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The Ripon Forum

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Volume 51, No. 4

The Korea CONUNDRUM

Senator Cory Gardner leads the effort to contain Kim Jong Un and punish those who enable the Pyongyang regime.

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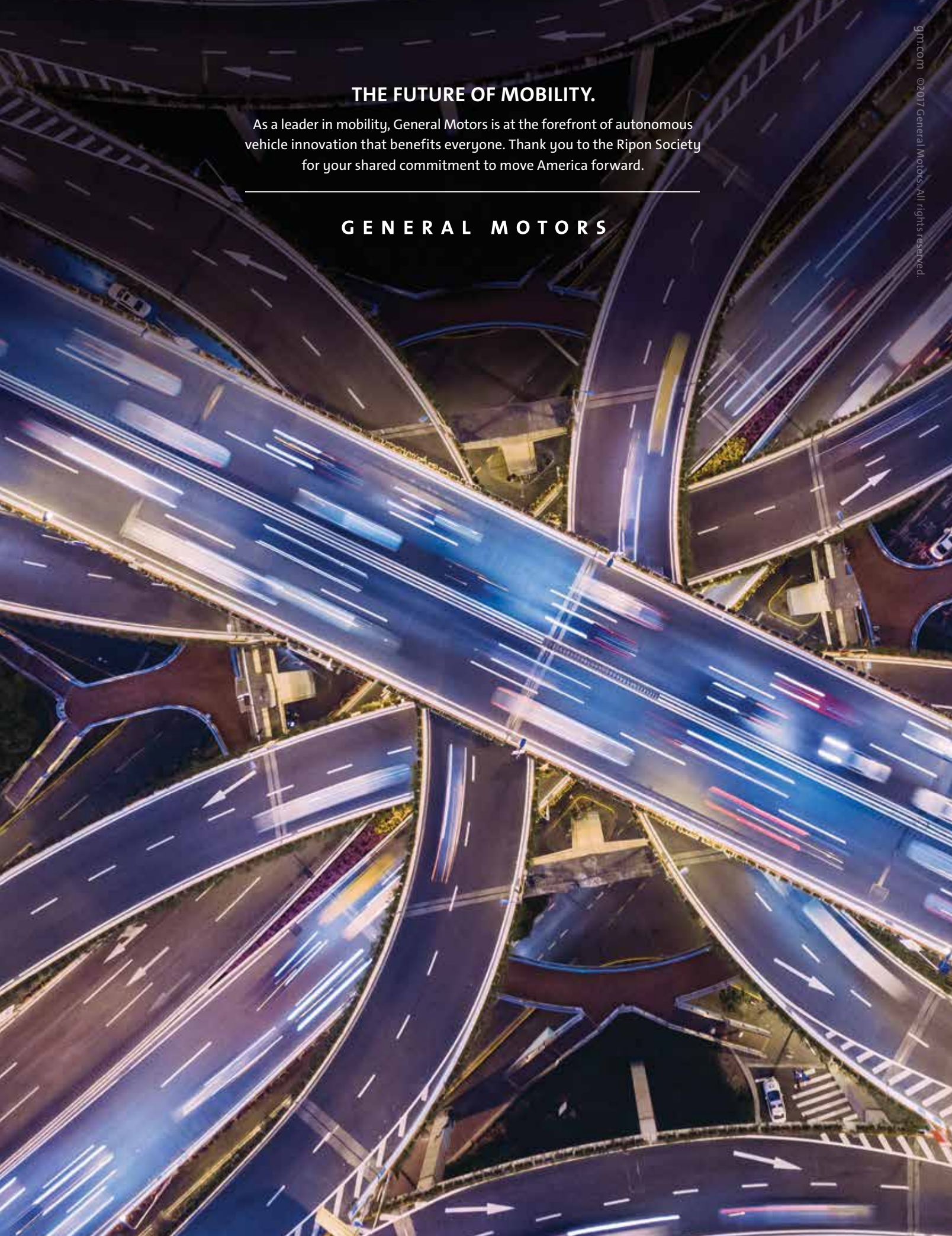
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In this Edition

Seventy years ago this summer, George Marshall delivered a commencement address at Harvard that was remarkable for its brevity and content. The address lasted only 11 minutes. And rather than talk about the future of the graduates before him, he spoke about the future of the world and why it was in the best interest of America to take the lead in rebuilding Europe and helping those countries that had been devastated by World War II.

"It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace," the former General and then-Secretary of State stated in laying out what would become known as the Marshall Plan. "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos … Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome."

In making his argument, Marshall appealed to the sense of American exceptionalism that had been renewed following the war. But he also appealed to America's sense of reason. It was "logical" for the United States to come to the aid of our allies. It was part of our "responsibility" as a world leader. Today, it often seems that the values which Marshall espoused in 1947 have little relevance to the politics and foreign policy of 2017. Appeals based on logic have been replaced by appeals based on emotion, and the sense that America has a responsibility to the rest of the world has been replaced by a sense of isolation and belief that the United States will be stronger if we just focus on America first.

Marshall's brevity has been replaced by Trump's Tweets. And one could argue that the world is a more dangerous place as a result. In this latest edition of *The Ripon Forum*, we take a look at this world and some of the threats that we face.

Leading our coverage is an interview with U.S. Sen. Cory Gardner (R-CO). Gardner serves as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity. In the two years he has served in this role, he has become a leading voice in the effort to contain Kim Jong Un. He discusses the Korea conundrum in this edition, and shares his thoughts on some of America's other global challenges, as well.

Bruce Bennett of the Rand Corporation further explores the effort to move beyond the "strategic patience" that has defined the U.S. approach toward North Korea in an essay that explores some of the different policy options facing U.S. policymakers. In meeting this and other global challenges, the U.S. will need the help and cooperation of other nations. And as former Australian national security advisor Andrew Shearer writes in another essay, it is time for America's allies to step forward in this regard.

Dean Cheng of the Heritage Foundation examines how China views the United States and the rest of the world in another essay, while Robert Manning of the Atlantic Council looks at the state of U.S. missile defenses in light of the growing North Korean threat. And in another essay, Ian Wallace of New America writes about NATO's growing role in keeping global cyber networks secure.

Closer to home, Will Marshall, the well-respected President & Founder of the Progressive Policy Institute, writes about Democratic efforts to rebuild their party heading into the 2018 mid-term elections. And with Congress eyeing tax reform as a priority, Gordon Gray of the American Action Forum explores the prospects that an agreement might be reached this fall.

In our debate, authors and professors Kevin Guzman and Gregory Koger square off about the future of the filibuster and whether it should be preserved or abolished.

And in our latest Ripon Profile, Republican rising star and former Coldstone Creamery CEO Doug Ducey discusses his background in business, his career in politics, and his priorities as the Governor of Arizona.

As always, we hope you enjoy this edition of the *Forum*, and encourage you to contact us with any comments, questions or ideas you may have.

Lou Zickar, Editor
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Eliminate the Filibuster:
Trust the People

by KEVIN R. C. GUTZMAN

The Senate filibuster has got to go. It is completely contrary to American political science, and has devolved into nothing more than a minority veto – one to which the American people never consented.

The chief principle of American republicanism is that, as Thomas Jefferson put it, "the will of the majority honestly expressed should give law." His attitude typified Americans of the Revolutionary Era. Having made war under the banner of "No taxation without representation," they moved while the Revolution raged to establish popular government.

Their first step in doing so was to establish popularly adopted, written, republican constitutions — the first the world had ever seen. The first of them, George Mason's Virginia Constitution of 1776, made the state government extremely responsive to voters. Not only did the bicameral legislature elect the governor and the state judges, but the lower house, whose members had one-year terms and small districts, had the sole power to initiate bills. The governor, with neither a veto nor an appointment power, was exceedingly weak.

Kevin R.C. Gutzman

The chief principle of American republicanism is that, as Thomas Jefferson put it, "the will of the majority honestly expressed should give law."

Ben Franklin's 1776 Pennsylvania Constitution went even further, eliminating the office of governor altogether and establishing a unicameral legislature. When the Continental Congress got around to drafting Articles of Confederation the following year, they provided for a unicameral Congress highly beholden to state officials. Local elections to state legislatures would continue to predominate.

Famously, nationalists of the 1770s and '80s agitated for a continental convention to revise (really, replace) the Confederation Government with something more independent of the states. Both the South Carolina delegate Charles Pinckney and the Virginia delegation to the Philadelphia Convention prepared plans for national (not federal) governments for colleagues' consideration.

The Virginia Plan included a bicameral legislature apportioned by population. The lower house would be popularly elected, and it would elect the less numerous upper house. If James Madison had his way, the national legislature would have veto power over state laws. While amending the Articles had required all states' consent, amending the new constitution would be easier.

The final version of the Constitution did not satisfy the nationalists' desires. Small-state delegates disliked the apportionment provisions. Several delegates, including future Massachusetts governor and U.S. vice president Elbridge Gerry, told the Convention that the

American problem had been, "an excess of democracy." They worked to limit Congress's authority, deny Congress a veto over state laws, and have the state governments choose senators.

One thing all agreed on, however, was that majorities would govern. The majority of each house would speak. The Electoral College majority would win. The elected president would appoint judges with the consent of the Senate majority. The only supermajority provision concerned overrides of presidents' vetoes, and even there, two-thirds of both houses was a lower requirement than the three-fourths earlier agreed.

Never did the Philadelphia Convention discuss the question of filibustering — or any minority veto. The Senate's current rules about that arose almost by accident. When the First Congress's 22 senators first met, they decided to allow unlimited debate. This posed little practical difficulty in a nonpartisan body.

Even a century ago, when the Senate adopted a rule allowing senators to shut off debate by two-thirds vote, it had very little effect. After the year-long Democratic filibuster of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Senate again changed the rules. Now, 60% of senators voting could cut off debate.

(cont'd on p. 6)

Preserve the Filibuster:
Protect the People from Political Parties

by GREGORY KOGER

Should Senate Republicans abolish the filibuster? The filibuster is not specifically established by the U.S. Constitution. Then again, neither are political parties. The Senate filibuster has persisted because it helps Congress fulfill its constitutional obligations by restraining the mischiefs of political parties.

Filibustering: The Basics

If we want to understand filibusters, it helps to start with a clear definition. Filibustering is delay, or the threat of delay, in a legislative chamber to prevent a final outcome for strategic gain. Although the current focus is on the U.S. Senate, filibustering is a general phenomenon. While collecting data on filibusters in the modern Senate, I found references to filibustering in 20 state legislatures, 19 foreign countries, and the United Nations.

There are many ways to kill time. We might associate Senate filibustering with long speeches, but this is because pro-segregation southern senators opposed to civil rights bills during the mid-20th century favored germane speeches as the most legitimate form of obstruction. However, legislators can also delay by calling for unnecessary roll call votes, such as motions to adjourn for the day. Another classic technique is refusing to cast a vote in the hopes of "breaking" a quorum so that there are not enough legislators participating to make legitimate decisions. This technique is known as a "disappearing quorum."

Gregory Koger

"The right to filibuster remains because senators realize they need one informal, extraconstitutional device to limit the excesses of another extraconstitutional innovation: political parties."

Filibustering & the Constitution

As previously indicated, the Constitution does not explicitly state that filibustering should or must be allowed. As my book on filibustering explains, the modern Senate filibuster has come to play a critical role in the lawmaking process, on par with the constitutionally-mandated presidential veto. But it arose as an informal practice in the Senate rather than the deliberate design of the Founders.

That said, two clauses of the Constitution create the potential for filibustering. The first clause allows a minority of the chamber to call for a roll call vote: "the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal." In the 19th and 20th centuries, members of both chambers availed themselves of this clause to force dozens of procedural roll call votes.

A second clause makes it possible for a minority to break a quorum if there are some members absent for innocent reasons: "a majority of each [chamber] shall constitute a quorum to do business." This latter clause was discussed in the Constitutional convention on August 10, 1787. John Mercer pointed out that a majority quorum requirement would allow a minority to filibuster, to which George Mason pointed out that a bit of quorum-breaking can be a good thing, as it was used in Virginia to defeat populist measures that harm the economy. A motion to lower the threshold lost, 2 to 9.

On the other hand, critics of the filibuster argue that the Constitution already spells out all the supermajority requirements for legislative action (2/3 for treaties, removal, expulsion, Constitutional amendments) so the 60-vote threshold for most legislation to clear the Senate is an additional and unintended hurdle in the process.

However, both chambers of Congress embrace supermajority requirements as a regular part of their rules. About half the bills that pass the House do so under "suspension of the rules," which requires a two-thirds threshold in the House. House rules also allow for passing bills on the "Corrections Calendar" by a 3/5 vote, for waiving Calendar Wednesday by a 2/3 vote, and require a 3/5 majority to pass a tax increase.

(cont'd on p. 6)

(Koger, cont'd from p. 5)

Senate rules require a supermajority to waive the Budget Act for many amendments, and (following a 1915 precedent) a two-thirds vote is required to suspend the rules. These rules are adopted according to the Article One clause, which states that "each house may determine the rules of its proceedings," and both chambers find good reason to apply supermajority thresholds to guide the legislative process.

In summary, the intent of the Founders is ambiguous. I think a fair summary is that they realized they were creating provisions that could be used to block legislation, and that filibustering could be good or bad for the public interest depending on the proposal that is being blocked or the demands made by the obstructionists. They left these decision in our hands.

Filibustering and Congress's Constitutional Role

A more fruitful way to think about the constitutional role of filibustering is to assess whether it helps or prevents the Congress from fulfilling its constitutional duties. Congress has several basic roles, including:

Representation — Each House and Senate member is tasked to speak for and act on behalf of their constituents. Voters are not just a means of attaining power; legislators are tasked to work *for* them.

Deliberation — In the 18th century view of Congress, the benefit of gathering representatives from the far-flung states is that they can explain the problems and needs of their constituents to the rest of Congress. Before the Internet, Congressional staff, or think tanks, this was how Congress as an organization gathered enough information about the country to govern on its behalf.

Action — Congress is the "First Branch" because it is supposed to be the driving force of our government, the great source of power and change. To do this, it must actually pass legislation.

Congress's ability to act has been greatly enhanced by the development of permanent political parties. Parties help to coordinate the legislative agenda and to form coalitions behind major legislation. Yet, like the filibuster, they are extra-constitutional developments. The Founders neither expected nor approved of permanent political parties.

The efficiency which parties bring to the legislative process can come at an extreme cost. First, members of a majority party may be under intense pressure to conform to the party's views, even if it means ignoring the views and interests of their constituents. Second, a majority party may not have any interest in genuine deliberation. It may develop its proposals in secret party meetings and then try to pass it quickly with a minimum of debate. In particular, a majority party may prefer to deprive legislators of opportunities to offer amendments.

After all, if roll call votes on amendments threaten to disrupt the bargains made within the party caucus, then they are dangerous. If votes on amendments force majority party members to go on the record on issues they would prefer to duck, the amendments are dangerous. Left unchecked, majority parties may diminish the ability of Congress to adequately represent or deliberate.

Filibustering helps to restore the balance in the Senate. When majority parties try to limit debate and amendments, or attempt to strong-arm their own members into voting against their consciences or their constituents, senators are able to respond by invoking the power of the minority to say "no." And by saying no, senators are not trying to keep the Senate from passing legislation; they are fighting for free debate and honest voting.

The debate over filibustering has raged in the Senate since the days of Woodrow Wilson. And yet the right to filibuster remains because senators realize they need one informal, extraconstitutional device to limit the excesses of another extraconstitutional innovation: political parties. **RF**

Gregory Koger is a professor of political science at the University of Miami. He is the author of Filibustering: a Political History of Obstruction in the House and Senate. Portions of this essay were previously on the blog http://themonkeycage.org/.

(Gutzman, cont'd from p. 4)

Even then, the majority still ran the Senate, more or less. Only in the last handful of Congresses have we come to a point at which, although they essentially never debate, the filibuster power allows even a forlorn minority of 41 senators to prevent the majority from legislating. Senators today feel no compunction about saying they are filibustering as a means of averting undesirable outcomes, and majority leaders do more or less nothing about it.

Why do Republicans not bring this drama to a close? After all, the most recent Democratic majority leader, Harry Reid of Nevada, said that in case Hillary Clinton were president and the Democrats controlled the Senate, the filibuster would be abolished. The Senate "will evolve with a majority vote determining stuff," he said last August. "It is going to happen." Either the Republicans would cease to filibuster, or "the Senate is going to wind up being a democracy."

Conservatives can of course think of numerous negative likely outcomes of simple majority vote in the Senate, such as statehood for Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. Faced with a "parade of horribles" likely to befall the Old Dominion in case the Constitution were ratified, James Madison responded that republicanism meant one had to trust the people. What else could he do? Let the majority govern, and trust it to govern well.

Tolerating perpetual obstruction of the majority's desires has not been a good alternative. Nix the filibuster, and make majorities accountable. **RF**

Kevin R. C. Gutzman, JD, PhD, is Professor of History at Western Connecticut State University. His latest book is Thomas Jefferson – Revolutionary: A Radical's Struggle to Remake America (St. Martin's Press, 2017).

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Dems Upping Game in Red Zone

by WILL MARSHALL

Donald Trump's presidency seems to be going nowhere fast, but he does have one major political accomplishment under his belt: He has unified the normally fractious Democratic Party.

Whereas Ronald Reagan and the Bushes could count on some Democrats to support their initiatives, opposition to Trump is monolithic. Democrats regard him as a shambolic interloper with a severe and possibly dangerous personality disorder – a fake president.

Nonetheless, the Trump phenomenon has forced Democrats to confront our party's structural weakness. Following successive mid-term blowouts, losing the White House to Trump shattered Democrats' assumption that the nation's changing demography was realigning U.S. politics inexorably around a new progressive majority.

It's painfully clear that such complacency was unwarranted. Barack Obama's impressive achievement in racking up successive presidential majorities masked an underlying erosion of Democratic strength in too many places. The party's electoral appeal has narrowed steadily, both in the middle of the country and among working middle class voters. In effect, we have traded breadth of support across the whole electorate for intensity of support among minorities, millennials, single women, secular voters and professionals.

Having drifted into minority status, Democrats can't win by mobilizing core partisans alone. The party must expand, otherwise we won't be able to put an effective check on Trump, prevent Republicans from controlling redistricting after the 2020 Census or build a stronger bench of potential presidential aspirants by electing more governors.

So how can Democrats broaden our base and become competitive again outside the party's urban and coastal strongholds? This is where the anti-Trump consensus yields to competing theories about the best way to engineer a party turnaround.

The party's Congressional leaders recently produced their entry into the sweepstakes, "A Better Deal." On the plus side, their blueprint moves beyond man-the-barricades posturing about "resistance" toward defining a genuine Democratic alternative. Yet it also recycles many familiar populist themes from the 2016 campaign, from the "rigged economy" to a milder version of Trump's economic nationalism.

Will Marshall

The Trump phenomenon has forced Democrats to confront our party's structural weakness.

"A Better Deal" does advance a new theory for what's gone wrong with the U.S. economy, and how to fix it. In this view, slow productivity, lagging wage gains and growing inequality stem from too much business consolidation. Concentration in various sectors – financial services, airlines, even "Big Beer" – certainly merits closer scrutiny. But as PPI economist Michael Mandel points out, big isn't always bad. What's crucial is to distinguish between high-innovation sectors that have kept consumer prices down – such as telecom and digital technology – from high-cost, low-innovation sectors, like health care.

In mid-August, another group of party leaders mostly from outside of Washington launched *New Democracy* with a very different approach. (Full disclosure: I'm one of the organizers of the effort). Described as a "home base" and support network for pragmatic Democrats, *New Democracy's* mission is to bridge the country's cultural and geographic divides and make the party more competitive in middle America.

The public face of *New Democracy* is a diverse

group of elected Democrats from all levels of government – governors, state officials, mayors, Members of Congress and former Cabinet officials. They have banded together to craft a new Democratic battleplan for winning in the red and purple zones. That plan has three main parts:

1) Craft new ideas to help Democrats reach beyond our base to moderates, independents and disaffected Republicans. Rather than echoing Trump-style populism, *New Democracy* believes recapturing the high ground of economic hope and progress is the way to build a bigger Democratic tent. To that end, it is developing a progressive, pro-growth platform that seeks to revive U.S. economic dynamism and equip all Americans to rise in the emerging knowledge economy.

2) Provide financial and political support for pragmatic candidates for local, state and federal office. In today's sharply polarized politics, such candidates are often outgunned by alliances of deep-pocketed donors on both the left and the right. That makes them vulnerable to primary challenges from the left as well as ultraconservative general election opponents. *New Democracy* is working to rebuild a financial base for the party's pragmatic wing.

Democrats can't win by mobilizing core partisans alone. The party must expand.

3) Organize a virtual network of grassroots support for pragmatic Democratic leaders and ideas. It's no secret that much of the energy in U.S. politics has migrated to the ideological poles in recent years. Either we can accept polarization and shrinking common ground as a permanent condition in our democracy, or, as *New Democracy* aims to do, we can rally Americans who are fed up with today's political tribalism to become political activists.

Who knows? That might even include moderate, GOP suburbanites who can't abide Donald Trump or their party's hard-right turn. In any case, *New Democracy* signals a new Democratic resolve to make the party competitive in every part of America. **RF**

Will Marshall is the President and founder of the Progressive Policy Institute.

In Defense of the Difficult on Tax Reform

by GORDON GRAY

Compared to health care reform, tax reform is easy – or so some were saying a few months ago. Done right, tax reform will be a daunting and divisive undertaking. Republicans shouldn't view the difficulty as an excuse to retreat from a transformative reform. Rather, they should recognize that the "easy" way out may be the most precarious path. They might as well do the incrementally more difficult – but significantly more rewarding – tax code overhaul the economy needs to break out of the economic rut that has marked this decade.

As it stands now, the United States has a tax code that is not only outdated, but is harming growth and pushing jobs and capital overseas. Successful tax reform will address the fundamental flaws in the code – high rates, large distortions, and an outdated international tax regime. Fixing these deficiencies will require a real overhaul, an undertaking far more ambitious than just cutting a few tax rates for a short period of time. Both political and policy constraints conspire to heighten the challenge of a successful tax reform, but also provide a pathway to getting the policy "right," if only policymakers summon the political courage to navigate it.

Gordon Gray

Achieving the economic gains that the right tax reforms can promote is worth going it alone, if necessary.

The last successful tax reform effort was signed into law by a Republican president, fresh off a 49-state electoral sweep, and passed by a divided Congress. There was genuine policy agreement among the tax writers that marginal tax rates were too high while tax sheltering had spiraled out of control. There was good faith among the principal negotiators, representing both parties and the both the executive and legislative branches of government. Despite these tailwinds, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 died many deaths before becoming Public Law 99-514. These favorable conditions do not exist today.

While congressional Democrats generally claim to be "for tax reform," they have signaled an underlying disinterest in pursuing pro-growth tax reform. They showed no interest in taking up this task during the Obama administration. There is some recognition by progressives that, at least on the corporate side, the tax code is uncompetitive, but that's about where the policy agreement ends. It is also unlikely that Democrats will be willing to compromise, on any policy front, to deliver a legislative victory to a weakened president.

Tax reform will have to be a Republican-only initiative – narrowing the scope of the effort to tradeoffs between Republican political and policy priorities. Sure, we all like lower taxes, but there is a yawning divide over how to get there. The business community is deeply divided by competing interests. To wit, lobbyists for the retail industry have mounted the pelt of border-adjustment – a revenue and administrative silver bullet – on their trophy wall. Old capital wants a straight tax cut, while other firms want growth and investment incentives. Every legislator in Congress has a constituency replete with these divided interests. Tax reform, one that fundamentally alters economic incentives, means telling some of these people "no." Despite it boiling down to being just a Republican effort, the margin for defeat narrows rather than expands.

The political and the policy challenges to tax reform suggest an unlikely path to success. But these

very challenges could induce policymakers to do the right thing. If Democrats don't want to get on board, fine. Achieving the economic gains that the right tax reforms can promote is worth going it alone, if necessary.

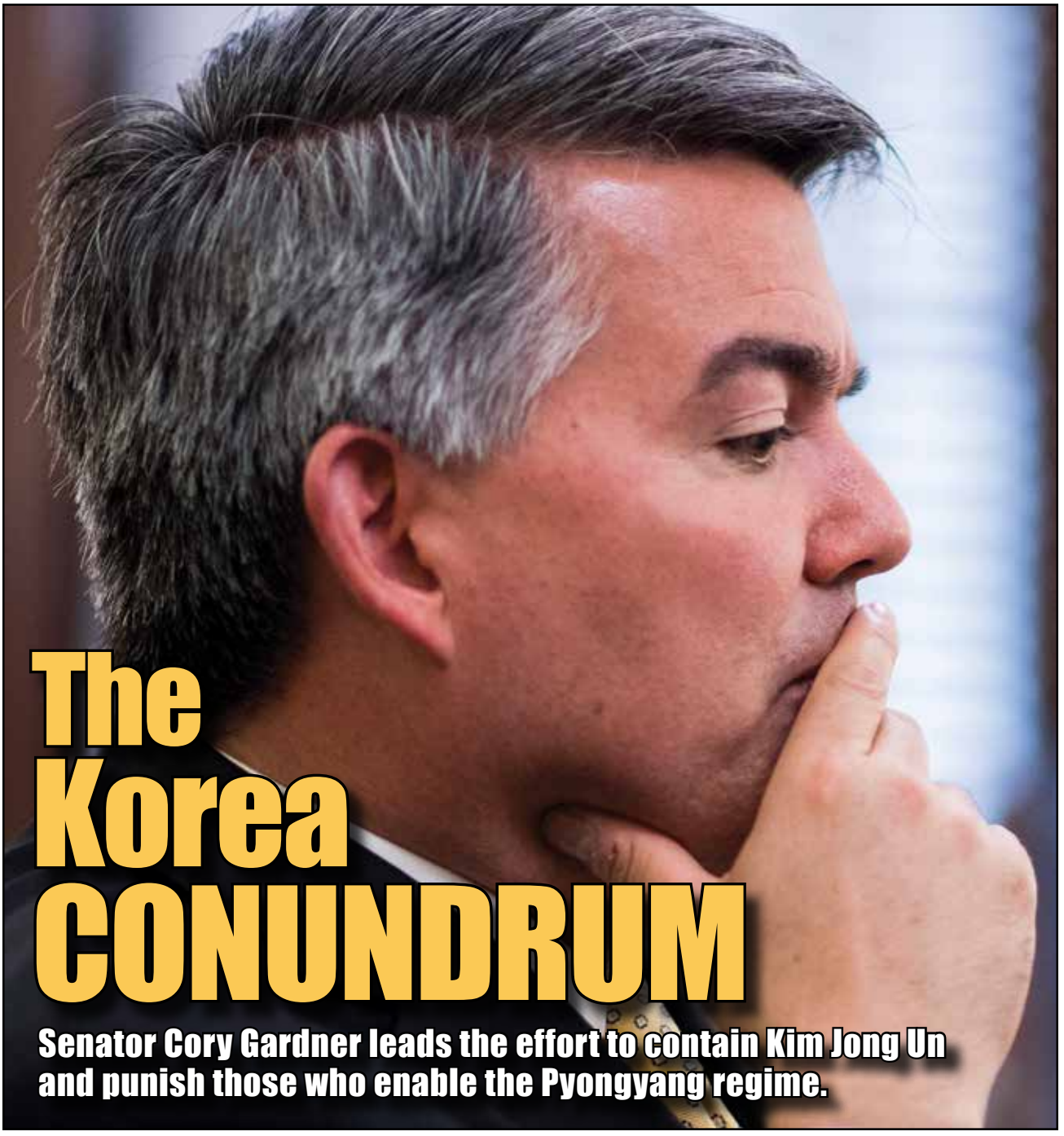
Among Republicans, the major stumbling block is shaping up to be whether to just cut rates for a certain amount of time or go through the painful process of reform. There appears to be some momentum for passing a corporate and middle-class tax cut, adding the cost to the deficit and calling it a day. That seems to be the easy way out. And in some ways, it is – Republicans know how to message a tax cut, and at this point may settle for anything that could be called a legislative achievement. But such minimal short-term gain will not be worth the longer-term costs.

Few people, and even fewer politicians, like to tell people "no." But taking the "easy" path to tax reform — tweaking a few rates and calling it a day — will not relieve Congress from making tough choices. In fact, failing to take the more difficult path of fundamental tax reform means telling growing businesses that they're less important than old businesses. It means telling multinational firms to keep money parked overseas or to keep leaving the United States altogether. And it means telling all observers that real, necessary reforms are just too hard for them.

Taking the "easy" path to tax reform — tweaking a few rates and calling it a day — will not relieve Congress from making tough choices.

Between a deeply unsatisfying policy outcome that divides Republicans and the business community and a pro-growth tax reform that divides Republicans and the business community, the tough road to reform starts to look a lot more appealing. **RF**

Gordon Gray serves as the Director of Fiscal Policy for the American Action Forum.



The Korea CONUNDRUM

Senator Cory Gardner leads the effort to contain Kim Jong Un and punish those who enable the Pyongyang regime.

U.S. Sen. Cory Gardner (R-CO) is known as one of the most optimistic men in Washington. Yet as George Will once wrote of Ronald Reagan, there is "steel behind his smile." Nowhere is this more apparent than in the area of foreign affairs.

Gardner serves as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity. In the two years he has served in this role, he has become a leading voice in the effort to contain Kim Jong Un and move beyond the "strategic patience" that has defined U.S. policy toward North Korea over the past several years.

In 2016, Gardner authored the *North Korea Sanctions Policy and Enhancement Act*. Signed into law by President Obama, the legislation marked the first time Congress imposed stand-alone mandatory sanctions on North Korea. He followed this up last month by introducing the *North Korean Enablers Accountability Act*, a bipartisan measure that would ban any entity that does business with North Korea or its enablers from using the U.S. financial system.

Gardner chaired a hearing on the issue on July 28th, calling North Korea "the most urgent national security challenge for the United States and our allies in East Asia." His call to action has not been limited to the halls of Congress. He traveled to Southeast Asia as part of a delegation led by John McCain earlier this summer, and traveled to the Republic of Korea, Burma, Singapore, Taiwan, and Japan for meetings with government officials in June of last year.

The *Forum* recently asked Gardner to talk about his travels, what he is hearing from our allies, and the challenges facing America not only in the Asia Pacific region, but in other regions of an increasingly volatile world.

RF: The world is perhaps more volatile today than at any time since the end of the Cold War. In your travels to other countries and in your meetings with our allies over the past year, what message have you been hearing, and what message have you been trying to convey?

CG: As Chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity I've been deeply involved with the developing situation on the Korean Peninsula. In my meetings with military and government leaders from South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan there's a consensus of finding a solution together that stops Kim Jong Un from starting a nuclear war.

It's clear the situation now is at its most unstable point since the armistice but these nations are still looking to the United States for leadership. I'm continuing to reiterate our support for them and letting them know that this situation will not be solved by just one of us. It's going to take all of us along with China to stop the North Korean regime.

Gardner was the first member of Congress to meet with the Republic of Korea's Special Envoy, Dr. Hong Seok-Hyun, during his visit to Washington in May.

The situation now is at its most unstable point since the armistice but these nations are still looking to the United States for leadership.

They've accomplished what previous administrations were unable to do in getting nations that rarely see eye to eye on anything to come together at the United Nations to put in place needed sanctions against North Korea. Recently, I also applauded the Administration's decision to impose long-overdue sanctions on Chinese and Russian entities that had been aiding North Korea's economy.

While these were important moves, we need to do more – much more – in imposing penalties on all North Korean enablers, no matter where they are based. We must give every entity doing business with Pyongyang a choice – you either do business with this outlaw regime or the world's economic superpower. I have introduced legislation that would ban any entity that does business with North Korea or its enablers from using the United States financial system, and I will keep pushing for stronger actions that are part of our efforts to stop a war breaking out on the Korean Peninsula.

RF: Congress just approved legislation that includes a new round of sanctions aimed at North Korea. What additional actions do you believe the President should take to contain this growing threat?

CG: The administration has taken some positive steps in trying to rein in North Korea's nuclear program.

RF: The sanctions bill also included penalties aimed at Russia. What additional steps, if any, would you like to see the President take to put a check on Putin's aggression and hold Russia accountable for their interference in the U.S. election last year?

CG: Vladimir Putin is a thug and no friend to the

United States. Russia needs to be held accountable for not just the moves they have made to provoke our allies on a global stage, but also for their interference campaign in the election last year. I believe that one of the best ways to make Russia pay for what they have done is through the bipartisan economic sanctions passed through Congress and signed into law last month.

RF: There are reports that the State Department has decided to redefine its mission to no longer include the goal of promoting democracy around the world. If true, do you agree with this decision?

CG: The United States is the most important and powerful Democracy in the world. We are never going to stop advocating for our values across the world – that's just one of the many things that makes this nation so special.

This Administration has put together a strong team with people like Nikki Haley and Rex Tillerson and has made some positive moves.

RF: Beyond this, what is your overall assessment of the President's foreign policy -- and foreign policy team -- seven months into his administration?

CG: With every Administration there are going to be policies I agree with and disagree with. This Administration has put together a strong team with people like Nikki Haley and Rex Tillerson and has made some positive moves.

However, as I said earlier a lot more needs to be done. It's too early in the Administration to be giving out grades or assessments, but some positive changes have been made by the team currently in place.

RF: Finally, America has had a great tradition of politics stopping at the water's edge when it comes to foreign affairs. You've been very eloquent about the need for bipartisanship in this regard. Given the divisions we face as a country, do you think that is even possible anymore?

CG: Yes – of course I think bipartisanship is still possible, and I'm going to do everything I can to prevent politics from getting in the way of major decisions that impact the world.

Congress has worked together over the last few months in a bipartisan fashion on North Korea sanctions, Russia Sanctions, and additional efforts to support our troops and allies across the world. **RF**

The North Korean Enablers Accountability Act (S.1562)

Key facts:

• Requires the President to block all transactions that are property of the North Korean government, affiliates, or those that do significant business with North Korea.

• Requires the President to block any entity or financial institution implicated in any significant trade in goods or services with North Korea from the U.S. financial system. Entities include the top 10 Chinese importers of goods from North Korea.

• Requires the President to prohibit any goods made with North Korean labor from entering the United States and to impose sanctions of all entities implicated in North Korean labor trafficking.

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BEYOND STRATEGIC PATIENCE
What comes next?

by BRUCE W. BENNETT

In recent weeks, the world has been on edge over the escalating tensions between North Korea and the United States. Convinced that it cannot live with the growing North Korean nuclear weapon and ballistic missile threat, the U.S. has decided to end its policy of strategic patience.

What has changed? Simply put, with the ICBM tests on July 4th and 28th , North Korea appeared to be taking the first steps toward posing an existential threat to the United States. Yet North Korea's exaggerated description of the success of those tests may have caused greater worry than is yet justified. Theodore A. Postol, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology physicist, and colleagues argued much the same in a paper published August 11th in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*.

The July 4th test, which appeared to demonstrate a missile range adequate to cover much of Alaska, may not have carried a warhead heavy enough to accommodate a North Korean nuclear weapon. The July 28th ICBM test, while appearing to have adequate range to reach much of the United States, had a warhead that was almost certainly too small to carry a North Korean nuclear weapon, and in any case reportedly burned up on reentry (though Postol and colleagues dispute what actually burned up, saying they believe that it was the nearly empty upper stage of the missile that actually burned up). The warhead may have burned up because North Korea reduced the weight of the warhead shields in order to obtain greater range.

Bruce W. Bennett

The North Korean Army and security services have perhaps three times the manpower of the South Korean Army.

For decades, the U.S. has extended a "nuclear umbrella" to South Korea and Japan, offering to deal with any North Korean nuclear weapon use so that South Korea and Japan do not require their own nuclear weapons. To date, this U.S. commitment has not put U.S territory seriously at risk. But unless the North Korean nuclear weapon and missile programs are reined-in, at some point North Korea will be able to target San Francisco or other major U.S. cities with nuclear weapons.

Even a current-generation North Korean nuclear weapon with an estimated 10-kiloton explosive power (roughly the size of the nuclear weapon detonated on Hiroshima) might kill or seriously injure several hundred thousand people if detonated on a major U.S. city. And North Korea is seeking to build an even bigger weapon — its so-called "H-bomb," a 50-kiloton nuclear weapon capable of killing or seriously injuring a half-million people or more in an urban area.

Many experts in South Korea have expressed concern over what would happen to the U.S. commitment to maintaining the nuclear umbrella if U.S. cities could be targeted by North Korean nuclear weapons. In the early 1960s, French President Charles de Gaulle faced a similar Russian challenge to the U.S. nuclear umbrella. He declared that he did not think the United States would trade New York City for Paris. In the future, would the United States trade San Francisco or New York City for Seoul?

In March, U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson announced the end of the "strategic patience" approach to the North Korean nuclear weapons threat. Strategic patience applied some pressure on North Korea to stop its nuclear weapons program, but still allowed the North Korean threat to grow rather than jeopardize regional peace. The U.S. is "exploring a new range of diplomatic, security, economic measures," Tillerson said. "All options are on the table."

The recent evolution of the North Korean nuclear weapon threat raises issues because the U.S. commitment to the defense of South Korea has been important since the Korean War and will be even more essential in the future. The North Korean Army and security services have perhaps three times the manpower of the South Korean Army. Since the North Korean forces are qualitatively inferior, there is a tendency to dismiss the North Korean quantitative superiority. But South Korea's military is growing dangerously small. Their

Army has been reduced from 560,000 active-duty personnel a decade or so ago to 485,000 today. Those numbers could shrink to 370,000 over the next three to five years because of the country's historically low birthrate and the expressed desire of new ROK President Moon Jae-in to reduce the number of months that military draftees must serve. Within a decade, ROK Army manpower would likely drop to about 300,000.

While U.S-ROK military qualitative superiority may win many regular battles, the sheer numbers of personnel can be more important in some fights, especially against the insurgent forces that can be expected to rise up after major battles. The 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq raised a similar problem: once the main battles of the conflict ended, the United States had to *increase* the size of its military forces in Iraq to deal with the insurgency that developed. North Korea reportedly has some 200,000 active-duty special forces, and while they are not all as capable as U.S.-ROK special forces, their covert military culture would make them troublesome in a chaotic or insurgent environment.

South Korea's military is growing dangerously small. Their Army has been reduced from 560,000 active-duty personnel a decade or so ago to 485,000 today.

While many of the North Korean weapons are old and would not perform well against U.S.-ROK forces, once the supply of U.S.-ROK precision munitions is exhausted, the combined forces could lose much of their qualitative advantages.

Moreover, North Korea has some selected military advantages — areas where quantity can significantly offset quality. These include its large ballistic missile force, its massive artillery force, and its weapons of mass destruction. For example, North Korea has perhaps 5,000 to 6,000 artillery and rocket launchers within range of the Seoul metropolitan area. If even a fraction of these were fired into Seoul, they could cause substantial damage. South Korean military personnel believe that the South would significantly escalate against such an attack, likely seeking the destruction of the North Korean regime.

The Kim dynasty that has ruled North Korea since 1948 has amassed these military capabilities to deter potential U.S. action against them. Many of the theoretical options that might impede further North Korean development of nuclear weapons and missiles are unlikely, including economic sanctions that are only partially implemented by China. And other options, like military attacks on the North, could escalate to a major war that would be devastating to the region and perhaps the United States. The U.S. could also threaten to use its missile defenses to shoot down North Korean missile tests when it is determined they pose a threat.

Many experts argue that the best way to try to resolve this threat is to persuade North Korea to negotiate an end to its nuclear program. But North Korea has made it clear that it has no intention of abandoning its nuclear weapon capabilities. It says that nuclear weapons are essential to regime survival. North Korea has criticized the late Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi for agreeing to give up his weapons of mass destruction, because he was then overthrown with U.S. help. The Kim family regime has said it will never be so foolish.

If the United States wants North Korea to deal, then it should figure out how to persuade the North Korean regime that it is less likely to survive by posing a nuclear threat than by cooperating with the international community. Economic sanctions and military threats apply part of the needed pressure. But the other part likely needs to include U.S. information operations aimed at North Korean internal politics. To that end, the U.S. should consider broadcasting information into North Korea that will embarrass and undermine the Kim Jong Un regime.

Kim's major concern is with his regime survival, and he appears to be extremely sensitive to any threats. His purges and brutality have reportedly alienated many of the North Korean elites. Kim is also regarded as a weak leader in many ways and is not the most capable person in North Korea, reportedly a requirement of the socialist and "juche" (self-reliance) philosophies promulgated by his grandfather in the 1950s. The North Korean economy appears to be growing as a result of capitalism, with many of the elites becoming business people.

In the past, the United States has established "red lines" that North Korea has crossed without suffering any significant consequence. The U.S. should consider pursuing a multidimensional approach — including economic sanctions, threats of military actions, and disseminating information in North Korea that would threaten its internal politics — to try to persuade Kim Jong Un that his nuclear weapons do more to jeopardize his regime than secure its survival. **RF**

Bruce W. Bennett is a senior defense analyst at the nonprofit, nonpartisan RAND Corporation.

America and Its Allies:
Renewing the Faith

by ANDREW SHEARER

The great British wartime leader Winston Churchill, with his characteristic mix of wit and pragmatism, said that the only thing worse than fighting with allies is fighting without them.

Today, more than ever, the United States needs steadfast and capable allies. America will remain the world's richest and most powerful country for the foreseeable future, but its international leadership is increasingly contested. It cannot underwrite global security on its own — and should not be expected to.

Whether it is imminent threats from North Korea and global Islamist terror networks, or slower-burn challenges posed in Asia, Europe and the Middle East by revisionist powers such as China, Russia and Iran, the United States and its allies have to work more closely together to protect their common interests and to defend their shared values.

Andrew Shearer

The United States cannot underwrite global security on its own — and should not be expected to.

After the catastrophe of the Second World War, the United States emerged — without necessarily wanting the role — as the undisputed leader of the free world, confronting and defeating Soviet Communism and building a world order based on principles of freedom, non-aggression and respect for law. It has paid an immense price in blood and treasure to uphold that order, and continues to do so to this day, in Afghanistan, the Middle East and around the world. It is entirely understandable after being continuously at war for the longest period in U.S. history that many Americans are asking whether these sacrifices are worth it.

Nor does it help when the United States sometimes seems to be carrying these burdens largely on its own. President Trump has a point when he criticizes many allies for free-riding — failing to contribute adequately either to their own defense or to collective security. Until very recently, defense spending had been falling across NATO for years. It simply isn't good enough that apart from the United States only four of 29 NATO member countries are meeting their agreed commitment to invest a modest 2 percent of GDP in national defense, while America spends approximately 3.6 percent (and needs to spend more in the face of rising threats). Many of the same governments are quick to criticize U.S. policies while shielding under the security umbrella America provides.

Maintaining adequate national defense spending — and, equally importantly, investing in capabilities that can operate seamlessly with U.S. forces and contribute usefully to coalition efforts — is important. But there are other ways that allies can make a difference. Basing and access for U.S. military forces, contributions to U.S.-led coalition operations (for example against ISIS in Iraq and Syria) and to peacekeeping efforts, intelligence cooperation, building the security capacity of partner countries, and diplomatic support can all play important parts in fostering international stability and security, as well as easing the load on overstretched U.S. resources.

Fortunately, there are signs that American allies are starting to lift their game. Last year saw a 4.3 percent real increase in defense spending across European allies and Canada, and 25 NATO allies have announced plans to increase defense spending. In the Asia-Pacific region, key allies such as Japan, South Korea and Australia are investing more in advanced defense capabilities. Under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's leadership, Japan is strengthening its alliance with the United States and taking on a more active security role, while Australia is one of the largest military contributors to the effort to defeat ISIS. Encouragingly, longstanding American alliances and partnerships in the Middle East, including with Israel and Saudi Arabia, are also on a more favorable trajectory after President Trump's early visit to the region.

Still, there is no room for complacency. For the first time in decades, revisionist powers are seeking to recast the global order and carve out old-fashioned spheres of influence, irrespective of the views and preferences of other countries — in-

cluding many democracies. In Europe, Russia has annexed Crimea, invaded Ukrainian territory and interfered in elections; it continues to threaten neighboring democracies. In Asia, China is militarizing the South China Sea in defiance of international law, encroaching on Japanese-controlled waters in the East China Sea, and using economic carrots and sticks, cyber operations and "political warfare" to get its own way. Russia, China and Iran are deploying all the instruments of national power to pursue objectives that will be deeply damaging to America's long-term security and prosperity — and to its allies — if they are allowed to succeed.

What can Congress and the Trump administration do to ensure this doesn't happen?

Reasserting American leadership and rallying like-minded countries around shared democratic values is vital. The world is at a dangerous and uncertain juncture. The Obama administration came to office convinced that U.S. interventions in the world were too often bad for America and bad for the world. Now, after eight years of retrenchment and accommodation, we know that pulling back does not make the United States safer or stronger, or the world a better place. Despite the costs and understandable community frustration with protracted military commitments in the Middle East, polls show that today's America is not isolationist. The U.S. public will continue to support working with allies to confront common threats, but their elected leaders need to engage citizens seriously, go back to first principles and remake the case for American leadership.

American allies are more likely to lift their own game if they are reassured that the United States has the capability, the will and the steadfastness to stare down current global threats, as it has done in the past. Limits on defense spending imposed by the Budget Control Act need to be removed to address shortfalls in the readiness of the U.S. military, but also in order to provide long-term certainty for defense planners and to build the next generation of weapons systems that will be needed to defeat the threats of the future. Finally, there is no substitute for close and constant two-way communication with allies and for steady, clearly stated policies. It is one thing to keep adversaries off balance; allies will respond much better to consultation and consistency. **RF**

Andrew Shearer is senior advisor on Asia Pacific Security at the Center for Strategic & International Studies. He was formerly national security advisor to conservative Australian Prime Ministers John Howard and Tony Abbott.

How China Views the United States and the World

by DEAN CHENG

As Xi Jinping prepares for the 19th Party Congress this fall, he sees a China whose place in the world is both more prominent and powerful than it has been in a century, and yet also a China which faces growing challenges to its security.

On the one hand, the People's Republic of China (PRC) is economically and militarily more capable than at any time since the end of the Qing Dynasty in 1911. China is the world's second largest economy and the world's largest trading power. It is the first or second largest trading partner of almost every country. It consumes enormous amounts of coal, oil, iron ore, bauxite, and in turn is one of the largest global producers of steel, ships and aluminum. China supplies the world with textiles, computers and consumer goods, and increasingly with direct financial investments.

Dean Cheng

As China becomes increasingly integrated in the global economic landscape, it is also increasingly vulnerable to international and transnational pressures and threats.

This economy, in turn, has sustained the development of one of the world's most powerful militaries. Where once Manchu Bannermen faced Western ships and troops with spears and bugles, today's Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) is equipped with nuclear weapons, stealth fighters, and modern main battle tanks. The PLA Navy fields an aircraft carrier, nuclear and conventional powered submarines, and an array of modern surface combatants to defend China's shores and maritime claims. Overhead, Chinese satellites maintain surveillance of the maritime approaches to China's shores, and can guide ballistic missiles against American aircraft carriers.

This economic and military strength, in turn, expands Xi Jinping's diplomatic clout. Chinese diplomatic acquiescence is necessary at the United Nations, if resolutions concerning Syria or North Korea or South Sudan are to be passed. Chinese-backed initiatives such as the "One Belt, One Road" effort and the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) increasingly play a role in the international financial scene. As important, they are seen as challenging the post-World War II Bretton Woods economic structure, which was founded by the United States.

Alongside these advances, however, are growing challenges to Xi Jinping's leadership. As China becomes increasingly integrated in the global economic landscape, it is also increasingly vulnerable to international and transnational pressures and threats caused by that same international presence. China is now the world's largest importer of oil; its economy is affected by not only regional instability in the Middle East, but also by piracy on the high seas. As China has exported members of its workforce, who are employed in many of the overseas investments, they have increasingly become targets of terrorists and local unrest. Chinese citizens have been killed by ISIS terrorists. More than 20,000 Chinese workers had to be evacuated from Libya during the upheavals that ultimately toppled Mu'ammar Qaddafi.

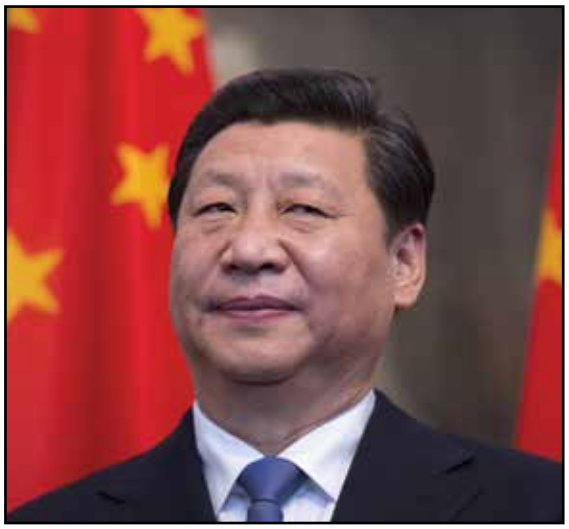
Meanwhile, China faces increasing security challenges along its periphery. The festering problem of North Korea continues to destabilize the situation in Northeast Asia. North Korea's missile and nuclear tests have persuaded South Korea to field the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) System, much to Beijing's chagrin. Just as significantly, North Korean provocations have drawn the United States and

South Korea closer. President Xi cannot be happy that Kim Jong Un's actions have blunted the wedge that Beijing has sought to inject between Washington and Seoul.

The overwhelming electoral victories in 2016 of Tsai Ing-wen and her pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) on Taiwan is another problem for Beijing. The issue of Taiwan was relatively muted for the past eight years, as Kuomintang (KMT) president Ma Ying-jeou avoided controversial stances. President Tsai has been careful to avoid deliberately antagonizing Beijing; nonetheless, Chinese leaders have demanded formal renunciation of the core platform of the DPP. Given DPP control of both the executive and legislative branch, President Tsai would probably lose power if she tried. Moreover, Beijing's ham-handed policies towards Hong Kong mean that there is little confidence in Taipei that Beijing's past policy of "one country, two systems" will be sustainable.

These issues have gained saliency since Donald Trump won the 2016 election in the United States. Even before taking office, Mr. Trump challenged longstanding tenets of the U.S.-China relationship, by taking a call from Madame Tsai, and questioning American commitment to the "one-China policy." Since then, President Trump has repeatedly called upon China to play a larger role reining in North Korea, pushed ahead with THAAD deployment in South Korea, and discussed the imposition of major tariffs on Chinese goods. At the same time, however, the Administration has not singled China out for currency manipulation, despite campaign slogans to that effect. For Chinese leaders, this is a bewildering policy approach that is neither typical of many newly elected administrations, which tend to be anti-China in the early years, nor focused on deal-making, as other analysts had predicted.

All this confronts Xi as he prepares for a major leadership evolution. Where previous Chinese leaders (Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao) had Politburo Standing Committees (PSC) that typically maintained their membership throughout their two terms, most of the members of Xi's PSC from 2012 will have to step down in 2017. While Xi himself will almost certainly remain in power through the 20th Party Congress of 2022 (as most likely will Premier Li Keqiang), he must name a new leadership cohort, which will significantly shape his legacy. The new leadership team that emerges this October, in turn, will have to navigate the shoals of a less vibrant economy, regional instability, and an unpredictable American president.



President Xi must balance maintaining good relations with the United States and not being seen as weak in defending Chinese interests.

Even as he focuses on forging a new PSC, President Xi must therefore balance maintaining good relations with the United States and not being seen as weak in defending Chinese interests. He will have to reinvigorate China's economy and coax greater growth, even as he must also not antagonize the United States and other major economies through openly mercantilist policies. For President Xi, these will be trying times. **RF**

Dean Cheng is Senior Research Fellow in the Asian Studies Center Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy at The Heritage Foundation.

U.S. Missile Defense in a Proliferated World

by ROBERT A. MANNING

It is perhaps a measure of the current state of U.S. missile defenses that when North Korea recently threatened to fire missiles at Guam, U.S. defense officials expressed confidence that ground-based interceptors, called Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) batteries, and naval-based systems in Guam and elsewhere could meet the threat.

Nearly 25 years and some $190 billion after Ronald Reagan announced his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in 1983, if ballistic missile defenses (BMD) have not become the ultimate fulfillment of Reagan's vision, then they have become a key component to U.S. national security strategy. The Pentagon is now in the midst of its missile defense review, one seeking to cope with new challenges in a proliferated world, most immediately, in the form of an incipient North Korean ICBM. [1]

Many Americans may still have trouble coming to grips with the fact that our sense of security -- provided by two great oceans and friendly borders to our north and south – has been shattered by technology. While few are likely to argue that missile defense is a cost-effective measure, the fact remains that BMD, despite its still limited capabilities, has become an important component of U.S. national defense. And for good reason.

Indeed, apart from North Korea, Iran has been developing an array of short and medium-range missiles, and is now entering into the space launch vehicle business, suggesting future ICBMs may be on the Mullahs' agenda. And beyond U.S. security, BMD has become an increasingly important element not only for homeland defense, but in U.S. alliances and security partnerships with the Republic of Korea (ROK), Japan, NATO and the Gulf Cooperation Council nations in the Middle East. All this helps explain the Defense Department's $7.9 billion budget request for the 2018 fiscal year.

Robert A. Manning

If ballistic missile defenses have not become the ultimate fulfillment of Reagan's vision, then they have become a key component to U.S. national security strategy.

An Evolution, not Revolution

The story of missile defense has been one of utopian visions of absolute security and dashed expectations, of overpromising and under-delivering. But it is also a story about learning-by-doing, of failures sowing the seeds of success, however incrementally.

SDI spurred research into a wide array of technologies, from those aimed at intercepting ICBMs and submarine-launched missiles to "Star Wars" sounding space-based directed energy weapons, including possibly being powered by nuclear detonation. This included ground-launched interceptors, a kinetic kill vehicle – essentially a bullet trying to hit a bullet and destroy a warhead. Over the past three decades, there were variants such as Brilliant Pebbles, a satellite-based interceptor, to the more modest Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS), which morphed in the current ground-based system.

What has evolved out of all these efforts is a more

1) www.mda.mil/global/documents/pdf/FY17_histfunds.pdf

modest, layered missile defense architecture for the U.S. and its allies. At home, this includes a ground-based mid-course defense system, with 36 ground-based interceptors in Alaska and California (and in the near future, Hawaii) with an additional 8 planned for Alaska with land, sea and spaced-based sensors. One reason U.S. officials may think any North Korean missiles shot at Guam would likely be intercepted is a host of defense assets there: X-Band radar, sensors, a THAAD battery and a Naval-based system. THAAD has successfully hit its targets on 15 tests in a row.

In addition, the United States, working with allies and partners, has deployed and continues to develop regional missile defenses. The Patriot Advanced Capability (PAC), now updated in 3rd generation (PAC-3), is an area system to protect troops or fixed positions. It was the PAC that intercepted Scuds during the first Gulf war. PAC-2 and PAC-3 are widely deployed in the Gulf, Japan, and the ROK. In addition, Aegis cruisers have sea-based missile defense interceptors, the SM-3 and SM-6, that can intercept cruise missiles as well as ballistic missiles. There is also a land-based version of these missiles, which Japan is leaning toward deploying. The U.S. has jointly developed with Japan a more capable system called the SM-3-Block2A that is expected to be deployed by 2019. THAAD has also been deployed in the Gulf and with some controversy, in the ROK, where China has pressured Seoul to halt deployments.

One reason U.S. officials may think any North Korean missiles shot at Guam would likely be intercepted is a host of defense assets there ... THAAD has successfully hit its targets on 15 tests in a row.

Current BMD systems and their interceptors are all designed to hit in the mid to latter phase of a missile's trajectory. THAAD, for example, goes for the terminal phase, as it name indicates. The much desired goal of effectively killing a missile in its boost phase remains elusive. This is one of the challenges U.S. missile defense efforts is trying to meet. In addition, DOD's Missile Defense Agency (MDA) is working on systems to meet the challenge of advanced cruise missiles and possible hypersonic vehicles that China and Russia are experimenting with.

The MDA is also working on a next generation of laser systems. Although an earlier effort in the 1980s and 90s to create airborne lasers using a 747 platform was a costly failure, one under-appreciated benefit was that it generated much useful data. Combined with advances in directed energy, DOD is intensifying efforts to create what may be the most effective BMD yet, an electric laser on a high-altitude, high endurance drone that could take out missiles in their boost phase from 63,000 feet.

These technologies are basically here and within reach of being operationalized. Smart DOD investments over the coming two to three years could yield highly capable systems relatively inexpensive to operate that rely on laser shots instead of expensive kinetic kill vehicles. This would clearly add a new dimension to missile defense in the 2020s.

That said, at the end of the day, absolute security remains a chimera. There is unlikely to ever be a dome protecting America from attack. Nor will the historic strategic reality that offense usually beats defense be reversed, though the odds may improve for defense. Nonetheless, missile defense has evolved into an important part of the fabric of national defense that, now and in the long run, makes the American people – and American interests -- relatively safer. **RF**

Robert A Manning is a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council and its Foresight, Strategy and Risks Initiative. He served as a senior advisor to the Asst. Secretary of East Asia and the Pacific (1989-93), Counselor to the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs from 2001 to 2004, as a member of the U.S. Department of State Policy Planning Staff from 2004 to 2008, and on the National Intelligence Council (NIC) Strategic Futures Group, 2008-2012 tweet: @RManning4

NATO, Cyber and Article 5

Creating the intellectual framework to defend the digital domain

by IAN WALLACE

In June of this year, in the aftermath of another round of ransomware attacks, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg captured the headlines by drawing on the now oft-repeated talking point that a cyber attack could trigger Article 5, the mutual defense clause[1]. The true significance of the Secretary General's remarks lies in the fact that NATO sees an increasingly significant role for itself in this area. And the reason for that lies in a major shift over the past couple of years in the way in which NATO thinks about the topic.

Article 5 and the potential for cyber attacks to take us into war remain an understandable concern for many. Unfortunately, it risks deflecting attention from more immediate and pressing cyber issues with which the Alliance is currently grappling. Besides, if the North Atlantic Council were to decide that the harm done to an ally warrants a collective response from the rest of the Alliance, it would be immaterial whether that harm was caused by a cyber attack, terrorists on an airplane, a missile, or a tank.

But cyber capabilities are changing the Alliance in important ways. Indeed, at the Warsaw Summit in July of last year, after years of politically driven equivocation, the allies finally accepted the fact that they must view cyber not just in the context of their own networks, but in the context of a military domain, akin to land, sea and air. As a result, in a short period of time we have seen significant developments in this area. Across the senior reaches of the NATO hierarchy, officials and military officers are drafting new doctrine, creating new committee structures, and, for the first time, formally considering how to integrate national cyber capabilities into NATO planning.

This is essential work, not least because it goes to the core of keeping NATO relevant for the 21st century. The question now is: how do we ensure its success?

Ian Wallace

Across the senior reaches of the NATO hierarchy, officials and military officers are for the first time, formally considering how to integrate national cyber capabilities into NATO planning.

First, NATO's political masters need to build on the momentum created by the designation of cyber as an operational domain to signal a willingness to work through the full implication of thinking of cyber in the context of collective defense, including perhaps even some kind of extended deterrence, and not just protecting NATO networks. This is an aspect of the mission to which other organizations, like the European Union and NATO partner nations, can contribute. But for that to work, the mission needs to be clearly articulated.

Second, allies need to work together to boost capabilities. Fortunately, this is one area where allies are investing their own resources, and the Cyber Defense Pledge[2] of July last year was a step in that direction. In addition, through the NATO Industry Partnership, NATO is encouraging closer cooperation with the private sector. But this is not just about building up military strength in the traditional sense. For reasons set out above, central to NATO's future cyber resilience is going to be the ability to work with owners and operators of critical infrastructure (often from the private sector). Some of this is about technology, but more often than not it is about institutions

1) www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/06/28/nato-assisting-ukrainian-cyber-defences-ransom-ware-attack-cripples/

2) www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133177.htm

and workforce development. This is a leadership opportunity for U.S. defense companies and the U.S. private sector, and one that should be embraced.

Third, allies must be encouraged to invest real resources in thinking through the detail of what this new type of warfare really means. Beneath the political level, NATO has now begun a process to develop the structures and doctrine that will be necessary for it to meet the challenges it will face. But NATO itself is under-resourced for this task. Moreover, no one institution can handle these intellectual challenges on its own.

Allies must be encouraged to invest real resources in thinking through the detail of what this new type of warfare really means.

If we assume that these wars will have a coalition dimension, NATO is the place to start with key questions that need to be answered in this regard. For example, how do we bring national cyber assets to bear in support of cyber operations (hint: probably much the same as we do Special Forces)? How do we factor the threat to national critical infrastructures into our military planning? And, perhaps most vexing and urgent, how do we deal with cyber enabled information operations?

It is all very well to invest in technology to address our cyber challenges. But all that will be for naught if we are unable to create good frameworks within which to organize our thinking. If we can make that investment now, however, there is a real opportunity to shape NATO thinking at a crucial moment. Let's not miss it. **RF**

Ian Wallace is co-director of New America's Cybersecurity Initiative, and a senior fellow in the International Security program.

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Royce Sounds Alarm About the Rise of Russian-Fueled Repression in Europe

WASHINGTON, DC – In remarks on July 20th to a breakfast meeting of The Ripon Society, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Ed Royce (CA-39) sounded the alarm about rising repression being seen in Central and Eastern Europe, which he said is being fueled in part by Russia and must be countered by the U.S.

"I'm concerned about the undercurrent on social media that supports this trend," Royce stated. "If you remember back to the 1980s, the United States was very effective using Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. It is now the case that Moscow is every bit that effective. They have become expert at supporting a certain pattern of thought — which is very authoritarian, very hard-edged, and which increasingly in Eastern Europe is moving an illiberal element into positions of power.

"My great concern about Sputnik and RT television and especially the social media that's being deployed is that you can monitor in all the former Soviet states the feelings about Putin and watch them increase arithmetically year after year in the Gallup polling. At the same time, you can also monitor the feelings about the UK and the United States and watch them plummet. It is successful not only because they are putting a billion dollars a year into it, but also because the KGB has become so damn effective at it."

Royce was elected to Congress in 1992 and took the reins of the Foreign Relations Committee in 2013. As Chairman, he has become a leading voice in the global fight to advance human rights, ensure free and fair elections, and reach solutions that promote security and economic growth.

It is a fight, he noted, that has become increasingly important as Vladimir Putin has increased his hold on power in recent years.

"Watching his overhaul of Russia's communications — and watching the increase in repression across Central and Eastern Europe — tells us that frankly we are not competing. I had legislation to overhaul the Broadcasting Board of Governors and replace them with a strong CEO. We are also bringing in the old NED – the National Endowment for Democracy folks that did such a great job during the Reagan years. I watched their effectiveness at the time I was in East Germany in 1985 on an exchange program, and I watched the way the attitudes of Germans were changing as they were learning about political pluralism and tolerance and what was really happening in East Germany.

"We should be on the right side of history and on the right side of human rights"

"I know how effectively this can be countered. But we haven't countered it. So, now we are putting in place an overhaul, and we will drive that through Congress. It's essential, because otherwise the power that Russia has over its former satellites will eventually metastasize into a situation where we see a real diminution of democracy in these countries."

In response to a question about cyberwarfare and what the U.S. should do to counter the threat we face from Russia and other countries in this regard, Royce said he was open to establishing a separate Cyber Command in the same way that America established a separate Air Force in the years following World War II.

"Before Pearl Harbor," Royce observed, "Billy Mitchell argued that air power could sink a battleship. He wanted a separate Air Force. In order to demonstrate this, he disobeyed orders and came right over the top of a battleship and dropped an ordinance that blew it out of the water. He was summarily court-martialed, but he had made his point. As the war went on, eventually the decision was made to set up a separate United States Air Force. I have argued the same thing – that there needs to be a Cyber Command."

In light of the Russian cyber threat and other global challenges facing the U.S., Royce was also asked for his thoughts on the importance of America's global alliances and what his panel is doing to keep these alliances strong.

"One of the things we're trying to do on the Foreign Affairs Committee is send a message of solidarity to our allies around the world," the Chairman declared. "We should be on the right side of history and on the right side of human rights – standing up for freedom and explaining why it is so important around the globe. My hope is that we find our voice to do this. We will find those who want to do it in a bipartisan way and join us, but Republicans must lead. We are the party of Lincoln, and this is the foundation on which our party is based." **RF**

Ripon Profile

Name: Doug Ducey

Occupation: Governor of the State of Arizona (2015 - current)

Previous jobs held: Treasurer, State Of Arizona (2011 - 2015); Chief Executive Officer, Cold Stone Creamery (1996 - 2007)

Biggest difference between being an entrepreneur and an officeholder? There are two "CEO rules" in the private sector: No excuses. No distractions. When you're running a company, it's very likely you'll face problems caused by decisions and circumstances out of your control. Employees and investors expect you to take responsibility and address them

Too many lifelong politicians respond by saying, "Well, I had nothing to do with this so why should I stick my neck out?" We're changing that. When I entered office, we were facing a $1 billion hole in the budget. We didn't complain. We fixed it, and with money to spare. We inherited a funding lawsuit that was threatening our education system. We built a bipartisan coalition, won approval from Arizona voters, and invested $3.5 billion in our teachers, students, and classrooms.

The bottom line: Sometimes it rains. Lifelong politicians look up at the sky and run for cover. Entrepreneurs get an umbrella and keep moving forward.

How about the similarities -- how is being a Governor similar to being a CEO? They're both incredibly humbling experiences. You're offered an amazing opportunity, and then you're held accountable for your choices, either by investors or by voters.

At the end of the day—in both the public and private sectors—you need to deliver results for the people who count on you. I made it clear from day one that one of my goals was to make real improvements to the quality of service that state government provides our constituents, and I think we've done that in spades.

It was wonderful working as a CEO. But serving as the governor of the state I love is another level entirely. It is an immense and unbelievable privilege to know that millions of people have entrusted you with making decisions that will affect their future and the future of their families, and I take that responsibility very seriously.

What are your priorities as you move forward in your third year in office? Our priorities will remain the same as they've been the past few years, with investments to match: Expanding opportunities, giving a hand-up to our most vulnerable citizens, growing the economy, strengthening public safety, and generally guaranteeing that we have a bright future, especially through education.

People outside of Arizona forget how hard our state was hit by the recession. We had to make some very hard choices in order to get our finances in order, and we only recently recovered all of the jobs we lost. Because of that work, the budget I signed in May was able to invest $163 million into K-12 schools above and beyond previous investments.

That was the first time in a long time our state was in a position to talk about adding money to education. I'm very proud of that accomplishment—and, as long as we remember the fiscal prudence and long-term thinking that got us here, I'm confident we'll be able to continue focusing on these priorities with financing to back it up.

Finally, a prediction – how are the Cardinals going to do this year? As a huge Cardinals fan, I'm very excited about this season. Young guys like David Johnson at running back are poised for breakout years. Larry Fitzgerald is hungry for a championship. Carson Palmer is an incredible leader, Michael Bidwill is a terrific owner, and coach Bruce Arians, who's one of the toughest guys I know, knows what it takes to win. We could see big things from them this year. I'm predicting a 13-3 record, NFC championship, followed by a Super Bowl victory.

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