief decision maker on potential policy changes in acquisition processes (Long 2016). Human sources are not required to conduct this research. Although limitations and potential barriers to data collection exist, the author will minimize bias through collection of a variety of sources.

The first step in organizing the data is to develop a model to assess the economic and trade policy positions from previous NSS documents since 2002. The author developed a framework to identify themes and trends across the National Security Strategies, identifying key words, phrases and content throughout the documents (Cresswell 2007, 244). The assessment of each administration will depend on the economic language within the strategy. The author determined if the NSS was a mercantilist or liberalist economic leaning and if the trade language indicated a protectionist or free market stance.

The author will investigate linkages between previous administration's NSS, economic trends and acquisition efforts during the presidency. The author will accomplish this by summarizing historical and current NSS, economic reports, acquisition efforts, policy and regulations. The analysis will focus on changes made from 2001-2018. The author will evaluate the changes in historical policy based on guidance

provided in the national security strategies produced during 2001-2018. The intent is to determine if there is corollary or causal evidence that will support creation of a predictive model, showing input and predictive output based on historical events.

Following the assessment of the linkages between previous acquisition efforts, the NSS, and economic report, the author will establish a list of possible directives for Army acquisition using existing directives and anticipated changes based on language in the latest NSS, current executive orders, and remarks from President Trump. The author will use existing acquisition policies regarding trade, contracting practices, and the Buy American Act to create a collection of possible policy changes that may result from a change in the use of the economic instrument of national power. A graphical depiction of the methodology can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Graphical Depiction of Methodology

Source: Created by author.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings gathered while conducting research to answer the primary research question: Can one build a predictive model for acquisition leaders that guides policy development based on the economic instrument of national power as outlined in the NSS? The following secondary research questions are answered through the analysis presented in the chapter:

1. What were the economic policy choices consistent with “America First” included in the NSS?
2. What were the historical economic positions or policies within the NSS over the past seventeen years?
3. How does one assess economic policies within the previous NSS using an analysis model? How will one structure this model?
4. What are the opinions of the strategic thought leaders on economic policies of the NSS?
5. Can acquisition leaders build practical acquisition policy options when the economic instrument of national security strategy shifts?
6. What major acquisition initiatives and efforts have occurred since 2001?

This chapter contains into four parts and multiple subsections to answer the primary and secondary questions. The first part of the chapter contains the NSS economic assessment model. The model describes two opposing economic theoretical positions and two opposing trade relationship positions. The author conducts an assessment of Bush,

Obama, and Trump administration strategies and categorizes the strategies according to the model.

The second part of the chapter discusses the historical data from the Bush, Obama and Trump Administrations from 2002 through 2018. The author presents a summary of major acquisition efforts, language pertaining to the economic instrument of national power in the NSS, and the economic and financial policies of the administration. The intent of this overview is to gain an understanding of linkages between the economic positions, economic instrument of national power and changes to acquisition during each presidency. This provides a means to determine the potential to predict a change in acquisition policy based on changes in the NSS.

The third portion of the chapter focuses on potential impacts to existing acquisition policies based on the economic instrument of national power as outlined in Trump's 2017 NSS. Based on language in the strategy, there are several areas related to federal procurement that face impacts, to include adherence to Buy American Act laws, designation of commercial items, and trade agreement act provisions. The intent of this portion is to identify areas of potential concern for senior Army leaders that may drive policy adjustment or change.

The final portion provides insight as to whether the author can build a predictive model based on evidence collected during the research. If evidence does not support the generation of a predictive model, the author will provide recommendations and requirements of alternative options. The intent is to provide senior Army leaders feedback on the historical data pertaining to economically-driven acquisition efforts and recommend options for proactive policy creation.

National Security Strategy Assessment Model

Although there are a variety of global economy theories, two of the prevalent theories are mercantilism and liberalism. Mercantilism is focused on the protection of a state's wealth and economic interests. Liberalism, in contrast, focuses on cooperation and collaboration to allow multiple actors to benefit. Often, national leaders will find themselves seeking a delicate balance between the two, allowing the best possible situation for economic growth for their countries.

Mercantilism is a theory that views importing and exporting as an economic zero-sum game. Countries that export more than they import are winners, while those with a deficit are losers (Irwin 1991, 1296). Therefore, one state's gain is another state's loss. Also known as economic nationalism, this theoretical perspective dates back to fifteenth century Europe. The main actor in this theory is the state itself and protection of the state's interest and economic position is paramount. The international political economy is a struggle for both power and wealth, placing the fate of the state in the ability to increase production, exports, and allow their state to exclusively gain from trade (O'Brien and Williams 2013, 9-10).

Liberalism counters mercantilism, or economic nationalism, by seeking cooperation in the global economy. Individuals or a large group of actors are the focus, rather than just the state. The theory states that the actors involved are seeking mutual benefit and a positive-sum game, with growth for all parties involved. Trade centers on free trade, allowing multiple countries to freely move goods and money with minimal obstacles. The theory contends that if individuals and groups of individuals are able to freely determine their production and consumption needs, the market and economy will

ebb and flow as required and ultimately lead to prosperity for all those involved (O'Brien and Williams 2013, 13-14).

When evaluating economic policy positions, it is important to consider the administration's position on trade. There are two major oppositional schools of thought in regards to trade policies: protectionist policies and free trade policies. The posture differs by the implementation of tariffs, which tend to restrict trade and result in a protectionist policy. Agreements and treaties negotiated between states enable free trade.

Protectionist policies focus on protecting domestic supplies, services, and commodities from external competition. Accomplishment depends on imposing duties in the form of tariffs on import items from other countries, providing an advantage to domestic producers. The intent is to increase prosperity through domestic production. (George 1886, 28). Another example of protectionism is the implementation of anti-dumping laws that restrict external states from selling products at a price too low for domestic competition (Komeliussen and Blasius 2008, 221).

Free trade policies are the opposite of protectionist policies. Free trade involves letting states or other entities buy and sell products as needed or desired (George 1886, 47). Free trade proponents emphasize the benefits of free trade, such as greater availability of products or services for consumers. Free trade can encourage growth, both in poor or developing countries and those countries looking to specialize in certain exports (O'Brien and Williams 2013, 111-112).

The development of the following tables attempted to create a means to align the Bush, Obama, and Trump Administrations with a policy position. Opposing theories or perspectives present word association or phrases based on the definitions captured in

preceding paragraphs. Alignment of each administration is determined through analysis of the economic policy objectives outlined in their respective National Security Strategies, looking for common words and phrases that correspond to a particular theory or position.

Table 2. Theoretical Economic Perspectives		
Perspective	Mercantilism	Liberalism
Key Words/Phrases Associated with Position	• Domestic gains • Decrease imports • Protection • Trade deficit reduction	• Build partner and multinational economies • Increase imports and exports • Cooperation

Source: Created by author.

Table 3. Trade Policy Positions		
Position	Protectionist	Free Trade
Key Words/Phrases Associated with Position	• Increase tariffs • Anti-dumping law(s) • Favor domestic products	• Free Trade Agreement • Reduce tariffs

Source: Created by author.

Economic Positions in Previous National Security Strategies

The 2002 NSS published by the Bush administration contained economic goals consistent with a conservative liberal economic position. The strategy emphasized advancing prosperity around the world through free trade and free markets. The strategy focused on seizing the initiative and allowing for domestic interests for pursuit through global trade. Free trade and creation of free trade agreements were prominent goals, explaining that open markets will help developing countries (U.S. President 2002, 17-20).

The final NSS released by the Bush administration outlined economic and trade policies that aligned with the liberalist approach. The strategy stressed the opening of markets and helping to establish partnerships with developing countries. To do this, the administration would pursue several free trade agreements. There was also an emphasis on strengthening international financial systems to allow for both stability and growth. This included assistance with building formal economies in developing nations. Lastly, there was a strategy outlined to secure new energy sources and reduce reliance on singular energy resources (U.S. President 2006, 27-30).

The first NSS released by the Obama administration described goals that were conservatively liberalistic. The document released in 2010 focused primarily on developing the American economy and domestic interests. To promote American prosperity, the strategy emphasized open trade policies that would allow the United States to export goods and capitalize on investments in technology innovation and education. To achieve these goals, the administration stressed building relationships and cooperation with international partners. There was a goal to strengthen the international financial system to prevent criminal abuses and growth for terrorist networks. Lastly, the strategy described a requirement to reform the federal acquisition and contracting processes and reduce federal debt (U.S. President 2010b, 28-35).

The Obama administration continued to present economic objectives that were consistent with conservative liberalism in the 2015 NSS. Objectives focused on building the American economy through education, trade, investment, and global financial policies. The administration emphasized a desire for continued free trade through the development of the Trans-Pacific Partnership and Transatlantic Trade and Investment

Partnership. The strategy included a need for investment in science and technology innovation to further economic growth. Lastly, the administration described the intent to strengthen global financial rules and regulation to limit abuses from criminal organizations (U.S. President 2015, 15-18).

The Trump administration NSS departs from the previous administrations in both the theoretical economic perspective and the trade perspective. In the introduction, the strategy authors note the president's campaign motto of putting America first and asserts that it is the duty of the government to seek United States' interests. The strategy states that we operate in a competitive world and challengers such as Russia and China want to make global economies less free and fair. The document points to economic exploitation by the international community through subsidization of industries and technology transfers (U.S. President 2017g, 1-2).

As with previous administrations, President Trump's strategy placed an emphasis on building the domestic economy. The strategy states opposition to mercantilist trading blocks, but the language has a mild mercantilist flavor to it. Many of the economic objectives center on remedying unfair trade practices in the global economic community. There is a push for revising trade agreements to make the agreements fairer for the US. The writers of the strategy identified the need to punish unfair trade practices and develop partnerships that expand United States trade opportunities (U.S. President 2017g, 19-20).

There is significant emphasis on fair trade. Scholars define fair trade in two ways. The first is a protectionist position, where developed countries emplace measures against items produced at lower prices in developing countries. Supporters of protectionist fair trade argue that if trade is to truly be free, then the trade must be fair. Since there are

imbalances across nations, a nation can employ tariffs or other measures to balance the inequity and allow competition for domestic products (Boyack 2010). Developed countries cannot compete with the poorer countries due to differing production circumstances. The other definition of fair trade speaks to the idea that consumers feel the need to pay prices higher than the current market value for products from developing nations (Maseland and deVaal 2002, 252). The language in the NSS speaks to the former, protectionist definition, citing that nations are dumping products and gaining advantages in the U.S. economy.

Listed in the following tables is an analysis of the economic and trade positions from the aforementioned strategies. The author analyzes the strategies based on the alignment with wording and associated positions listed in tables 2 and 3. If there is language that indicates a preference for domestic interests over global or international interests, the position is labeled conservative. If there is language that promotes cooperation while strongly emphasizing domestic gains, the position is labeled as liberal.

Table 4. National Security Strategy Economic Assessment of President George W. Bush				
National Security Strategy (Administration)	Year	Economic Instrument Key Words / Phrases	Theoretical Economic Position	Trade Policy Position
The National Security Strategy of the United State (George W. Bush)	2002	• Promote economic growth and freedom beyond America's shores • Market economies are best for prosperity • Promote free trade through trade negotiations, bilateral trade agreements and regional initiatives • Help developing countries through trade • Help domestic industries adjust to free market policies • Enforcement of fair trading practices	Conservative Liberalism: Some focus on domestic concerns but majority of language aligns with liberalistic views	Free Trade: References free trade agreements and benefits throughout strategy
The National Security Strategy of the United State (George W. Bush)	2006	• "We choose leadership over isolationism and the pursuit of free and fair trade and open markets over protectionism." • Pursuing several free trade agreements with various nations • Focused on reforms in the international financial system for further growth • Seeks to build local markets in the developing world	Liberalism: Strategy is focused on international finances, building developing markets and open and fair trade	Free Trade: Seeking expanded free trade agreements with numerous countries

Source: Created by author.

Table 5. National Security Strategy Economic Assessment of President Barack Obama				
National Security Strategy (Administration)	Year	Economic Instrument Key Words / Phrases	Theoretical Economic Position	Trade Policy Position
National Security Strategy (Barack Obama)	2010	• Free flow of goods, people, information, and services promotes prosperity and advance peace • Build a foundation for economic growth through education, energy source diversity, affordable healthcare, and careful management of federal budget • Goal to double exports over a span of four years • Increase domestic demand in the global marketplace • Continue to open trade and global markets • Build cooperation with international partners • Reduce threat to global financial system from actors looking to exploit	Conservative Liberalism: Strategy identifies need for free markets and open trade; also has a focus on exporting domestic goods and services and domestic growth	Conservative Free Trade: Desires open trade and global markets; primarily focused on increased domestic demand and rebuilding economy through global trade
National Security Strategy (Barack Obama)	2015	• Shape globalization to work for domestic success through trade and investment policies • Investing in education to create growth in technology and production industries • Lead international efforts to prevent abuse of the global financial system • Increase energy security by diversifying energy sources • Focus on lowering tariffs on American products and reducing barriers to trade • Establish the Trans-Pacific Partnership and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership to promote trade in services, technology, and environmental products	Conservative Liberalism: Strategy seeks to use liberal policies to advance domestic interests, especially in trade, job growth, and exports of American goods; still seeks to maintain an open global economic and financial environment	Conservative Free Trade: Promotes free trade, which is emphasized through the development of new trade agreements; trade goals primarily focused on advancing American prosperity and economic growth

Source: Created by author.

Table 6. National Security Strategy Economic Assessment of President Donald Trump				
National Security Strategy (Administration)	Year	Economic Instrument Key Words / Phrases	Theoretical Economic Position	Trade Policy Position
National Security Strategy (Donald Trump)	2017	• “Putting America first is the duty of our government.” • Challengers determined to make economies less free and fair • Pursue fair and reciprocal economic relationships to remedy trade imbalances • Restrain government spending and find efficiencies • Modernize trade agreements committed to fair trade • Counter unfair trade practices using all appropriate means • Partner with developing countries to promote free market competition • Expand trade opportunities and build a market for American goods • Promote exports of energy, technology, and services	Liberal Mercantilism: Promotes U.S trade; Seeks to reduce trade deficit through revised trade agreements and fair trade policies; focus on putting the America’s interests first	Liberal Protectionist: Focused on fair trade with minimal reference to free trade; Seeking opportunities in trade environment to advance America’s interests; Countering unfair trade practices

Source: Created by author.

The Bush, Obama, and Trump administrations strove to improve the domestic economy of the United States through the use of the economic instrument of national power. However, the Bush and Obama administrations focused on opening markets and developing free trade relationships as a means to further American prosperity. The Trump administration counters these positions by embracing the idea of fair, rather than free, trade. The strategy focuses on revising trade relationships to benefit the United States primarily, determined to eliminate unfair practices.

One cannot determine if there is an impact to acquisition policy based on a change of theoretical economic position because the first drastic shift occurred between the

Obama and Trump administrations. The Bush and Obama administrations positions were similar, both liberalist with an emphasis on free trade. The changes to acquisition policy from the Trump administration are ongoing. There is one linkage in regards to streamlining processes and generating efficiencies in federal spending. However, the impacts of recent trade discussion and tariffs cannot be fully assessed at this time.

Acquisition Effort, NSS, and Economic Policy Assessment

Major Acquisition Efforts of the Bush Administration: 2001-2008

General Eric Shinseki introduced the initiative to drastically transform the United States Army in late 1999. The majority of the major transformation events, to include the development of military technology, procurement of new equipment, and force structure reorganization started while President Bush was in power. The transformation was in response to changing threat environments and the requirement for an Army that can respond rapidly to a variety of situations with a lighter, more lethal force (GAO 2001, 2-4).

Army leadership outlined several lines of effort to modernize and transform the Army to achieve the Objective Force construct. Modernization and recapitalization of the existing, or legacy, forces was one line of effort. To achieve this, the Army would upgrade existing weapons systems, such as the Abrams tank, the Bradley Fighting Vehicle, and the Apache helicopter to maintain a competitive edge. Concurrently, the Army could develop and implement interim forces, to include new Stryker brigade combat teams. These teams would employ newly developed Stryker wheeled fighting vehicles that were lighter and more easily transportable. Lastly, development of new technologies, new doctrine, and new organizational models occurred to round out the

Objective Force initiative. This final line of effort focused on developing agile and capable technologies to support the future force (Riggs 2003, 2).

The development of the Future Combat Systems was a centerpiece of the transformation effort in the early 2000s. The Future Combat Systems concept focused on developing systems of systems, digitally networking several platforms together for seamless integration on the battlefield. This effort included the integration of manned and unmanned air platforms, ground systems, and systems with a strike capability. The development of these systems required a different type of acquisition path. The Army instituted a lead systems integrator approach to develop the comprehensive program of systems. The lead systems integrator approach assigned a primary defense industry contract to develop and design the product in direct coordination with the program executive officers (Riggs 2003, 3).

The Objective Force initiative focused on taking advantage of the recent advances in information technology. Technological advances would allow the integration of systems via satellites, sensors, and various communication systems (Riggs 2003, 3). Systems and personnel would connect through what was known as the command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance, or C4ISR, network. The network allowed Army commanders and decision makers to have up-to-date information and rapidly respond to the requirements of evolving situations (Mazzucchi 2003, 9).

From 2006 through early 2009, acquisitions initiatives continued to focus on harnessing technology, integrating a variety of systems, and enabling the collaboration between the science and technology community and the federal government. The

integration of science and technology and Army acquisition was a major goal during the second half of President Bush's time in office. There were investments in several future force technology initiatives, to include force protection, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance, command, control, communication and computers, lethality, medical, unmanned systems, soldier systems, logistics, military engineering and environment, simulation, rotorcraft, and basic research (Killion and Nash 2007, 6-7).

During this time, the United States Army Tank Automotive Research, Development and Engineering Center worked on the development of a hybrid electric drive propulsion system for use in combat vehicles. The engineers designed hybrid systems to power the electrical systems in many of the ground combat system vehicles of the Future Combat Systems project (Bochenek and Hitchcock 2007, 37-39).

As part of the Future Combat Systems effort, the Army implemented a Joint Expeditionary Force Experiment in 2008. Future Combat Systems Joint and Multinational Experimentation Team led the event, consisting of members from the United States Army Joint, Interagency and Multinational Interoperability Product Office, the Lead Systems Integrators and One Team partners. The experimentation studied the integration and interoperability of the network systems and components of Future Combat Systems. The Army would use insight from the experimentation to further develop capabilities critical to the function of the various components of the Future Combat Systems (Crosby, Deakyne and Schnorrenberg 2008, 51-52).

Coupled with the continued modernization efforts, the Army adopted the Army Force Generation model to enhance training, readiness and build combat-capable units. This model capitalized on the modular structure of the new brigade combat teams,

tailoring the training and requirements to the individual unit based on their mission. The model allows for flexibility and gives units time to reset after redeployment. The intent of the Army Force Generation Model was to provide a flexible solution to training, manning, and equipping the United States Army (Pyle 2009, 26-28).

As modernization efforts continued, the government needed to ensure that the products were safe and ready for Soldier use. It was during this time that the increasing influx of counterfeit and knock-off goods was brought to the attention of the DOD in 2007. Counterfeit parts from China were infiltrating the automotive industry, which brought the issue to the attention of defense acquisition personnel. Existing contracting clauses called for personnel to be attentive to the supply chain and parts being procured by the federal government (Gorenc 2007, 28-33). The acquisition force implemented use of unique identifiers for system components as a means to combat counterfeiting of products. Components received serial numbers as an identifier and product managers could order, track, and manage the items accurately. This reduced counterfeiting by ensuring that the government was able to order the original component and not a knockoff version of it (Wynne 2004).

Economic Objectives in the NSS

The 2002 NSS published by the Bush administration outlined several objectives to use the economic instrument of national power. These objectives included the revision of regulatory policies to encourage investment and innovation, updates to tax policies, reestablishment of financial systems that allow efficient use of capital, support of policies that support business activities, investment in education and health to improve the labor force and allowance of free trade that spurs growth and technological advances. There

was a large focus on enforcing trade agreements and establishing new trade agreements. Market economies were ideal, allowing prosperity and reduction of poverty (U.S. President 2002).

The 2006 National Security Strategy reiterated several economic objectives as the 2002 strategy, to include open trade and strengthening of financial systems. Negotiations with countries would continue to develop more free trade agreements. There was also a push to expand the energy markets, seek alternate sources of energy, and reduce reliance on foreign energy. Reforming the international financial systems was also a focus in the strategy. Objectives related to reformation include promoting economic policies worldwide, encouraging flexible exchange rates, building economies in developing countries, and creating a more transparent international financial system.

Economic Policies of the Bush Administration: 2001-2008

The 2003 Economic Report of the President outlined the economic changes and pursuits of the Bush administration during 2002. Following an economic downturn in 2000-2001, the administration enacted fiscal policies to promote economic growth. Following an economic downturn in 2000-2001, the administration enacted fiscal policies to promote economic growth. The president enacted the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act in June 2001 and aimed to lower marginal tax rates for all taxpayers and would support economic activity. President Bush accelerated many of the time phased features of the act during January 2003 in an effort to boost investment and efficiency of capital markets (Council of Economic Advisors 2003, 16).

The administration continued to enact tax relief policies throughout the year, including the Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act. These laws provided a

benefit to the United States economy by providing a stimulus through increased consumer spending and reducing capital costs for businesses, encouraging investment (Council of Economic Advisors 2004, 44-45). The Bush administration continued to focus on tax reform through 2005, understanding the benefits gleaned from revisions. Although the administration did not sign any tax reforms into law, there were a variety of tax models explored for consideration, including adjustment to depreciation rules and changes to the Alternative Minimum Tax (Council of Economic Advisors 2005, 89-91).

The Bush administration proposed a policy to develop skills and increase rewards for unemployed workers. The policy included a personal reemployment account for qualified workers seeking employment, providing a means to cover expenses related to training, child care or relocation for a new job or career endeavor. Personnel who found a job within thirteen weeks would also receive a cash payment of the remaining funds in the account as a bonus for their ability to quickly reemploy themselves (Council of Economic Advisors 2003, 20).

The Bush administration continued to pursue free trade objectives from 2001-2005. In 2001, the United States made a free trade agreement with Jordan. In 2004, the U.S made free trade agreements with Singapore and Chile (Council of Economic Advisors 2004, 236). Additionally, the United States concluded trade negotiations with Australia, Morocco, Bahrain, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic in 2004, making way for additional progress. The freedom of trade provides opportunities for United States farmers, businesses, and workers (Council of Economic Advisors 2005, 186-187).

From 2002-2005, there was an effort to increase homeland security and conduct the war on terrorism, which placed demands on the United States economy. In March 2002, President Bush requested an additional \$27.1 billion to fund related efforts. Half of the \$27.1 billion went to the DOD and various intelligence agencies to support homeland security and the global war on terrorism (Council of Economic Advisors 2003, 46). In 2003, there was an additional increase of 10 percent to support the military operations in Iraq (Council of Economic Advisors 2004, 92).

Implementation of free trade agreements enabled United States grow its exports. There was a thirteen percent growth in exports from 2005 to 2006, resulting in exportation of \$1.5 trillion worth of goods. There was a foreign demand for American goods, a reduction in trade costs, and an increase in American production of goods. This led to an increase in American exports to foreign nations (Council of Economic Advisors 2008, 79-95). In addition to the development of free trade agreements, the United States developed trade preference programs that continued to break down barriers to trade (Counsel of Economic Advisors 2009, 148-149).

Productivity accelerated in the United States, in part due to information technology advances and trade flexibility. Technology investments in the 1990s led to over five percent growth from 2000 through 2004. International openness, with access to investment opportunities and trade relationships, allows for innovation spurred by global competition. The United States capitalized on the openness and allowed information technology advances to further productivity in domestic businesses (Council of Economic Advisors 2007, 54-60).

There were several energy initiatives introduced in 2006-2009. One introduction included the Renewable Fuel Standard, mandating that 15 percent of transportation fuels are from alternate fuel sources. President Bush proposed to give \$175 million to state and local governments to explore new ways to reduce traffic and fuel consumption (Council of Economic Advisors 2007, 136-137). The Advanced Energy Initiative allowed a 22 percent increase in funding for research related to clean energy to reduce oil imports (Council of Economic Advisors 2008, 184).

Continued engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan required increases in defense spending. In 2007, the United States allocated \$70 billion for supplemental defense spending. There was a 2 percent growth in federal spending allocated for defense efforts (Council of Economic Advisors 2007, 31-32). Later in fiscal year 2007, the United States allocated an additional \$107 billion for ongoing efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq (Council of Economic Advisors 2008, 34). Since the wars continued through 2008 and 2009, the United States allocated \$192 billion in 2008 and an additional \$68 billion in 2009 for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan (Council of Economic Advisors 2009, 43).

Analysis of Bush Administration Acquisition Changes Related to Economic Objectives

There appears to be no apparent correlation between the acquisition policies of the Bush Administration and the economic policy objectives outlined in the 2002 and 2006 NSS. The acquisition policies focused on transforming and restructuring the military, to include leveraging new technologies to develop a military advantage. The acquisition policies were not driven, nor constrained, by the economic objectives outlined in either strategy. The administration drove acquisition efforts based on the military need to

develop a modular force capable of rapidly deploying and responding with flexibility to a variety of combat situations. The government drove changes to the processes to support rapid modernization projects, such as the Future Combat System. The economic objectives focus on opening trade and global markets to allow free flow of goods and services, allowing the United States to prosper and help deter criminal activities in developing nations by providing a means to expand their position in the global economy.

Major Acquisition Efforts of the Obama Administration: 2009-2016

Acquisition reform was a major focus during President Obama's first term. In May 2009, President Obama signed into law the Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009. This reform act shifted the way that the military conducted acquisition. An increase in oversight, increased competition in contracting, and reporting procedures for schedule and cost overruns were results of the policy reform.

Title I of the act outlined the changes to acquisition organization. This act required the Secretary of Defense to designate an official to serve as the principle advisor to the Secretary of Defense to provide oversight on cost estimation, systems engineering, performance assessment, and any other acquisition function selected by the Secretary of Defense. The law called for the Direction of Defense Research and Engineering to conduct a review and assessment of technological maturity and risk of major defense acquisition programs within the DOD and submit findings to the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Logistics and Technology on an annual basis. Lastly, combatant commanders provided input for new and emerging joint military requirements (Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009).

Title II of the act outlined the changes to acquisition policy. New guidelines for acquisition strategy documentation required outlining measures to promote competition in contracts throughout the lifecycle of the program to improve performance. Examples of competitive measures included competitive prototyping, sourcing to multiple vendors, unbundling contracts, use of open architectures for competition during upgrades, procurement of technical data packages, and periodic competitions for upgrades as needed (Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009).

Congress altered the waiver process for certification prior to Milestone B for milestone decision authorities. If a waiver was authorized, the milestone decision authority must submit the waiver, determination, and reasons noted for the determination to the congressional defense committees within thirty days after the authorization. The milestone decision authority conducts a review at least once a year to monitor the status of the waiver and determines the resolution of the waiver. Lastly, any budget requests or submissions related to the program must explicitly outline that the program was in a waiver status and did not meet the Milestone B certification requirements (Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009).

The act required that the major defense acquisition programs that had not received Milestone B approval must conduct several actions to certify the program. Program managers consulted with the Joint Requirements Oversight Council to determine if a program was fulfilling an approved capabilities document, the execution by an appropriate party, and that there was not a duplication of capability that exists within another program. Requirements mandated the submission of a cost estimate to the milestone decision authority. In addition, the milestone decision authority required a

schedule outlining the timeline and major activities necessary to reach Milestone B (Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009).

If a program failed to meet the cost or schedule milestones, the milestone decision authority must report the failure to the congressional defense committee. The trigger for cost included cost growth that exceeded the initial cost estimate for the program by more than 25 percent. The schedule trigger included a delay of more than 25 percent. The report requires notification to the milestone decision authority within 30 days for cost overruns or schedule delays. The report identified the cause of the growth, measures to perform the rest of the program, a written certification outlining that the program was essential to national security, there were no alternatives acceptable to meet requirements at less cost, new cost and schedule estimates, a management plan for control of the program, and a plan for terminating programs prior to Milestone A if the decision authority deemed it acceptable and in the best interest of national defense (Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009).

The law mandated a review for conflicts of interest and the requirement to publish an updated defense supplement to the Federal acquisition regulation on ways to mitigate conflicts of interests in the development of defense systems. An example of a potential conflict includes the lead system integrator contracts for production, performance of contractor technical assistance or professional services. Integrators could not compete for subcontracts within the project with their smaller or secondary businesses. The Federal Acquisition Regulation provides further guidance for program managers (Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009).

The act included guidance on developing a program to recognize exemplary performance by both military and civilian acquisition professionals. Military and civilian personnel that had expertise and performed well while working on defense acquisition programs were eligible for recognition and an award. This also allowed for awarding cash bonuses (Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009).

The Future Combat Systems program did not continue through the Obama presidency, but modifications of the initiatives associated with the program continued to meet mission requirements in Iraq and Afghanistan. The efforts transitioned into the Brigade Combat Team Modernization Plan. Systems deployed as incremental capability packages and fielded in two year cycles (Mehney and Cain 2010, 3-5).

As the technology and systems evolved, the Army developed packages known as capability sets. Capability sets consisted of radios, satellite systems, software products, and devices modeled after smartphones. The intent was to provide integrated solutions for fielding to the brigade combat teams as a set of equipment, with a training and support package to accompany the issuance of materials. As the fielding of the set initialized for one brigade combat team, another brigade was in the que to receive the next set of equipment as part of the continuous fielding process. Rather than issuing individual pieces of equipment and training, the units would receive all the integrated components at the same time, minimizing the fielding and training timelines (Wiley, Newman and Agnish 2013, 10-12).

The executive order on Federal Leadership in Environment, Energy, and Economic Performance mandated green procurement initiatives. The executive order required that ninety-five percent of new contracts for items or services be energy and

water-efficient, non-toxic and contain recycled materials (U.S. President 2009). Weapon systems were exempt from this rule. There were other mission-related exemptions, but the DOD encouraged acquisition personnel to develop statements of work and other contracting mechanisms to procure green products and services (Gibson, McDevitt and Mughal 2010, 52-54).

Economic Objectives in the NSS

The Obama administration's 2010 National Security Strategy described several economic objectives, ranging from education imperatives to goals related to the spending of taxpayers' dollars. Economic growth goals were rooted in improving education, investments in science and technology, advancing technology for national security, and growing space technologies. Financial instability in the global economy required remedies to set the conditions for Americans to prosper. President Obama described a need to save more and export more, with a goal of doubling exports by 2014. Achievement necessitated the creation of a demand for domestic products in the global marketplace through open trade. To create transparency and accountability for the taxpayers, the administration outlined goals to reduce the deficit and reform the federal acquisition and contracting processes to ensure valuable use of federal resources (U.S. President 2010b, 28-35).

The 2015 National Security Strategy released by the Obama administration outlined several economic objectives associated with economic growth, trade agreements, education, investment in science and technology, and reinforcement of rules related to the international finance system. The strategy emphasized open markets for trade, which would allow American industries to prosper. It also included investments in education to

fill critical roles in the technology and manufacturing sectors. A desire to lead in the private sector as an innovator in science and technology presented itself as a means to strengthen the American economy. Lastly, the policy described the need to seek and develop alternative energy sources to promote energy security in the United States (U.S. President 2015, 15-18).

Economic Policies of the Obama Administration: 2009-2016

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 was a major economic policy and legislature effort for the Obama administration. The US entered a recession in late 2007 due to predatory lending practices, risky investment strategies, and a reduction in government regulation (Council of Economic Advisors 2010, 39-41). To address the issues stemming from the recession, President Obama approved the Recovery and Reinvestment Act. The intent of the legislation was to create jobs, develop economic recovery, invest in science and technology, invest in infrastructure, and stabilize government budgets. (U.S. Congress, House 2009, H.R. 1). The act included a large stimulus package, consisting of tax cuts and increases in government spending. The stimulus package stretched for two years and allowed tax cuts for families and businesses (Council of Economic Advisors 2010, 49-53).

As a means to continue economic recovery following the recession of 2008, President Obama set a goal to double United States exports over a period of five years. The president published an executive order outlining the plan to work towards eliminating trade barriers and assisting small businesses to enter the export market. To do this, an export promotion cabinet would develop and implement the National Export Initiative. The cabinet consisted of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Agriculture,

Commerce, Labor, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the United States Trade Representative, and a variety of other government agencies. The initiative would include programs for small and medium businesses, federal export assistance, increase in trade missions, and increased export credit. The government would take steps to work towards trade balance and rebalance growth across the global economy (U.S. President 2010a).

President Obama signed the Tax Relief, Unemployment Insurance Reauthorization, and Job Creation Act into law in December 2010. This legislation aimed to reduce payroll taxes and extend unemployment benefits programs until the end of 2011. The intent was to continue gross domestic product growth and may have slowed growth by up to 2.8 percent if the bill had not become law. This was another step by the administration to continue to help the economy rebound after the recession (Council of Economic Advisors 2012). The reduction in payroll taxes was extended through December 2012 (Council of Economic Advisors 2013).

Another piece of tax-related legislation was the American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012. The law was an extension to tax legislation from 2001 and 2003, allowing the continuation of tax cuts for 98% of American tax payers. The president signed the law to help continue reduction of the federal budget deficit. In addition, the law extended many of the tax credits from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. Lastly, the law extended unemployment insurance benefits, and stabilized the exemption amounts for the Alternative Minimum Tax (Council of Economic Advisors 2013).

Analysis of Obama Administration Acquisition Changes Related to Economic Objectives

There is a strong correlation between the acquisition policies and economic objectives contained in President Obama's 2010 NSS. The strategy described the need to spend taxpayer funding with care. Part of this objective included reforms in federal procurement and contracting practices. The verbiage in the strategy aligns with the Weapons Acquisition System Reform through Enhancing Technical Knowledge and Oversight Act signed into law in 2009, shortly after President Obama took office.

The 2015 NSS released by the Obama administration had less direct language directing acquisition efforts as the previous strategy. However, there were economic objectives that correlated to acquisition actions taken during the second term of Obama's presidency. The acquisition efforts primarily focused on development and procurement of technology to continue to modernize the force. However, the DOD implemented green initiatives that aligned with the requirement to develop and implement alternate energy sources. The 2015 NSS emphasized science and technology advances and innovation in the private sector. The push for continued education in the science, technology, engineering, and math subjects corresponded with the modernization and technical advancement efforts in the military. There is not a directly causal relationship, but one could deduce that advancing science education positively impacted DOD's ability to gain access to emerging technologies.

Major Acquisition Efforts of the Trump Administration: 2017-2018

The acting Secretary of the Army issued several acquisition directives shortly after President Trump assumed office. The directives center on streamlining several

aspects of the acquisition process, to include requirements approvals, testing, and contracting. Additionally, the directives included increased integration of science and technology throughout the life of programs. The Secretary of the Army implemented the use of cross-functional teams to increase collaboration across all stakeholders early and often to develop capabilities (DA 2017, 1-7).

Economic Objectives in the NSS

The Trump administration outlined several objectives related to building American economic prosperity in the 2017 NSS. The first area of focus was the rejuvenation of the domestic economy. Actions associated with this focus include reduction of regulations, tax reform, improvement of infrastructure, reduction of federal debt through government efficiencies, and education support. The second focus includes actions related to trade partnerships. The administration outlined actions associated with countering unfair trade practices, adjusting trade agreements, fighting corruption, working with fair-minded partners, and facilitating opportunities in the global market to benefit the United States (U.S. President 2017g, 17-20).

The third priority included actions related to science and technology. The actions included retention of inventors and innovative personnel, conducting research and development in partnership with private industry, and rapidly field technology. The fourth action area focused on protecting the innovation in the United States on the basis of national security. The administration stated that America must take steps to protect intellectual property, protect infrastructure, and tighten immigration to reduce intelligence collection. Lastly, the authors of the strategy discussed actions related to energy dominance. These actions included reductions of barriers to and the promotion of

energy exports, assurance of energy security through partnerships, ability to have access to affordable energy, and a need to advance the American technological edge (U.S. President 2017g, 20-23).

Economic Policies of the Trump Administration: 2017-2018

President Trump signed the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act into law on 22 December 2017. The act included tax rate reforms, deductions of qualified business income, tax benefits for both individuals and families, and adjustments to deductions and exclusions. The law also included repeal of the individual mandate for health care. Also, there were several adjustments for business taxes (Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017).

President Trump published two proclamations related to imports of steel and aluminum. The proclamation included a twenty-five percent tariff on steel imports from all countries except for Canada and Mexico. There are ongoing discussions with Australia, Argentina, South Korea, Brazil, and the European Union that may alter the tariff in the future (U.S. President 2018b).

The proclamation on aluminum imports was similar to the steel import proclamation. The president imposed a ten percent tariff on aluminum imports from all countries except for Canada and Mexico. Similar to the steel import tariff, there are ongoing discussions with Australia, Argentina, South Korea, Brazil, and the European Union that may change the tariff policy (U.S. President 2018a).

Analysis of Trump Administration Acquisition Changes Related to Economic Objectives

The Trump administration is still new, but there is an indication of a correlation between the acquisition directives and economic objectives in the NSS. The objectives

focus on streamlining all aspects of the federal acquisition process. These directives correlate directly with the administration's intent to make the government more efficient. However, it is likely that more impacts to acquisition policy may occur based on trade agreement changes. As time goes on, changes in economic policy may drive further acquisition change and policy formation.

Potential Defense Acquisition Policy Impacts

Buy American Act

The Buy American Act requires domestic preference for federal procurement of goods and services. As with most procurement rules and regulations, there are exceptions to the policy. These exceptions include unreasonable cost and insufficient quantity of production within the United States. The law does not apply to items or services procured for use outside of the United States (Act of March 3 1933). The government guides procurements by the language in the Federal Acquisition Regulation, which states that one may use waivers, that end products assembled from parts from non-American suppliers are in compliance, and that commercial off-the-shelf products are exempt from the law (Federal Acquisition Regulation 2018).

Shortly after assuming the presidency, President Trump published the Buy American and Hire American Executive Orders. The executive orders mandated that agencies enforce and comply with the existing Buy American laws and minimize the use of waivers. In addition, there was a requirement to assess the impacts of free trade agreements on domestic procurement preferences (U.S. President 2017g).

The 2017 NSS published by the Trump Administration starts with the assertion that it "puts America first," (U.S. President 2017g, 1). Keeping with his campaign slogan,

the strategy calls for reforms to help American businesses and workers thrive. The administration states through the document that the United States will focus on renewing the domestic economy, putting in policies to benefit American workers and manufacturers, developing more middle-class jobs and continuing to innovate while maintaining a technological advantage (U.S. President 2017g, 17-18).

The 2017 NSS does not outline specific objectives that focus on the Buy American Act and associated executive orders. However, there is language that speaks to reforms to rebuild and strengthen the domestic economy. The verbiage in the National Security Strategy coupled with the language in the executive order may lead to changes in acquisition policies and practices. The government may deny waivers for products produced outside of the United States, which may slow production of goods or increase prices based on demand. The administration may revise or rescind the rules that deem products assembled in the United States as domestic products, requiring American production of small components such as screws and bolts. Closing the loopholes that exist in the Buy American Act today may slow down production lines as American manufacturers catch up with demand for components and major end items. Government officials making reforms must consider the impacts to the modernization efforts of the military prior to executing policy decision.

Commerciality

There are many waivers and exceptions granted for procurement of commercial items. Army Regulation 70-1, Army Acquisition Policy, defines a commercial item as:

Any item, other than real property, that is of a type customarily used for nongovernmental purposes and that has been sold, leased, or licensed to the general public; or has been offered for sale, lease, or license to the general public;

or any item evolved through advances in technology or performance and that is not yet available in the commercial marketplace, but will be available in the commercial marketplace in time to satisfy the delivery requirements under a government solicitation. (DA 2017a, 48)

The federal acquisition regulations outline the numerous laws that are not applicable to the procurement of commercial items. Commercial items, to include commercial off-the-shelf items, are not subject to the requirements of the Buy American Act. Therefore, commercial items do not have to be made from materials produced in the United States (SECDEF, GSA, NASA 2016). This is important to note because it circumvents the requirements of the Buy American Act.

Under Title 41 United State Code, offerors bidding on a federal contract must provide cost and pricing data on items being sold to the U.S. government, to include services and supplies. This transparency allows the government to understand the pricing of items from various offerors during the bidding process prior to contract award; however, commercial items are exempt from the requirement to provide the data (41 U.S.C. § 3503 2011).

Under Title 41 United States Code, the United States Government has unlimited rights to technical data developed exclusively with government funding. However, this statute does not apply to commercial items procured by the United State Government. Commercial items are not developed solely for government use, but the government may require alteration or adjustment to meet requirements. Contracting officers must ensure data rights are included in contract requirements, as there is no current applicable law requiring commercial entities to provide technical data to the United States Government (41 U.S.C. § 3308 2011).

The 2017 NSS embraces the use of commercial items to modernize the military and protect computer networks. The Trump administration wants to capitalize on the technological advances in the commercial and private sector to secure and modernize federal computing networks (U.S. President 2017g, 13). As part of the modernization efforts for the military, the administration wants to continue to leverage the advances of the commercial sector. The intent is to rapidly procure and deploy equipment, which use of mature commercial technologies can expedite (U.S. President 2017g, 29).

Based on the language in the National Security Strategy, it is unlikely that the government will rescind or revise the permissions associated with a commerciality designation. The availability of commercial products is a key component of reducing cost and timelines of producing goods for the federal government. Since commercial off-the-shelf items are exempt from adherence to the Buy American Act and associated provisions, the continued push for using commercial products is a point of contention within the administration itself. The leaders of the executive branch are directing a domestic preference in federal procurement of goods, while simultaneously advocating for use of commercial products that are exempt from Buy American laws.

Trade Agreements Act

Procurement of items that are covered under the Trade Agreements Act are generally waived from adherence to the rules governing the Buy American Act. The President has the option to waive the rules as long as the product is from a country covered under the act. Currently, the president delegated the authority for waiver to the United States Trade Representative. Under the acquisition regulations related to the Trade Agreements Act, products from eligible nations are given the same consideration as

domestic products (SECDEF, GSA, NASA 2018). This is important to acquisition leaders because a change to the current policy will impact contracting processes.

The 2017 NSS describes the desire for open trade that is free of unfair trade practices. Objectives in the strategy include revising existing trade agreements, developing new bilateral trade agreements, using varying means of enforcement to combat unfair trade practices. The administration wants to find market opportunities that allow for exports and increased private sector growth. The strategy outlines a desire to compete in the global market but underscoring that competition must be among like-minded countries that embrace fair trade policies (U.S. President 2017g, 19-20). The acquisition professional must consider the impacts to schedule, cost, and performance of a product while simultaneously ensuring that the organizations bidding on government contracts are American or a country that is considered like-minded by the administration.

Changes in trade agreements and relationships are a major focus for the Trump administration. President Trump published several executive orders related to trade shortly after assuming his leadership role. The president ordered the Secretary of Commerce and United States Trade Representative to report on findings related to trade deficits and the impacts on the manufacturing and defense industry bases (U.S. President 2017). Additionally, President Trump ordered the Secretary of Commerce and United States Trade Representative to review the performance of the existing bilateral, plurilateral, and multilateral trade agreements and impacts on trade balances (U.S. President 2017).

In January 2018, President Trump issued a proclamation on adjusting steel imports. The Secretary of Commerce reported that the amount of steel currently being

imported has an impact on domestic manufacturing, as well as national security. In response, President Trump decided to impose a twenty-five percent tariff on steel articles from all countries, with an exemption for Canada and Mexico. The effective date of the tariff was 23 March 2018 (U.S. President 2018b).

The changes related to trade may have impacts to federal procurement rules. As the rules state today, countries that are a part of a free trade agreement with the United States receive equal preference as domestic products. The administration, given their desire for rebuilding domestic companies, may make adjustments to the preference and consideration rules. This may lead acquisition policy changes that implement similar exemption rules that exist for the Buy American Act. For example, domestic products receive preference, but may give free trade countries equal preference if domestic manufacturers cannot produce sufficient quantities or if there is a large cost disparity between the two that would make a non-domestic procurement more cost effective for the federal government.

Changes to trade policies are some of the first concrete actions taken by the administration. However, the effects of the changes will take a while to be felt by the acquisition community. Breaking down existing multilateral agreements to more defined and renegotiated bilateral agreements will take a significant amount of time to complete (Levy 2017, 20-24).

Answering the Research Question

The author focused the analysis on determining historical economic and trade policies positions, acquisition efforts, and potential impact to acquisition policies based on current National Security Strategy language. An overview of the Bush and Obama

Administrations' National Security Strategies provided input to determine if there was a correlation between the economic instrument of national power and acquisition efforts and policy shifts during each presidency. Based on the possible shifts due to economic stance changes, the author presented several policy areas facing impacts based on expected or potential changes.

The Bush administration and the Obama administration held very similar economic and trade policy positions based on the language in their respective NSS documents, while the Trump administration presented a different economic position. In the first NSS, the Bush administration projected a conservative liberalism economic position, with a trade policy position rooted in free trade. His second strategy was more liberalistic than the first, with less focus on domestic concerns and a push for free trade actions. President Obama's administration took a conservative liberalistic approach in both strategies, showing concern for domestic issues and rebuilding. The trade policy position was conservative as well but still rooted in free trade traditions.

The author reviewed the acquisition efforts, NSS language, and economic reports of the Bush, Obama, and Trump Administrations to determine if there was a correlation between policy documents and acquisition effort shifts. There were no definitive correlations between the acquisition efforts and NSS economic language of the Bush Administration. However, there was a strong correlation between the acquisition efforts and policies and the economic instrument of national power outlined in the Obama administration NSS. There appears to be similarities in what drives changes to the NSS and what requires reform within government acquisition processes. In Obama's first strategy, the administration mentioned acquisition reform changes, which were

complemented by legislative reform and implemented within Department of Defense acquisition policies, procedures, and guidelines.

The Trump administration shows indicators of a correlation between NSS economic language and acquisition efforts. The NSS indicated a desire to make the government more efficient to reduce the deficit. Acquisition directives push for streamlining processes that may lead to efficiencies in the defense acquisition system. There appears to be a correlation between these two objectives. However, the administration is relatively new, and there may be more policy changes that spur additional acquisition reform initiatives.

Since there is only a definitive correlation between one administration's strategy and acquisition policy shifts, the author cannot produce a well-defined predictive model. However, since there is a definite correlation during the Obama administration and there may be a correlation during the Trump administration, this demonstrates that there is the potential for acquisition policy changes driven by economic position shifts. Since the possibility exists, one may develop a reaction model, rather than a predictive model, for implementation by senior leaders in the Army acquisition community. This model must include several governmental policy considerations and outline steps taken upon receipt of a new NSS that indicates a shift. The model must allow flexibility for leaders throughout the chain of command to make decisions on how to move forward.

Reaction Model

To avoid knee-jerk reactions to economic changes, one should develop a reaction model to assist senior leaders in acquisition policy development. The model should include incremental policy positions on a continuum that allows for flexibility and

responsiveness as administrations change and economic objectives evolve. Some policy positions to consider include response to free trade versus protectionist trade policies, U.S.-centric versus global-centric economic priorities, and solutions that are the best possible option and those that satisfy minimum requirements for all stakeholders. One must develop iterative policy positions along three dimensional and interactive continuums. The following is a graphical depiction along an X, Y, and Z axis of how one would align possible policy positions based on evolving economic objectives:

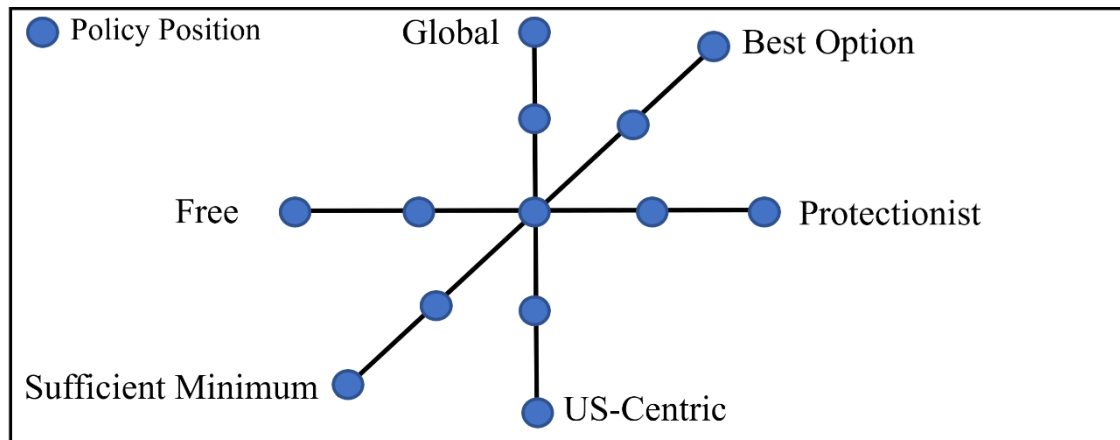


Figure 2. Acquisition Policy Position Model

Source: Created by author.

To provide further insight on policy options, developing the model should include insight from strategic thought leaders. These pundits often have an understanding of the political and economic environment and can provide useful input on policy positions along the continuum. The chief decision maker in the acquisition policy process may be influenced by the thought leaders. As such, an overview on published works by the thought leaders should be evaluated and incorporated in the model. If possible, one

should meet with pundits to gain additional understanding on the potential economic shifts while developing policy positions.

In addition, the model must demonstrate tradeoffs between the various sources of authority. Similar to how one identifies tradeoffs between cost, schedule, and performance of a system or product when managing a project, one must understand how to balance the requirements of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. The legislative branch publishes legislation for review and action, to include the annual National Defense Authorization Act and appropriations bills. The executive branch exerts influence through proclamations, executive orders, and signing legislative bills into law. Lastly, the judicial branch is responsible for determining if acquisitions efforts adhere to published law.

Acquisition leaders must work to develop policies within a solution spaces that balances tradeoffs between all three branches. Another way of understanding the tradeoff positions is to look at how the acquisition community makes tradeoffs in regards to developing threshold and objective limits on key performance parameters for evaluating capabilities. The threshold values capture the minimum acceptable performance, while the objective values capture the most desired performance. The acquisition community makes tradeoffs between the threshold and objective performance based on resourcing and how critical enhanced performance is (DAU 2018b). In a similar way, the policy developers must balance the tradeoffs between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. For example, if the executive branch desires a domestic preference in government procurements and the legislative branch wants to reduce defense spending, one must consider the tradeoffs between domestic production costs and impacts to

defense spending for modernization of equipment. In concert with this, the solution must meet all legal and regulatory requirements for procurement of government goods and services according to law. The following is a graphic depiction:

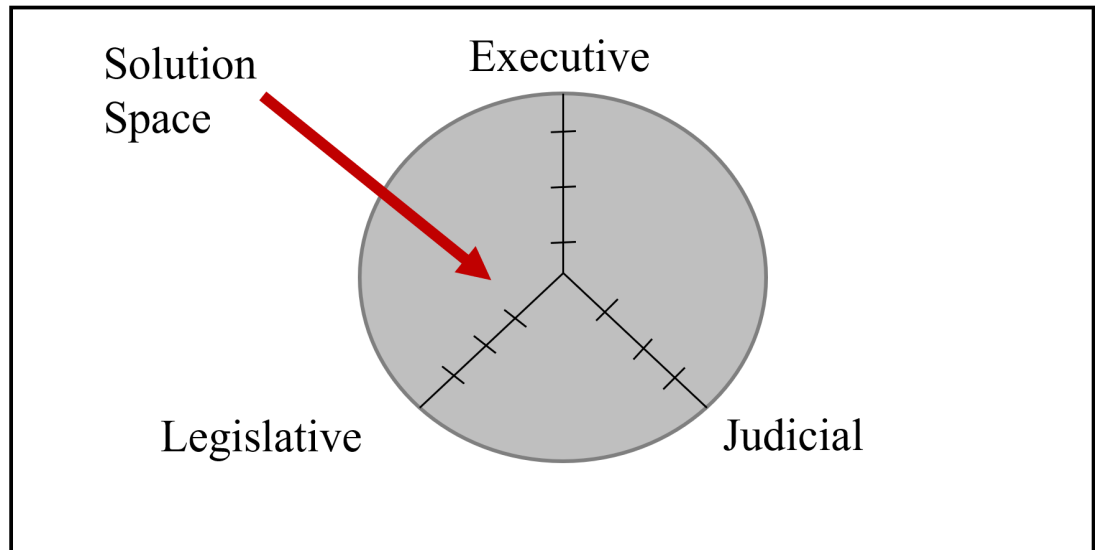


Figure 3. Tradeoff Solution Space

Source: Created by author.

Table 7 provides an example of how one could execute elements of a reaction model. This allows time for developing and refining acquisition policy recommendations, with a grace period for contract and procurement actions. Upon receipt of an updated NSS, leaders within the ASA (AT&L) could put together a policy reaction team to develop policy change recommendations to present to the Chief of Staff of the Army; the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics; the Secretary of

the Army; and the Secretary of Defense. If required, one could present changes to the President of the United States for review as well.

The example includes a grace period for procurement and contracting action. Contracting actions are time consuming and require significant effort to start and stop. If actions already set in motion and funded, the procurement of supplies or services can continue as long as the actions are complete by the end of the grace period. Any contract renewals or contract options must be exercised during this time as well. Contracting officers can renegotiate contracts based on guidance provided by updated policies following approval. The following table depicts an example on actions to take:

Table 7. Example of Reaction Model for Trade Agreement Change			
Policy Topic	Trigger	Grace Period	Actions
Trade Agreement Change	• Policy or trade position change in language related to use of economic instrument of national power in National Security Strategy • Executive Order or Proclamation related to trade changes • Pending legislation related to trade changes	180 Days	• Identify a policy reaction team comprised of members from (ASA(ALT)), to include policy and resourcing personnel, to develop policy recommendations. • Alert contracting center leaders and Program Executive Officers on potential policy changes. • Temporarily suspend contracting actions that cannot be completed within the 180-grace period. • Conduct brief to congressional staff members to inform and gather insight on recommended changes based on legislative guidance. • Review literatures and conduct meetings with thought leaders outside of the DOD for insight and input into policy recommendations. • Conduct legal review on policy change recommendations. • Conduct brief on policy change recommendations to ASA (ALT) NLT 30 days • Conduct brief on policy change recommendations to Chief of Staff of the Army NLT 60 days • Conduct brief on policy change recommendations to the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics NLT 90 days after grace period. • Conduct brief on policy change recommendations to the Secretary of the Army NLT 120 days • Conduct brief on policy changes recommendations to Secretary of Defense NLT 150 days • (IF REQUIRED) Conduct brief on policy change recommendations to President of the United States NLT 180 days

Source: Created by author.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The intent of the research was to determine if it was possible to develop a predictive model for acquisition leaders for development of acquisition policy changes based on the use of the economic instrument of national power as outlined in the National Security Strategy. To determine if a model could be build the following secondary questions were studied:

1. What were the economic policy choices consistent with “America First” included in the National Security Strategy?
2. What are the historical economic positions or policies within the National Security Strategy over the past seventeen years?
3. How does one assess economic policies within the previous National Security Strategies using an analysis model? How will one structure this model?
4. What are the opinions of the strategic thought leaders on future economic policies of the National Security Strategy?
5. Can acquisition leaders build practical acquisition policy options when the economic instrument of national security strategy shifts?
6. What major acquisition initiatives and efforts have occurred since 2001?

This chapter will review the conclusions made from the analysis in Chapter 4 and discuss recommendations on the implementation of a reaction model for acquisition leaders. The chapter will conclude with recommendations on additional research and personal reflections.

Conclusions

Based on the research, the author cannot build a predictive model for acquisition leaders. However, one could develop a reaction model for use that allows the acquisition community to respond to change in economic objectives. The reaction model should consider alternate economic policy positions and allow for a solution space that balances tradeoffs between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. At the conclusion of the research, the author discovered that one could build a reaction model to provide flexibility and a range of policy options for acquisition leaders and decision makers.

Recommended Implementation Plan

As one develops and refines the reaction model, one must ensure that implementation of the model is methodical and deliberate. A way to conduct the implementation is through use of a framework such as the Kotter Model. The first step in the Kotter Model is to establish a sense of urgency in the organization. This is done by identifying the problems that exist and find opportunities (Kotter 1995, 3). One must capture the NSS changes, pending legislation, and executive orders. It is important to emphasize to the acquisition community the importance of getting ahead of the changes by drafting acquisition policy changes based on revised economic objectives.

The second step is to build a guiding coalition. Change is actioned through people, and it is important to gather a group that will help propel the change effort (Kotter 1995, 3). The first step is the development of a policy reaction team with members of ASA (ALT). The model developer must develop relationships with the legal team, congressional staff members, and individuals within the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

The third step is to create a vision. The vision will guide the implementation of the reaction model within the organization (Kotter 1995, 3). The vision must align the goals of the acquisition policy changes with the economic goals of the current administration. Following the creation of the vision, the next step is to communicate the vision. The reaction model team should relay the vision through a variety of mediums (Kotter 1995, 3). As the policies are evolving, one should get the word out often to acquisition professionals, legal advisors, congressional staffers and members of the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

The fifth step is to empower others. This is done through allowing reaction team members the freedom to make recommendations, advocate changes, and receive adequate and prompt feedback (Kotter 1995, 3). Leaders must allow the policy reaction team to work with minimal oversight, while allowing open and frequent communication to ensure policy options are sufficient.

The sixth step is to plan for and generate short-term wins. This involves recognizing successes as they occur during the change process (Kotter 1995, 3). The reaction team should institute a briefing cycle to gain concurrence from interested parties and build upon consensus. The next step is to consolidate gains and produce more wins. This includes adjusting the reaction team as necessary to continue to make progress (Kotter 1995, 3). The reaction team should adjust policy options as necessary and continue to revise and develop systems to provide increased flexibility.

The eighth and final step is to institutionalize the approach. To accomplish this, one must show the success gleaned from the new model (Kotter 1995, 3). The reaction team must publish the model and use as a guide for policy creation and change. The

model should allow for improvement and evolution of the model as necessary, updating as required but remaining as a framework for acquisition and policy development professionals.

The use of the Kotter Model is not required for successful implementation of a policy reaction model but provides a good framework for leaders within the Acquisition Corps to follow. It is important for acquisition leaders to understand the need for a reaction model and determine the best way to develop, introduce, and action emerging policy that responds rapidly to economic shifts. While the Army Acquisition Corps cannot always be proactive, developing a flexible model allows for faster adaptation to changes without slowing the modernization process.

Recommendations for Further Study

The most important area for further study is the research required to develop a reaction model. Researchers must develop key attributes that constitute the solution space that may satisfy the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. In addition, researchers must identify possible policy positions along various economic continuums. One must determine flexible options to allow leaders several options when administrations change and economic objectives evolve.

An area for further study include an expanded analysis of correlations between acquisition efforts and language in the National Security Strategy from previous administrations. If there are strong correlations discovered, there is potential to develop a predictive model to use along with the reaction model. The limited scope of the research and inconclusive findings prevented the construction of a predictive model from historical evidence.

To develop a more well-rounded understanding of economic impacts to acquisition policy changes, one should research four significant areas of economic prosperity. These eras include the post-World War I boom, including industrialization and the Roaring Twenties. The second era to explore is pre-World War II. One should focus on the role economics played in the pre-war preparations, paying attention to Japanese tariffs and support to the United Kingdom. The third era is the post-World War II Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. This includes how the economic instrument of national power was used to combat threats from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China. Lastly, one should study the impacts of the Reagan-era military spending boom. There was a delicate balance and interplay during these periods between the use of both the military and economic instruments of national power, which could help inform and enhance development of the reaction model.

In addition, one should look at the Marshall Plan, which was the European Recovery Program between 1948 and 1952 that helped rebuild Western European economies that had been devastated by World War II. One should consider how the United States built allies from former enemies. Was economic policy an aid in this shift in relations? Is it possible to have similar relational changes based on economic objectives with current competitors of the United States? One should consider these questions in further research.

Another area for further study is additional policies impacted by an economic policy shift. There are several acquisition regulations that have potential to be impacted by a shift in how the federal government procures items and who the government may or may not purchase from. For example, trade restrictions may have an impact on the supply

chain. There are several policies related to supply chain actions and security. One should explore the impacts to this area of acquisition, with subsequent impacts to schedules, costs, and even performance of products or services.

Personal Learning Reflections

Through the conduct of the research, the author gained valuable insight into historical NSS documents and the interaction between economic objectives and acquisition policy. Most acquisition efforts and policy updates tend to align with military objectives outlined in the NSS and emerging threats in the global environment. However, there are some direct policy reactions to economic objectives. The research uncovered linkages, but not to a significant enough degree to develop a predictive model.

The author also developed reading, writing, and assessment skills throughout the conduct of the research. These skills are important for the continued academic development of a U.S. Army officer. The author intends to continue academic work following the Master of Military Art and Science Program.

Lastly, the experience of conducting research humbled the author. There is not always a simple yes or no answer to a research question. Often, initial research leads to the requirement to conduct further research, even if one is able to satisfy the initial question. It is okay if there is not a definitive answer, and one should accept the call for further research to continue to add content to the academic and military communities.

APPENDIX A

STRATEGIC THOUGHT LEADER ASSESSEMENT

Article	D-I-M-E	Economic Issues	Military Actions		Insight
			JCIDS	Acquisition	
Economics in the National Security Strategy: Principles vs. Practices By Phil Levy	E	- Renegotiation of NAFTA - Developing bilateral trade agreements to replace existing multilateral trade agreements	Not Applicable	- Impacts to FAR Part 25, Foreign Acquisition, based on: - Impacts to Trade Agreements Act - Impacts to existing Buy American Act	- Only formal renegotiation in effect is NAFTA; could have repercussions with Canada and Mexico - Breaking multilateral agreements into bilateral agreements will be time consuming. - NATFA renegotiations have deterred others and may impact future trade agreements.
Trump's National Security Strategy: A Critic's Dream By Emma Ashford and Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin	D, E	- Economic policies leaning towards a more closed American homeland - Supports existing global trade, but will pursue trade imbalances	Not Applicable	- Impacts to existing Buy American Act; may reduce exemptions for foreign items - Impacts to Trade Agreements Act	- Generally keeps with post-Cold War traditions, with slight departures on immigration, border security, and domestic economics - Identifies competitors that need to be overmatched and contained - Trump's rhetoric rarely matches his actions - A primacy-based strategy, rather than realist
Nostalgia and Strategy: There Never Was a Golden Age By Andrew Hill	D, M	None addressed	Force structure and equipping altered based on current threat	Acquisition policies must adjust to provide equipment to combat the threats and competitors	- Focused on challenges posed by rising competitors - Military needs transformation rather than rebuilding - Rebuilding the military to Desert Storm capacity is inappropriate for the current threats
Cyber and Calvinball: What's Missing from Trump's National Security Strategy? By Ben Buchanan	I, M	None addressed	Not Applicable	Policy changes related to cyber defense procurement	- Priorities are risk management, network defense, deterrence, information sharing, and layered computing defenses. - Need to manage threat of information operations from competitors
China, America, and the End of the Responsible Stakeholder Theory By Zack Cooper and Mira Rapp-Hooper	D, M, E	Views China as an economic threat, attempting to erode American prosperity	Not Applicable	- Possible adjustments to commerciality and supply chain rules to reduce Chinese items - Impacts to Trade Agreement Act	- Should avoid approaches that force Asian countries to choose between US and China; may risk support of vulnerable states - President is critical of trade agreements and alliances - Competitive China strategy would rely on military presence in Asia
The National Security Strategy and a Return to the Golden Age of Spycraft By Carmen Medina	I, E	Strategy focused on competitiveness, trade deals, and maintaining technological edge	Not Applicable	May need improvements in policy to maintain technological edge	- Strategy suggests using open-source information to deny attacks on US citizens - Analysts may need to find a method to monitor economic intelligence
The National Security Strategy's Implications for Seapower By Bryan McGrath	D, M, E	Focus on fair trade deals, improving infrastructure and reducing regulatory burdens to promote prosperity	American seapower may require additional capacity/capability based on threat	May need to adjust naval procurement policies to maintain seapower	- NSS does not discuss how military power protects and sustains economic prosperity - Freedom of seas provided by American seapower allows for global economic trade and prosperity - Deterrence requires availability of forces that can be deployed quickly, which is inherent in forward-deployed seapower
An Airman's View of the New National Security Strategy By David A. Deptula	M, E	Defense budget restrictions drive the NSS; even with increase, insufficient to meet global challenges	May need to adjust requirements based on emerging threats	Not Applicable	- Military is the backbone of the NSS; military requirements should be set at levels necessary to support the strategy - Military is still underfunded, undersized, and unready to overcome competitors - Air Force has been underfunded for 25 years and has outdated weapons systems and insufficient manning to combat global competitors

Source: Created by author.

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